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# CALENDARS.

## Instructions to Editors.

The Master of the Rolls desires to call the attention of the Editors of Calendars to the following considerations, with a view to secure uniformity of plan in the important works on which they are engaged :—

He is anxious to extend, as far as is consistent with proper economy and despatch, the utility of the Calendars of State Papers now publishing under his control: 1st. As the most efficient means of making the national archives accessible to all who are interested in historical inquiries; 2nd. As the best justification of the liberality and munificence of the Government in throwing open these papers to the public, and providing proper catalogues of their contents at the national expense.

The greater number of the readers who will consult and value these works can have little or no opportunity of visiting the Public Record Office, in which these papers are deposited. The means for consulting the originals must necessarily be limited when readers live at a distance from the metropolis; still more if they are residents of Scotland, Ireland, distant colonies, or foreign states. Even when such an opportunity does exist, the difficulty of mastering the original hands in which these papers are written will deter many readers from consulting them. Above all, their great variety and number must present formidable obstacles to literary inquirers, however able, sanguine, and energetic, when the information contained in them is not made accessible by satisfactory Calendars.

The Master of the Rolls considers that, without superseding the necessity of consulting the originals, every Editor ought to frame his Calendar in such a manner that it shall present, in as condensed a form as possible, a correct index of the contents of the papers described in it. He considers that the entries should be so minute as to enable the reader to discover not only the general contents of the originals, but also what *they do not* contain. If the information be not sufficiently precise, if facts and names be omitted or concealed under a vague and general description, the reader will be often misled, he will assume that where the abstracts are silent as to information to be found in the documents, such information does not exist; or he will have to examine every original in detail, and thus one great purpose will have been lost for which these Calendars have been compiled.

As the documents are various, the Master of the Rolls considers that they will demand a corresponding mode of treatment. The following rules are to be observed:—

1st. All formal and official documents, such as letters of credence, warrants, grants, and the like, should be described as briefly as possible.

2nd. Letters and documents referring to one subject only should be catalogued as briefly as is consistent with correctness. But when they contain miscellaneous news, such a description should be given as will enable a reader to form an adequate notion of the variety of their contents.

3rd. Wherever a letter or paper is especially difficult to decipher, or the allusions more than ordinarily obscure, it will be advisable for the Editor to adhere, as closely as is consistent with brevity, to the text of the document. He is to do the same when it contains secret or very rare information.

4th. Where the Editor has deciphered letters in cipher, the decipher may be printed at full length. But when a contemporary or authorised decipher exists it will be sufficient to treat the cipher as an ordinary document.

5th. Striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, manners, &c. are to be noticed.

6th. Original dates are to be given at the close of each entry, that the reader may know the exact evidence by which the marginal dates are determined.

7th. Where letters are endorsed by the receivers and the date of their delivery specified, these endorsements are to be recorded.

8th. The number of written pages of each document is to be specified, as a security for its integrity, and that readers may know what proportion the abstract bears to the original.

9th. The language of every document is to be specified. If, however, the greater part of the collection be in English, it will be sufficient to denote those only which are in a different tongue.

10th. Where documents have been printed, a reference should be given to the publication.

11th. Each series is to be chronological.

12th. The Prefaces of Editors, in explanation of documents in the volume, are not to exceed fifty pages, unless the written permission of the Master of the Rolls to the contrary be obtained.

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*** Editors employed in foreign archives are to transcribe at full length important and secret papers.

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# CALENDAR

OF

# STATE PAPERS,

## IRELAND,

## ELIZABETH,

**1596, July—1597, December.**

# CALENDAR

OF THE

# STATE PAPERS,

RELATING TO

# IRELAND,

## OF THE REIGN OF

## ELIZABETH,

[Vol. 6]

## 1596, July — 1597, December.

PRESERVED IN

THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE.

EDITED BY

ERNEST GEORGE ATKINSON,

OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, AND WITH THE SANCTION OF HER MAJESTY'S SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE HOME DEPARTMENT.

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## CONTENTS OF THIS VOLUME.


| | Page |
|---|---|
| Preface - - - - - - - - | vii |
| Calendar, Elizabeth, 1596, July—1597, December - - | 1 |
| Index - - - - - - - - - | 501 |

# PREFACE.

THE present volume covers a period of eighteen months, from July 1596 to December 1597. In the preface to the last volume of this Calendar, it was stated by Mr. H. C. Hamilton that "Ireland was fast drifting into the great rebellion known as Tyrone's." The latest date, to which the papers here calendared reach, does not witness the outbreak of that conflict, such were the astuteness and pertinacity of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and the vacillation and divisions of the English authorities. The whole period was filled up by an alternation of negotiations and hostilities. The wearisome succession of these may be traced with the help of the index, and does not require repetition in this preface. The "arch-traitor" of Ulster invariably parleyed for the purpose of gaining time, in order that Spanish succour might arrive. The English, also, often desired delay, now for the purpose of recruiting their forces in Ireland, and now in hopes of pacifying the rebels with divers concessions. Thus all vigour was taken out of the proceedings of either party. Even with respect to the fighting, scarcely any action deserves notice, except the defeat and death of Feagh M'Hugh at Ballinacor, the passage of the Blackwater by Lord Burgh, the successful campaign of Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught, and his brilliant retreat from Ballyshannon, the rout of Sir John Chichester's forces outside Carrickfergus, and the holding of the fort at the Blackwater by Captain Thomas Williams.

All the rest was petty skirmishing, generally without any definite purpose, save that of revenge. The whole land, as the Council of Ireland put it, was "impoverished even to the bones" (p. 250).

Thus the whole picture before us is dark in the extreme, and may be outlined in four words, rapine, bloodshed, poverty, and intrigue. At the very outset, on July 2, 1596, Sir Roger Wilbraham, the Solicitor-General, writes from Dublin to Burghley: "It is hard to yield any sound conjecture of the tottering estate of Ireland;" and, further, "The civil born people express daily their discon- "tentments at the oppression of the present time, and the "English [are] most distrustful of the time approaching." The same tone prevails to the end, as may be seen when, on December 3, 1597, the Earl of Ormonde, then Lieutenant-General of the Forces, wrote, likewise to Burghley, "The realm was never since the conquest in so bad state as at this present it is." "*Mora trahit periculum*," writes Baron Eliot, of the Irish Exchequer, to the Lord Deputy, Sir William Russell; but "*mora*" may be "writ large" over all the policy of the English Government during these eighteen months. Yet one of their chief complaints during this period is the dilly-dallying of Tyrone and his confederates. The Irish leaders, with all their divisions and occasional harrying of each other's lands, were united in one purpose, that of driving the English out of the country, a purpose strengthened by the hopes and promises of Spanish aid. The Spaniards delayed to send their forces, and Philip II. by his tardiness nearly threw his Irish adherents into the arms of England. The English Government openly bemoaned the large proportion of Irish soldiers they had to employ, and did their best to plant English settlers, and to root out the Irish, lest the latter might welcome any Spaniards into the realm. We

thus have a species of triangular duel between English, Irish, and Spaniards; each striving to out-manœuvre the others. The intrigues of English officials, both civil and military, against one another were far better known than the quarrels of Irish chieftains, and Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, did not hesitate to reap therefrom all the benefit he could. He had no difficulty in finding grounds for effecting a temporary truce when he wanted one, and readily obtained reasons for breaking the same, whensoever it suited him. The bad health of the levies sent out of England, the trying nature of the climate, the misconduct of the captains, the corruptions in the musters, the lack of treasure, clothing, and victuals for the army, the outrages committed by the troops, both English aud Irish, throughout Ireland, and the general dearth all over the country, intensified and completed the prevailing troubles. Experienced officers, discovering that there was nothing to be learnt in Irish warfare, and despising conflict with naked gallowglasses and kern, prayed for their revocation, and begged to be employed in other countries. Sir Calisthenes Brooke called the fighting "the dullest and obscurest war our nation serves in" (p. 382.) Queen Elizabeth herself, wearied alike of the news she received from Ireland, and of the importunate request to know her pleasure as to future policy there, dubbed the Lord Deputy and Council "advertisers and not advisers" (p. 63), and eventually, at the close of Sir William Russell's tenure of office, gave vent to her feelings in the following characteristic outburst (p. 266) :—"Considering the many disasters "happened in that realm, whereof we mind not by this "our letter to express our opinion in whose defaults "amongst you of our Council the same happened, being "such and so notorious as it is but too apparent to the "whole world, that never any realm was worse governed

" by all our ministers, from the highest to the lowest, yet " we have informed the Lord Burgh of divers particular " disorders by us observed in that government, which we " doubt not but, according to his duty, he will see re- " formed, as time may give him opportunity, and so we " expect that all and every of you, being of our Council, " will aid and assist him to the performance thereof, " whereof we charge you not to fail at your uttermost " perils."

On July 6, 1596, Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton reported to the Privy Council the course of their negotiations as Commissioners for effecting the pacification of Connaught. They told the chiefs there that the cause of their coming was, by Her Majesty's express commandment, to hear their grievances, and to right them therein, so that they might be again recovered to the state of subjects, and receive Her Majesty's gracious pardon. Anxious as the Commissioners were to establish peace in Connaught, they found the people of the province little disposed to come to a conclusion. These pleaded their oath to O'Donnell, and also their deep hatred of Sir Richard Bingham, who was still their Governor. M'William, O'Donnell's protégé, asked that the differences between the Commissioners and the people might be referred to the arbitrament of the Earl of Tyrone, and that a month's truce might be granted for that purpose. The latter request the Commissioners were obliged to grant, for the forces accompanying them were weakened, their ammunition was nearly expended, and, as to victuals, they had none at all, but such as they could get from the rebels. These declared, on the one hand, that they were inwardly weary, and loathed the life of rebels, and, on the other, informed the Commissioners that they stood upon new hopes of the coming of Spaniards in a very short time.

Sir Geffrey Fenton writes to Burghley that the infection of rebellion had spread from Ulster and Connaught to all Ireland, and that it was high time to apply a remedy. With a craft of which he was seldom guilty, Sir Geffrey adds (p. 12), that, if Her Majesty will not, for the excessive charges, take the way of force against the rebels, but "close up the sore with a mild plaister, their reasonable complaints may be admitted for the time, which in after times may be easily cancelled and forgotten." Similarly, on another critical occasion, the Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, advises (p. 423) "a motion of some pacification," until the fury is past, and then Her Majesty "may with more conveniency correct the heads of these wicked traitors." Sir John Norreys complains bitterly to Burghley of the manner in which the Lord Deputy (Sir William Russell) hindered his movements, by reason of the scant supplies given to the army, and protests, "I will be a suitor to Her Majesty rather to pass the rest of my threatened miserable days in any prison in England, than to live in this sort, where I can do Her Majesty no service, and venture the loss of my small reputation, for which I have endured no small hazard." Sir William Russell was all along an advocate of the policy of prosecution, though he admitted that he would gladly welcome an honourable peace. But he felt that no such peace could be secured without a thorough defeat of the rebels; and thus, whether he was dealing with the Earl of Tyrone in Ulster, or with the insurgents in any of the other three provinces, he consistently advised the employment of force. Sir John Norreys, on the other hand, had greater hopes of winning the Earl and the other rebels by concession and treaty, and frequently allowed his opinion as a soldier to give place to his belief in pacification. The civilian was for war, the soldier for peace.

Yet it is remarkable that the very times when Norreys and Fenton supported warlike measures were, generally when they were in the thick of negotiations with the rebels, and got sickened by the subterfuges and pride of their opponents. Proof of this may be seen in the papers in this volume telling of the parleyings with the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and others. The course of events during the period under consideration showed that Russell and Bingham were right in their forecast, and Norreys and Fenton wrong.

As already stated, one of the chief obstacles to the pacification of Connaught was the bitter hatred of its people towards Sir Richard Bingham, whose removal they demanded. Sir Geffrey Fenton writes (p. 11) that, under the government of "Improvido" (as he calls him), "they will never be brought to perfect obedience," and he counsels the revocation of the Governor. Sir John Norreys informs Burghley (p. 21) that more than forty strong castles, besides forts, had been lost in the county of Roscommon, without striking one blow; and also tells Sir Robert Cecil that "an extreme amazement" must have fallen upon Bingham (p. 23), or "a small rabble of these "beggarly rebels could not have so prevailed. As touch- "ing the complaints made against him, the books were "hastily commanded from us, and detained till we had "ended the journey, so that we could do little in it, and "no marvel, for *sua res agitur;* yet, by examining of "some few that were exhibited unto us, and by inquisition "and report of the whole country, we find that more will "be proved against him than is yet spoken of." Sir Richard Bingham, however, was just as jealous of his military reputation as Norreys was, and besides complaining of the shortness of the supplies granted to him, and his subsequent suspension from his office, retorted (p. 89)

that Norreys and Fenton had been in his charge for nearly four months, and yet that not one rebel had come in to them. Nor was there any hope that the rebels would submit, as they were supported by the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell. Sir John Norreys himself confessed that the foot companies with him could scarcely carry forty men apiece into the field, or the horse companies twenty, saving those in garrison, who held out well; and yet, Bingham pointed out, when Norreys carried them into the field, in the beginning of his journey into Connaught, they were the fullest and strongest companies that had been for many years in Ireland. Bingham also stated (pp. 162, 163), that the waste in Connaught was only "Tartarian," the people with their cattle removing from place to place, and that there was no impediment to the composition. Burghley remarked that the composition arose not upon pasturing, but upon tillage. Here he was answered by Bingham that three parts of the province consisted of pasturage, and that those who did live by tillage profited more by pasturing. Sir Richard was of opinion that the whole revenue of Connaught was "sperable," when once the rebellion was suppressed, "for the farmers sit at easy "rents; so that the rent in arrear would be forthwith "answered, for the land is not waste, but the rent "detained." He claimed to have raised the revenue from 200*l.*, the figure at which it stood when he came to the government, to 400*l.* and upwards. It may be noticed, in passing, that Sir John Chichester, who was commanding in the parts about Carrickfergus, complains that the Scots, James M'Sorley Boy M'Donnell and Randal, his brother, detain Her Majesty's rents, although he has often demanded the same of them.

Bingham was not allowed to leave Dublin, pending his trial, which he repeatedly urged might be hastened on.

He said (p. 39) that through these courses of peace and cessations he had had, in a manner, for ten months no exercise of his charge. The Lord Deputy and Council were unable to say directly (p. 37) that the complaints against Sir Richard were framed by the rebels, or ever seen by them; but rather that they were made by one Lonnan and others, who secretly preferred them against the Governor. Bingham stoutly avowed that it was notorious to all the world that the rebels did not rise upon any dislike they had to him more than to the rest of the English magistracy; for they endeavoured themselves to their uttermost to throw off the yoke of civil government, and all obedience to Her Majesty. More countries had lately revolted, where neither he, nor any of his, had had any dealings. The slanderous reports against him were "the wonted practices of Ireland, which either proceed "from rebels, or a few other malicious persons, whose "regards intend nothing for the natural good, but wholly "to serve their private turns." It was decided that Bingham should be tried at the Council Board, and his accusers were summoned to Dublin. Of this they complained (p. 104), saying that their witnesses might have been produced in Connaught, with ease to their purses and no danger to their persons. Sir John Norreys supported the complaints, and stated that M'William and his associates, the Burkes, had larger books of information against Sir Richard and his ministers than any of the rest, and less commodity to produce their proofs so far as Dublin, in respect of the distance, they being in the most remote parts of the province. Fenton said that, according to the tenor of the Queen's own letter, the people were promised that their grievances should be heard and redressed within the province. The accusers did not go to Dublin. It was decided by the Queen that the trial

should take place at Athlone, and Sir Richard received instructions to repair thither. He very justly objected to Norreys and Fenton being his judges, because of their pronounced hostility to him, and thus Sir Robert Gardener, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, was directed to act as a third Commissioner. Norreys warmly protested against this appointment, on the grounds that Sir Robert Gardener was "a man noted of the world to "bear a singular affection to Sir Richard, and [was] him-"self touched in some of the matters mentioned in the "complaints"; besides, it would be thought by the people that he was sent to bolster up Sir Richard's cause. It is little wonder that Bingham despaired of a fair trial; and, indeed, many of his letters may be allowed to contain effective answers to the serious charges preferred against him. On September 23, 1596, he departed suddenly for England, without leave of the State, and thus placed in the hands of his enemies a weapon, of which they were not slow to avail themselves. On his arrival in London, Sir Richard Bingham was thrown into the Fleet prison, where he continued for a time. He soon pleaded for his liberty on the grounds of sickness and old age, but still expressed a desire to be put on his trial. Nor was he forgotten by the government in Ireland. The Archbishop of Dublin and the Bishop of Meath, in a long report on the state of the realm, recommend him for the command of an army. Shortly after, we find Bingham on his way back to Ireland. For many days he was prevented by ill-health from crossing the Irish Channel. From Hilbery, in Cheshire, he writes to Burghley (p. 194), praying that he may be tried in Dublin, and says that the rebels do not stand upon the hearing of his causes at Athlone, nor was it once mentioned by any of them. The trial at Dublin was granted, for Bingham writes to Sir Robert Cecil

(p. 224) returning thanks for the favour. Some two months after we find him still at Beaumaris, detained by sickness. Bingham's letters are full of valuable suggestions for the carrying on of the war, and for the treatment of other troubles in Ireland. The Council adopted many of his ideas, and he was eventually restored to favour. The critical condition into which affairs drifted in Ireland prevented his trial ever coming off, but he returned to that country, and died shortly after, not without having seen some more active service. This, however, belongs to the next volume of this Calendar.

The central figure on the Irish side during these eighteen months is Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone. At the outset we see him chafing under a great provocation. He had entrusted to Captain William Warren a letter received from the King of Spain, but on two conditions, viz. that no copy of it should be taken, and that it should be returned. The Council at Dublin refused to restore the document after Warren had produced it at the Board, and this gross breach of faith was repeatedly brought forward, both by the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, as a valid reason for not putting any confidence in future promises or treaties made by the Government. Sir John Norreys writes to Sir Robert Cecil (p. 55), with reference to the Earl of Tyrone's intended journey to England, and sending of his younger son to the Earl of Essex;—"This he hath "deferred, as he answereth, upon the detaining of the "King of Spain's letter; and this I will assure your "Honour, that there is not the basest rogue of a rebel in "Ireland that hath not ordinarily in his mouth how they "may trust us with their lives, when the Earl was "deceived trusting the Lord Deputy but with a letter. "O'Donnell did swear that, if that letter had not been "detained, either he or the Earl had been in England

" before Michaelmas." To make matters worse, the letter was forwarded by Sir William Russell to the Queen, and she, in her turn, sent it on to King Philip, with her own letter, signifying that the Irish had made peace, and had refused King Philip's friendship. The King sent the Queen's letter to the Earl to know if the reports were true, and Tyrone had little difficulty in assuring the Spanish monarch of the falsity of the news. Philip was naturally angry that his letter had been presented to Elizabeth, but Tyrone made the excuse that his secretary had run away with it.

The above discreditable action on the part of the English Government, coupled with the occasional detention of Tyrone's pledges, or hostages, beyond the appointed time, and the refusal to exchange them at certain periods agreed upon, bred a deep-rooted distrust in the great chief of Ulster, and a belief that his life was being sought by his enemies. Hence he cared little for personal negotiation with any of his adversaries, although it is worthy of notice that he seems to have exercised a sort of fascination on all who came to parley with him. It mattered not whether it was Sir John Norreys, Sir Geffrey Fenton, Captain Warren, Captain Lee, or any other (except, perhaps, the Earl of Ormonde), all appear to have been drawn, at least for a time, into a belief that the Earl was endeavouring to act as a good and loyal subject. "My Lord General," writes Captain Warham Sentleger (p. 31), " cannot be " drawn from a good opinion of the Earl, and that he will " stand fast." Again, in some instructions given by Sir John Norreys to his brother Sir Henry, we read (p. 49), " But that the Earl would break into any open action of " rebellion, seek to draw in any strangers to trouble the " quiet of the country, or suffer any of Her Majesty's " subjects to be outraged or spoiled either in the Pale

" or elsewhere (unless it were for private quarrel and " revenge), he does not believe that the Earl either did or " does purpose it." Sir Geffrey Fenton (p. 41) wishes " that Tyrone may be cherished and borne up in his well " doings, and not altogether dejected and thrown down " by slight opinions, not well grounded in matter. He " stands now a late offender, fearful and distrustful, and " (*sic*) will be secured by time and good usage." Captain Warren informed Fenton (p. 42) that the Earl had vowed, if O'Donnell had combined with the Spaniard, that he would never give him any aid, but be a mortal enemy to him, and that the Earl had made earnest protestations of his loyalty; while Captain Lee (p. 86) calls Tyrone a " noble man," who " holds himself in a most miserable " estate in respect of Her Majesty's great displeasure " towards him," and adds that the Earl is " a man far " gone and directed, whether he will or no, by that " damnable crew who now direct him, contrary to his " duty towards Her Majesty, and his performance of that " is expected, since he hath received his pardon." Yet one and all had reason ere long to change their opinions, and to support the advice that Sir William Russell and others had given for the sharp and speedy prosecution of " the capital traitor."

Tyrone was the paramount Irish chieftain. All others, O'Donnell, Feagh M'Hugh, O'Rourke, Maguire, and the rest, deferred to him. He was the uncrowned king of Ireland; and thus, in negotiations with the English Government, he frequently insisted on the other Irish leaders being included in his peace. Even after the receipt of his pardon rom the Queen, he said that, unless the men of Connaught might likewise have their peace, " he would put a candle through the tail of that his pardon " (p. 250). There is a touch of utmost scorn in the last three words.

No one was more profuse than Tyrone in expressions of loyalty to Elizabeth; yet no one ever concluded a treaty with her officers with less intention of keeping to its terms. He told Feagh M'Hugh to make his own peace, for that he himself "had no peace but such as he could break at his pleasure" (p. 250). Neither oaths nor hostages appeared to bind the Earl of Tyrone. Ambition was his guiding star, and, by one who knew him well, he was credited with desires of "managing" war, not only in Ireland, "but likewise in England, when time shall serve" (p. 200). The thought that Philip of Spain might enable him to drive from Ireland the only formidable enemies he had there, brought the Earl into close and constant correspondence with that monarch. Philip occasionally sent supplies of money and munition, and promised more, together with an army for the deliverance of Ireland from the English. To bind the Spanish King more closely to him, Tyrone put in the forefront of his aims the re-establishment in Ireland of the Roman Catholic faith. Among the papers calendared in this volume are included numerous reports, telling of the preparations that were being made in Spain and Portugal against England and Ireland. Some successes of the English navy on the coast of Spain, and the loss by wreck of a great number of his vessels, together with other enterprises in which he was engaged, prevented Philip from sending succour to the Irish rebels as early as he had wished. Tyrone and the other leaders grew discontented with the non-fulfilment of the King's promises. The Earl, "with great oaths," told Captain Warren (pp. 258, 259) that "if all the "Spaniards in Spain should come into Ireland, they could "not alter his mind from being a dutiful subject to Her "Majesty, if promise were kept with him." Tyrone was much more particular about other people keeping their

promises than about keeping his own. He also wrote to Lord Burgh (p. 316): "The Spaniards are a nation only for themselves, and for none other." When Tyrone and O'Donnell were parleying with some Spaniards who had landed at Killibeggs in Donegal (p. 273), "O'Donnell in "express speech told them that they were but a deceitful "nation, and particularly that they had cosened the Irish. "After all his promises, the King of Spain had sent them "nothing but a little powder. The Irish knew that all "that the King could do was little enough to strengthen "himself against the Queen of England, and it were good "for them to depend no longer upon the King's suc-"cours." The Spaniards sent by the King, after making many promises of help to be sent shortly, said that the sole cause why their monarch suspended his regal aid all this while was "the great doubt and suspicion he conceived of their ever wavering and inconstant minds." It is stated in a declaration by William Dowdall, that the Spaniards "found a general desire for peace in the people "of Tyrone, who say that they love the worst Englishman "better than the best Spaniard." But, notwithstanding all this, the hopes of Ireland still rested in Spain. Assistance of various kinds arrived, and at one time especially (pp. 247–249), it seemed that the Earl of Tyrone's levies would reach unusual numbers, owing to a plentiful supply received by him of Spanish gold.

Although the Earl wrote to Sir John Norreys (p. 9) that the Scots "seek the disturbance of all places where they come," yet he sent for some of that nation to come to his assistance, and at the close of June 1596 (p. 30), Angus M'Connell with 600 followers landed on the north coast. Tyrone sent an escort to conduct the Scottish chief to the place where he himself was staying. An agreement had also been come to between the Earl and

James M'Sorley Boy M'Donnell, who was afterwards knighted by James VI. But the Scots remained only a few days with Tyrone, though Angus M'Connell promised to come with 500 men to the aid of the Earl whensoever he wished. The priests gave out to the Irishry (p. 97) that O'Donnell had undertaken to the Spanish King to entertain in his service, out of his mother's allowance in Cantire, 3,000 "redshanks" with their galleys. With these he would possess himself of such a port in Ulster as, being put into the possession of 1,000 Spaniards, might by them alone be held irrecoverably against all forces by land and sea; and that it would also give him entry into Dublin when he would, and footing for garrisons both in England and Scotland. The port referred to was Lough Cuan or Strangford. It is interesting to note what was the opinion of the English authorities as to the employment of Scots in Ireland. Sir William Russell told Sir Robert Cecil (p. 139) that three thousand Scots, well led by a man affected to Her Majesty, would do more service upon the Ulster rebels than double their numbers of English, because they would victual themselves, were light of foot, and hard-bred. Sir John Norreys was of opinion (p. 52) that, if a strong garrison of English were sent to Lough Foyle, the Queen might without danger be served by the Scots in the north of Ireland; otherwise he thought the drawing in of the Scots might be more hurtful than profitable, for they encroached fast upon Ireland, having of late years possessed a fine country called the Route, whence they would not be easily dislodged. Norreys also writes regarding them (p. 55), "It is known to all men that they "be no welcome guests, and, though they come often into "the country, it is never but when they are drawn in by "some faction to annoy others, or that, trusting to their "own force, they run about the country, making no

" difference to spoil whom they can." Sir Geffrey Fenton (p. 232) was against the employment of Scots in the north of Ireland, on the ground of their previous close connections with the Ulster rebels. He says, " they are a needy " and beggarly people, and not easily expelled out of a " country where they have once taken footing " ; and he further told Sir Robert Cecil (p. 227), " It hath been " always a rule of policy in this Government to keep the " Scots out of Ireland, as a people that have wild pre- " tences to Ulster, and have long time footed in some " parts thereof, and yet the Crown of England cannot " expel them."

The sustained disloyalty of the Earl of Tyrone is apparent throughout the whole volume, but perhaps the most remarkable instances are, his interview with Captain James FitzGarrett of Lecale for the betrayal of the castles of Strangford and Dundrum, his various parleys with the Spaniards who landed in Ireland, his continuous endeavours to prevent the relief of Armagh, his officious support of the Irish chiefs against the English Government, and, worst of all, his acknowledgment of Philip of Spain as his King. David Burke writes to Sir Conyers Clifford, the Governor of Connaught (p. 286), " Tyrone, between him, " O'Donnell, and the Spanish intelligencers, hath re- " nounced his title and possibility of title to the crown " and sceptre of Ireland, and made as full a resignation " and surrender thereof to the Cardinal, or to his substi- " tute and assignee, in as large and ample a manner as if " he himself were King in possession and right, and not a " liege subject to our rightful Sovereign; which quit- " claiming and foregoing of interest proceeded of a most " execrable fetch and sleight, for to draw upon the neck " of this realm further and heavier heaps and packs of " trouble." Sir William Russell and the Council, in a

letter to the Privy Council (p. 292), designate the Earl as "the capital traitor Tyrone, who is the main root of all the rebellions in Ireland." Similar testimonies may be found in this volume, even from those English officers who had the strongest hopes of winning him over to loyalty and peace. In correspondence with the Earl the usual forms of official courtesy had been used, but when Lord Burgh came to Ireland, as the successor of Sir William Russell, the letters sent by him to his chief antagonist were couched in the bluntest and most crude form (pp. 308, 316). Yet the Privy Council thought the Lord Deputy's answers those of "a nobleman and a Governor of wisdom and judgment" (p. 319). Sir Robert Cecil, however, wrote to Lord Burgh (p. 320), "Her "Majesty is exceedingly well satisfied with your purposes, "your endeavours in particular, and with your answers to "the rebel. Yet I must add this, that your style to the "rebel is held too curious, and that you do in all your "writings a little too much imitate the succinctness of "Tacitus, which for a man to write to a Council is not "held so proper." Tyrone, on his part, would at times speak as bluntly and rudely as any. He told Fawkner, the priest, and Ann Wilmar, that he had accepted of Her Majesty's pardon in such sort as the Queen and Council had granted it, "that is," quoth he (p. 202), "to serve my "own turn; as they (I know) have done it to serve theirs; "but let me be hanged, and confusion come to all my "posterity, if ever I trust either to pardon, or aught else "that may be offered, for I know the Council of England "to be arrant heretics and knaves, to whom there is no "more credit to be given than to the veriest infidels in "the world. I will therefore keep myself out of their "fingers till time serve, and then peradventure they shall

" have more of me." The boast was in large measure fulfilled.

It is clear from these papers that a steady prosecution of the Earl of Tyrone would have been crowned with abundant success, but the patching up of temporary truces, and the spasmodic warring with armed insurgents, inured to fatigue and hardship, were tokens of weakness, and incentives to such a rebellion as was to break out in 1598. The opinions of the various English leaders with respect to the Earl of Tyrone may readily be found by the index, and are instructive reading. The Earl, on his part, thoroughly distrusted both Sir William Russell and Lord Burgh. Of the former he told Captain Warren (p. 165), " My Lord Deputy doth seek all violence that may be," and again he writes to Lord Burgh (p. 307) that Sir William Russell divers times crossed the agreement between him and Sir John Norreys, and that he never observed any truce. The blame for all the long delays in parleying Tyrone laid at the door of Sir William Russell, while the latter, supported even by Norreys and Fenton, attributed the dilatoriness to the Earl. The latter thought that Lord Burgh would overrule any promises made by Sir John Norreys, and protracted negotiations, until the new Lord Deputy was settled in office. Lord Burgh was not long in commencing operations against " this base beast," as he called Tyrone (p. 296), and in one journey ordered by him into the Earl's country, for the relief of Armagh, Tyrone was surprised (pp. 310, 316). Although diligence had been used by Captain Turner to " lay the passages," so that the surprise might be complete, one spy escaped, and arrived just in time to give Tyrone warning. But the Earl was so hardly pursued that he and his wife were prevented from getting on horseback, and had to

take to the woods on foot. Armagh, however, which was in great distress, was re-victualled. Lord Burgh writes to the Earl of Essex (p. 316), that he fears lack of victuals may make him forbear a conclusion with Tyrone, "else I "doubt not to fetch him in on his knees, or cut his throat "in his pride." But the most brilliant success of Lord Burgh over Tyrone was achieved when he forced the passage of the Blackwater. It seems to have been agreed that Sir Conyers Clifford was to make his way from Connaught, viâ Sligo and Ballyshannon, to Lough Foyle, where he was to meet Lord Burgh, whose line of march was by way of Armagh and the Blackwater to the appointed rendezvous. It was a scheme of operations well calculated to secure the complete overthrow of the Earl of Tyrone and of O'Donnell, had the two English commanders been properly supported with men and victuals. Sir Conyers Clifford was unable to carry out his part of the scheme, as we shall afterwards see; but Lord Burgh, having relieved Armagh, advanced to the Blackwater. The state of his forces was not such as to awaken any hope of success, for he called them "the rawest army that ever prince so long paid"; and also said, "when I direct, for want in others I must execute." On arriving at the fort that the Earl of Tyrone had constructed by a ford of the river, Lord Burgh reconnoitred the position, and found it to be an exceedingly strong one. Fortunately for him, Tyrone had left only some forty men to guard the place, whilst he himself was encamped in the woods not far off. The attack was delivered about daybreak, and to prevent any staggering among his men Lord Burgh led the vanguard in person. He waded into the river above his middle, and was the second man in the fortification. The defenders were taken by surprise, and, receiving no help from Tyrone's camp, made no resistance worth speaking

of, and the place was quickly captured. Thus a strong and important position was gained, opening up the way into Tyrone's other fastnesses. Details of the fight, will be found in the letters of Lord Burgh, Sir Geffrey Fenton, and others. On the day after the capture of the fort, a further encounter took place with the enemy. Lord Burgh's men had received strict orders not to enter the woods after the rebels, but, in the first flush of success, they advanced into the forbidden ground, and were thrown into confusion. Seeing them waver, their commander hastened to the front, and succeeded in rallying them, and in driving off the enemy, though not without a loss that he deeply regretted. Among the volunteers present were his brother Vaughan, who was killed; his two nephews, Read and Ashley, who were badly wounded; his cousin Clare, who had his horse killed under him; and his friend, Mr. Beresford, who was slain. Of the main force there were not above ten killed, but these included the Serjeant-Major, Captain Turner, who, not long before, had so nearly captured the Earl of Tyrone. The Earl swore that he would repair this blow "another way" before he stirred from the place he was encamped in, and that he would hold no communication with the Lord Deputy.

The most prominent figure on the Irish side, next to the Earl of Tyrone, is Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Passing from his own country into Connaught, the way to which was open through the loss to the English of Sligo and Ballyshannon, he had acquired a complete ascendancy in that province, and a reputation second only to that of Tyrone himself. The Earl associated O'Donnell with him in all his parleys with the Spaniards, and in his correspondence with Philip. Treasure and munition, presents and promises of aid, came from Spain to both alike; and both alike sent gifts in return. Tyrone, according to Sir

Geffrey Fenton's opinion (p. 219) seemed to make O'Donnell further gone with the Spaniards than he himself was. O'Donnell tyrannised over his fellow countrymen in Connaught. He broke down castles, ravaged the country, took pledges of the inhabitants for their good behaviour towards him, and in many ways treated them as a conquered race. Sir Geffrey Fenton states (p. 12) that, "through the fear the people have of Improvido [Sir "Richard Bingham], their necessity drives them to "depend upon O'Donnell, whom they hate for his pride "and ambition, and are weary of the burdens he daily "lays upon them." Gerrott Comerford, too, the Attorney-General of Connaught, speaks of "that faithless arch-"traitor and nurse of all mischief, Hugh Roe O'Donnell" (p. 223). Not content with the power he had gained in Connaught, O'Donnell joined with the Earl of Tyrone and others in endeavouring to stir up rebellion in Munster. Into that province they intended to turn the greatest bulk of the Spaniards, who were expected to land in Ireland. With a view to the settlement of Connaught, Sir John Norreys and many others represented to the Privy Council that Sligo should be rebuilt, as it was the fittest place for a strong garrison. It would (p. 5) not only serve as a bar to break O'Donnell's coming into the province, but, under cover of a force laid there, the whole country would easily be drawn to obedience. O'Donnell was keenly alive to the truth of these representations, and declared that Sligo should never be built without his consent (p. 97.) Captain John Bingham, indeed, reported (p. 91), in connection with the depredations of O'Donnell in Connaught: "He "hath not left a piece of wood or timber about Sligo as "big as my arm, fearing it should be built up again." The Earl of Tyrone, also, was bent on preventing the building of the same place (p. 100). Like Tyrone,

O'Donnell could be profuse in his protestations of loyalty. He promised Sir John Norreys to reform all things he had committed, and to live as became a loyal subject. He sent some beeves to relieve the ward at Ballymore, and said he was ready to do the like again. But all his professions were to serve some personal interest. He had established M'William in Connaught, yet, when it suited his turn, he was quite willing, not only to leave M'William to himself, but also to serve against him, if licensed thereto by the State (p. 105). Pledges were no hindrance to O'Donnell in acting as ambition prompted. Fenton calls him "a deceitful Scot" (p. 106), and a "malignant adversary to Her Majesty's Government" (p. 219). It was reserved for Sir Conyers Clifford, the successor of Sir Richard Bingham in the government of Connaught, to drive M'William out of that province. This success was all the more brilliant in that it was achieved against great odds, and that O'Donnell had established M'William so well in Connaught that Sir Conyers Clifford calls the latter, "the arch-traitor of the province, both in power and malice" (p. 280). M'William fled to O'Donnell, who afterwards took measures to restore him, and, along with O'Rourke, brought him into Mayo. A second time Sir Conyers made M'William take fright and flee, and Lord Burgh was of opinion he would no more attempt to return. Lack of supplies and of men, however, rendered it impossible for Sir Conyers to hold the province against O'Donnell. He succeeded, nevertheless, in crossing the Erne in face of the enemy, and advanced as far as the Abbey of Ashers, about three miles from Ballyshannon. News coming to him of the withdrawal of Lord Burgh from the Blackwater, and seeing that the Earl of Tyrone had sent a large accession of force to assist O'Donnell, Maguire, and O'Rourke, Sir Conyers determined to retire.

The enemy thought that he would endeavour to escape under cover of darkness, but "God forbid," said the General, "any such cause of pride should be given them." All the passages of the Erne were watched by his adversaries. In this extremity he made a brief speech to his men, and it is touching to notice that, although he had doubted the constancy of these forces, owing to the large proportion of Irish among them, yet, as soon as Sir Conyers had addressed them, he tells us, "The poor men "with great comfort swore to follow whatsoever I would "appoint." And right gallantly they fulfilled their oath. There was no secrecy about the retreat. The ford was passed with sound of drum and all the ensigns flying, the baggage was in the centre, and then came the rear guard, under Sir Calisthenes Brooke. On all parts of the column the rebels made furious attacks, but were uniformly repulsed. It took Sir Conyers and his men five or six hours to get as far as Bunduff, eight miles from Ballyshannon. Before reaching this point their ammunition had been exhausted, and they had to defend themselves with pikes. Sir Conyers was on foot, fighting like any of his soldiers. At Bunduff the enemy's foot gave up the struggle, but their horse continued to harass the wearied column for some seven or eight miles further, then they also, "like foresworn beggars," withdrew. Eventually Sir Conyers reached Athlone in safety. We have it on the authority of Sir Geffrey Fenton (p. 404) that the State was "more troubled with care to provide sustenance for "the forces in Connaught than for all the other garrisons "in Ireland," and yet Sir Conyers Clifford complains (p. 408) that he never drew his army towards Ballyshannon to prevent incursions by O'Donnell, but he was "in danger of starving with the whole companies." Again (p. 409) he states that, during the eight months he had been in the

province, he had been supplied with only one month's victuals for his men. Yet, according to Sir Henry Wallop's certificate, upwards of 4,000*l.* had been sent into Connaught. Both he and the Governor were called upon by the Privy Council to explain. Sir Conyers gives a good idea of the waste of Connaught by stating (p. 409) that, before his coming, "there was not one quarter of "land inhabited throughout the whole province (but in "Thomond and Clanrickard) for Her Majesty to receive "rent from." He was so sure of his ability to conquer O'Donnell, that he undertook, if Lord Burgh kept away the Earl of Tyrone for four months, to banish that "prince of beggars," and then Tyrone himself would not be able to stand. Power was given to the Governor to conclude with O'Rourke and others. Many of the chief rebels in Connaught came in after a while, and were retained by Sir Conyers Clifford, who appointed them to be captains over the bands that were with them in action. But M'William and the O'Malleys still continued in rebellion.

Another notable enemy of the English Government was Feagh M'Hugh O'Byrne, whose prosecution and death are fully related in these papers. At first, he had little power to do any hurt, and would have accepted any conditions. He offered to deliver his most dangerous son to "have the law," and did so. He also gave up Rory Oge's son, chief of the Moores, together with others, as pledges of his good behaviour, provided he might have his lands. But, during the imprisonment of Feagh's son a counter-practice was held with the lad for the killing of his father. The plot was so grossly mismanaged, that it came to the knowledge of Feagh. After that he was more jealous of himself, and sought to combine with his neighbours. Thus, according to Sir John Norreys, he

was suddenly made terrible, and a great force was necessary to prevent any hurt his breaking out might bring to the Pale. Feagh, too, stood upon terms not to accept any conditions, but as the Earl of Tyrone gave him leave. There was a close alliance, offensive and defensive, between the two leaders, and the strength of each was greatly enhanced. Feagh called the Earl his "Lord O'Neill," and Tyrone went so far as to allege that the prosecution of Feagh by Sir William Russell was a breach of the treaty concluded with him at Dundalk, although, as a matter of fact, Feagh's name was not once mentioned in the articles. Tyrone, however, gave a constant and energetic support to his Leinster confederate, and the Irish Government soon had its hands full in that province. The Lord Deputy and Council wrote (p. 101), that Feagh M'Hugh was "of far greater ability than the Earl," and Sir Geffrey Fenton stated to Sir Robert Cecil (p. 219) that he wished "Feagh M'Hugh could be taken "in on honourable conditions, for he is more hurtful to "Leinster and the Pale than all the rebels in Ireland." Fenton added that the prosecution of Feagh during the preceding four months had had no other result than a lamentable wasting of towns and people, and the increasing of pride in his barbarous mind, since he had stood out so long against her Majesty's forces, led by the Lord Deputy in person. The chief septs who supported Feagh were, besides the Byrnes, the Moores, Butlers, Connors, Kavanaghs, and Tooles. It is characteristic of the times that (p. 101), although the Butlers had joined themselves to the Moores by oath, yet the latter would not enter with them into action, until the Butlers had committed some notable murder or other act, whereby the Moores might be assured of them. Captain Thomas Lee, who was employed by the Lord Deputy in making good a new

fort, called Fort Russell, in Feagh M'Hugh's country, "for the better curbing of him and his from their knaveries," considered (p. 125) that, if the service went forward, he would in a short time rid the country of "so vile a den of thieves as this Feagh has." Norreys and Fenton had done their utmost to recommend the receiving of Feagh M'Hugh to mercy, and the granting to him of his lands, but even they were compelled by the stress of circumstances to uphold the necessity of his prosecution. Fort Russell had been built with a view to the recovery of the Fort of Ballinacor, which Feagh, with the aid of the Butlers and others, had taken. By this success he had greatly increased his strength, and Sir William Russell lost no time in preparing to take the field against him. Norreys wrote (p. 228), "Nobody does Feagh M'Hugh "any hurt, yet he burns and spoils every night, although "for his cause there are employed upon those borders above "800 men." In November, 1596, Captain Montague writes about the sufferings of the people in Feagh's glynns, and says that their cows are thrown dead in heaps of 10 or 20. He also tells of a narrow escape from capture experienced by Feagh, his wife, and the rest of the women in their cabins. Captain Lee, in December, 1596, killed 30 or 40 rebels in Feagh's country, and probably some of these men are referred to in an entry found amongst some miscellaneous payments (p. 214). "Thomas Ball, for bringing the heads of 17 of Feagh "M'Hugh's men to Dublin, by warrant xv^mo Decembris, "1596, 15*l.*" The Earl of Tyrone who, in February, 1597 (p. 226), had bidden Feagh to keep the peace concluded between himself and Sir John Norreys, and also to make his submission, said the next month that, if the war continued (p. 249), he would make Feagh M'Hugh's glynns more hot for the Lord Deputy than they were for

Lord Grey. Sir William Russell, however, persevered in his operations, and, early in May, "it was his Lordship's hap," as the Lord Chancellor and Council of Ireland write to the Privy Council, "to meet with that ancient and cankered traitor, Feagh M'Hugh" (p. 287). By a skilful disposition of his forces, Sir William Russell surprised his adversary in the Fort of Ballinacor, and Feagh M'Hugh, in endeavouring to steal away, fell into the hands of some of Captain Lee's company, by whom he was slain. The Lord Deputy told the Privy Council that he wished to have taken Feagh alive, but that the fury of the soldier could not be stayed. The head and quarters were sent to Dublin, and there was much rejoicing over the downfall of so formidable a foe. Feagh's head was sent over to the English Court, and the Queen was very angry (p. 300) that "the head of such a base Robin Hood was brought so solemnly into England." Rose O'Toole, Feagh's wife, was taken prisoner to Dublin on June 18th, and ordered to be executed on July 3rd. But the sentence was not carried out, and, in August, we find Captain Lee writing to Sir Robert Cecil for her liberation, on the ground of the good service she could do for the State. The sons of Feagh M'Hugh continued to give trouble for some time, and operations in Leinster were carried on so actively, that Lord Burgh wrote in the following month (p. 315), "Leinster is troubled with a few beggarly "rogues, with the heads of some [of] which, daily "brought in, the air about Dublin is, and will be, if they "come in so thick, corrupted."

If the close of Sir William Russell's government of Ireland was marked by this notable success, it was also overshadowed by a disaster that occurred at Dublin. Some gunpowder was being unloaded at the quay, when six lasts of it exploded with terrific effect. Sir John

Norreys writes (p. 243), "The ruin of the town is "exceeding great; by estimation twenty houses next "adjoining thrown to the ground; not any one house "or church within the walls, but in the tilings, small "timbers and glass marvellously endamaged; many in "like sort in the suburbs. It is supposed that there "are slain of all ages and sexes nearly 200; few "English." Norreys adds that there was little appearance of this disaster having happened by any "practice," since the time was so short that the powder lay in the place, and the same was guarded. It was thought that some nail in the bark had struck fire. The mishap was to be pitied, "and accounted a just plague of God for "the sins of so impious and ungrateful a people." Sir Geffrey Fenton, also (p. 244), forbears to "write of God's "late admonition sent upon Dublin by powder, for such "a subject is sour, and has in it no savour of sweetness." Sir George Bourchier, the Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, was of opinion that the under-officers of the Tower of London were to blame for not sending the powder in double casks. The Lord Deputy sent to the Privy Council the examinations of several persons, porters and others, taken before Michael Chamberlain, the Mayor of Dublin. The following grim certificate, signed by the Mayor and Sheriffs, tells the result of the inquiry made: "We, the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City "of Dublin, upon inquiry and examination, do find that "there is of persons known, who fortuned to be in the "last misfortune happened within the City of Dublin, "lost to the number of six score, besides sundry headless "bodies, and heads without bodies, that were found and "not known; and thus much for this time we do "certify, this 18th of March 1596 [-7]." The Earl of Tyrone expressed his regret at the accident, "in

" respect of the hurt to the city, but not for the loss " of the powder." There is another certificate, signed by the Mayor alone, and without date, in which the number of killed is put down as, citizens, 76; and strangers, "as Scottishmen and others," 50. In the following May, the Mayor and Sheriffs write to Burghley about the extreme and intolerable losses they had sustained through the explosion, which they attributed to the negligence of the officers in charge. They state that the greatest part of the city is defaced, and that the inhabitants are utterly impoverished, and beg Burghley to further the suits they have exhibited to the Queen. Several letters from the Lord Deputy and other members of the Council, in support of these suits, are to be found in this volume.

Sir William Russell was very anxious to be relieved of his office. Over and over again he complained that his advice was not listened to, and that those who were of a contrary opinion found a readier ear in England. He earnestly begged for his own revocation, and that the coming of Lord Burgh might be hastened. It was widely known for some time in Ireland that Sir William Russell was to be recalled, and the Irish leaders and others refused to come to any agreement, until they knew who was to be his successor, and how they were likely to be treated. Sir William wrote that he must needs have cause of grief at "the unfortunate " accidents in his time of government, which it was " not in his power to remedy, as things had been carried." One of the most unfortunate of these "accidents" was the strong animosity that prevailed between the Lord Deputy and Sir John Norreys. Nothing hampered the administration so much as the rivalry of these two distinguished men. The Lord Deputy felt it. He said

he had small comfort in staying in Ireland, considering how untowardly things succeeded. He writes to Sir Robert Cecil that Sir John Norreys and he "are entered into taxation of each other," and that he doubts not that advantage will be taken of this, though it were in a country that yielded no other soreness. He foresaw this from the beginning, and endeavoured to satisfy Sir John Norreys, but at length stood on his guard, although he abhorred to dwell in contention. He considered that Norreys was running a course of pacification to the endangering of the kingdom, and that he himself was not credited, when he found fault with this. It would be better for the whole administration to be entrusted to one man, who should be thoroughly countenanced and backed, than to two men who differed in opinion. "In the last" (letter), continues the Lord Deputy (p. 139), "your Honour hath well concluded that "this land is cursed to them that touch it." In a holograph letter to Cecil (p. 160), a letter remarkable for its singular spelling, Sir William Russell, after speaking of his miseries, and with what grief of mind he serves in "this cursed country," states that he still continues a humble suitor to Her Majesty, "to be freed of this cursed government." Judging by many of the letters contained in this volume, there was scarcely one English official of any note in Ireland who did not share in the sentiments expressed by the Lord Deputy. Sickened by the climate, surrounded everywhere by intrigue and corruption, baulked by the dilatory tactics of the rebels, and left to want and suffering by their own Government, they all longed to be anywhere but in Ireland. "This cursed country," writes the Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, echoing his chief's words; "a watery, rheumatic climate," says Sir Geffrey Fenton;

"unnecessary and healthless exile," complains Sir John Norreys; "this turbulent and torn estate," adds the Lord Justice Sir Robert Gardener; "so miserable and poor a country," says Sir Henry Wallop; "this desolate kingdom," "this torn commonwealth," exclaims Sir Henry Bagenall; "a country desolate in all misery," is the opinion of Lord Burgh; while Captain Warham Sentleger considers Ireland a "poor and all lost country," and Sir Calisthenes Brooke regards it as "the miserablest that ever our nation served in." The discontented and angry chorus might easily be lengthened. Health and temper lost, the English rulers of Ireland were alike unblessing and unblest.

Sir William Russell confessed that he could not with safety use his superior authority, so he merely gave his own opinion, and let Sir John Norreys run his own course without contradiction, characterizing the latter's proceedings as "cross and contemptuous." Norreys, on the other side, looked for some notable disgrace, so "highly" was he "maliced." He said that, if the Lord Deputy would only charge him with anything he misliked, and then send over the complaint and Norreys's answer to England, he should think himself very favourably used; but that, if surmises secretly sent over should breed irremoveable impressions, he should wish he had been long since in his grave. During the negotiations in Connaught, in July, 1596, Sir John Norreys had accounted for the delays by saying that, firstly, the Commissioners could not conclude of themselves, but must depend on the will of the rebels; and secondly, that they could get no directions, either from England, or from the Lord Deputy and Council. It was no marvel, therefore, that, if the Commissioners were not helped with advice, they scrupled to conclude anything of themselves. Early in 1597, also, when sent with Sir

George Bourchier and Sir Geffrey Fenton to deal with the Earl of Tyrone, Norreys complained that they could get no instructions. He thought that, whether it were peace or war, it was intended to throw the blame on him. No man could possibly endure the causes of offence that the Lord Deputy offered him. The Lord Deputy and Council retorted by saying that Norreys and the Commissioners sent very few advertisements of their proceedings. Thus the charges and countercharges went on. Sir Geffrey Fenton summed up the position well in a letter to Burghley (p. 182). He feared it would be long before he wrote of any recovery of "this broken government," unless his Lordship considered how the two principal heads, "Menelaus and Scipio," might be compounded, and their emulations stayed. Every one was seeking merely self-justification. This was rather to blanch the evil, than to labour at the remedy. Russell was the superior magistrate, and Norreys a great commander at wars; both were high-stomached men. So long as they did not accord, the sores of the kingdom would not be cured, but rather further distempered. It was not easy, nor safe, for him to lay down in what points either Russell or Norreys erred most. The state of matters was such that a remedy was wanted, not an inquiry. The first step Her Majesty must take was to reconcile these two heads, or to revoke one of them. If both were still continued in Ireland, they must be severely charged to forbear all private matters of challenge. At length, it was decided that Sir William Russell should be recalled, and that Lord Burgh should succeed him as Lord Deputy. Norreys, too, as he had frequently desired and urged, was to be granted licence to go to England, and there answer any accusations preferred against him. Before Sir William Russell left, Sir John Norreys presented a petition to the Council concerning the information

against him, which he was told from England had been sent to Her Majesty, and desired to know of any such, that he might clear himself whilst still in the country. The Lord Deputy "made a slow answer" that he knew of no complaint against him, and the rest of the Council affirmed particularly that they knew neither of complaint nor of cause thereof; whereupon Norreys told Cecil that, if Sir William Russell renewed any of these charges in England, he was tied by no reason to answer them, seeing he had been cleared in Ireland, where were the only means of knowing the truth.

When Lord Burgh came, Sir John Norreys anticipated a recurrence of the annoyances to which he had been subjected by the late Lord Deputy, for it seems that Lord Burgh and himself had not been good friends in the Low Countries. This was one of the reasons why Norreys had desired his own immediate recall. But the anticipation was not realised, and the old antagonists worked together with remarkable cordiality, owing to admonitions that had been received from high quarters. Norreys was never destined to see England again. Although labouring under severe sickness, we yet see him struggling to accomplish the difficult tasks assigned to him. The disregard to his past services weighed heavily on his mind, as many of his letters show. He said he had lost more blood in Her Majesty's service than any he knew, of what quality soever. He had served in Ireland under three Deputies, before Lord Burgh came. He had proved himself a capable and valiant soldier on the Continent. Yet he laments that he is "trodden to the ground with bitter disgrace," and that the memory of his former desert is defaced; and all this upon a "mistaken information." Striving manfully to the last against disease and calumny, Sir John Norreys died in the early days of September,

1597, to the "great grief" of the Queen, and Elizabeth lost her greatest captain.

As a further example of the dissensions at the Council Board in Dublin, attention may be called to the case of Sir Geffrey Fenton. Although he had been for seventeen years Secretary to the State in Ireland, yet, when Sir Robert Gardener was sent over to report to the Privy Council on the state of the country, Fenton was excluded from the deliberations of the Irish Council, and did not know anything of Sir Robert's mission, until the latter was embarking. Fenton put down this marked slight to envy at his employment with Sir John Norreys in the treaties of Ulster and Connaught. Undoubtedly Sir William Russell did not favour him. Fenton bitterly complained of his disgrace to Burghley and to Sir Robert Cecil, and his subsequent employment in matters of the highest moment showed that no distrust of him had obtained in England.

Lord Burgh arrived in Ireland to find it in the utmost disorder and peril, a state of matters greatly accelerated by the inordinate delay in sending him over. His first care was to put some organization into the forces, scattered haphazard over the kingdom in weakness and want. The corruption that had become so rampant in the army will be noticed in a later part of this preface. Suffice it here to say that, to a large extent, the Lord Deputy succeeded in his endeavours, and was thus enabled to make some headway against the rebels. Of his first relief of Armagh, and of his passage of the Blackwater, an account has already been given. His plan of campaign conjointly with Sir Conyers Clifford had failed, through the latter having been driven by O'Donnell from Ballyshannon. Although Lord Burgh, after his victory at the Blackwater, had tried to bring the Earl of Tyrone to

terms, his efforts were all in vain. His plan of campaign, also, had to be changed. He ascertained that it was the design of the rebels to let the Queen's forces pass on towards Lough Foyle, and then to attack Monaghan, the Brenny, and the borders of the Pale. Taking the advice of the Council and of his most experienced officers, Lord Burgh determined to wait, and to fortify the parts where he was, and the other parts between him and the Pale. He built a strong fort at the Blackwater, and planned another, to be erected on the site of Tyrone's old fortification, which he had captured so gallantly. Whilst thus engaged, he had frequent skirmishes with Tyrone's forces, and inflicted considerable losses upon them, but not to the extent he desired. "For," writes the Lord Deputy (p. 364), "as he is the dishonestest rebel of the world, so "is he the most cowardly, never making good any fight, "but bogring with his shot, and flying from bush to "bush." The rebel Earl and his men, thought Lord Burgh, it were "fitter to hunt with dogs than to find "with men." After the works at the Blackwater were finished, the Lord Deputy intended to reduce the counties of Monaghan and Cavan, by fortifying and aweing all those parts with garrisons. Thence he purposed to proceed to the Brenny, to settle that district. He was convinced that the people would not fall away from the Earl, unless they had "the favours of the forts," to protect them and their cattle. Lack of provisions soon compelled Lord Burgh to go southwards towards Newry. He did his best, but in vain, to draw the enemy out of the woods in which they were accustomed to take up their position, after securing their cattle in their fastnesses. The Irish Council, at his Lordship's very earnest request, managed to raise 300 beeves, to send to the weakened and almost mutinous companies. Failing to obtain from the Earl of

Tyrone the pledges asked for, and irritated by his boasting, Lord Burgh laid waste the country called "O'Neill land," and then went on to Cavan. He was longing to bring the rebel Earl to bay, but could never induce him to fight a pitched battle. Lord Burgh enlarges on his adversary's cowardice, and says (p. 395), "as he is a running beast, I "hope God will enable me to chase him out of breath." Fenton attributes the failure of this journey against Tyrone to the "double intelligence of a false brother, "which is over familiar in this country." The Lord Deputy even entertained the overtures made by a certain party to assassinate the Earl, and promised 1,000*l.* in the event of success. Sir Geffrey Fenton was so struck with the devotion of Lord Burgh to the duties of his office, that he wrote (p. 389), "truly he doth so toil in the "service, as he hath little time to consider of his own "estate, and may say with the prophet, that the zeal of "Her Majesty's service hath eaten him up." Lord Burgh declared he would never be idle till he recovered the "blessed sight" of Her Majesty. He was bent on relieving the fort he had erected at the Blackwater, which, says his Lordship (p. 401), "is tender to me, as my "first begotten child." The Earl of Ormonde was again appointed to guard the borders, whilst the Lord Deputy went north on his expedition. Three days before Lord Burgh was to begin his march to the fort, a determined attack was made on it by some picked troops of the Earl of Tyrone, but they were ignominiously repulsed. Lord Burgh did not live to achieve his cherished purpose. He was seized with sickness at Newry, and in a few days died at that place. Sir Henry Bagenall and others give fitting testimony to his worth and ability. The last will of Lord Burgh will be found on page 417. Shortly after his death, one of his secretaries, Philip Williams, sent to

Sir Robert Cecil a copy of a letter written by Lord Burgh to the Council of Ireland, in which he refers to the Earl of Tyrone as "the great divill," who "would throw out his "firebrands to what mischief he might," and dwelling upon the necessity for an unsparing prosecution of the traitor. The Lord Deputy, at the close of his letter, declares, "I would, by oblation of my dearest blood, I "could purchase quietness to this Her Majesty's inheri- "tance and dominion."

It was of the utmost importance that no time should be lost in the appointment of another Lord Deputy for Ireland, the "miserable country, travailed with all lamentable "calamities." Until, however, Lord Burgh's successor could come from England, the Council elected Sir Thomas Norreys as Lord Justice of the realm, expressing a hope that this choice might not interfere with the appointment just made of Sir Thomas as President of Munster. With great reluctance Norreys accepted the higher post. At the same time a commission came from the Queen appointing the Earl of Ormonde, Lieutenant-General of all her forces in Ireland. The Council at Dublin begged the new Commander to make a truce with the rebels in Leinster, and to hasten to the capital, so as to confer on the critical state of public affairs. In the north, Captain Thomas Williams was holding the fort at the Blackwater with conspicuous gallantry. A holograph letter will be found on pages 434–436, in which this brave soldier tells of the straits in which the garrison were placed, and of a parley which he had had with the Earl of Tyrone, at the latter's request. Captain Williams characterizes the Earl as "one "of the cunningest traitors that ever Prince had," and adds that, if Tyrone be dallied with, he will grow more dangerous, for many draw to him for fear. In a report

drawn up for the information of the Earl of Ormonde (pp. 476, 477), Captain Edmund Lister gives a vivid account of the state of the Blackwater Fort and its valiant defenders, entirely corroborating the statements of Captain Williams.

Lieutenant Hart and others give graphic details (pp. 441–446) of the disaster near Carrickfergus, when the forces of Sir John Chichester, the Governor of that town, were routed by the Scots under Sir James M'Donnell. The latter had committed some stealths on the Island of Magee and some adjacent places, and had agreed to come to a parley on the subject with Sir John Chichester. To this end, Sir James brought his forces to a position about six miles from the town, and the Governor with most of the garrison went out to meet him. About four miles from the town, Sir John Chichester halted his men, and called some of his officers to a council of war. The general opinion was that no attack should be made, as the men had not recovered from the fatigue of a hard journey made but two nights before, and their powder was wet. Lieutenant Hill offered, if the Governor would draw upon the enemy that night, to bring him where they were encamped. A messenger was then sent to Sir James M'Donnell, to complain of the threatening array of the Scots, and to ask their leader to come to a parley. Before the messenger returned, Captain Merriman came up with the main body, and, on being asked by Sir John Chichester whether they should charge the enemy, answered that it was a shame they should suffer a sort of beggars to brave them in that way. Others re-echoed the sentiment, and the hot-headed Governor gave orders for the attack. At first, the enemy were driven from hill to hill, but a panic soon ensued among the troops of Sir John Chichester, owing to the gross cowardice of his horsemen and to the fact of his foot running short

of powder. Sir John Chichester endeavoured with the other officers to rally the men, but all in vain. He himself, Captain Rice Mansell, and others, were slain, the general loss being put down at 180 killed, and 30 or 40 wounded. Another account puts the number of killed at 280. Captain Charles Mansell, on perceiving the rout, issued out of Carrickfergus with the remainder of the garrison and a fresh supply of munition, but was too late. Indeed, he was nearly surrounded by the Scots, whose horse did good service, but cleverly effected his retreat into the town. Captain Eggerton was appointed Governor, and the companies from Dundrum were ordered up by the Council to reinforce the garrison. The Scots sent the heads of Sir John Chichester and Captain Rice Mansell to the Earl of Tyrone, and begged him to let them have some more forces to take Carrickfergus.

The endeavours of Sir Conyers Clifford, after the death of Lord Burgh, were directed towards breaking up the traitors in Connaught amongst themselves. His chief desire was to gain over O'Rourke, for, says Sir Conyers, "he hath carried him selfe to gaine love emongste thos willins." O'Rourke was inclined to submission, having suffered, like the other chieftains and the people of the province, from the tyranny of O'Donnell. O'Rourke laid claim, however, to his lands, described by Sir Conyers Clifford as the poorest in all Ireland, and the Governor wrote to urge the Queen to compliance. He felt that, when O'Rourke was won over, O'Donnell could readily be overthrown, and that then the fall of the Earl of Tyrone could be effected.

The Earl of Ormonde having repaired to Dublin, as requested by the Council, negotiations were once more opened up with the Earl of Tyrone, who had written, tendering his desires for pardon and peace. Elizabeth's

instructions to Ormonde (pp. 490, 491) breathe all the Tudor haughtiness and resolution. Sir Geffrey Fenton was able to supply the Lieutenant-General with valuable information as to former proceedings with the rebellious Earl, and prayed that "these long enduring storms of Ireland" (p. 459) might be somewhat appeased. The Bishop of Meath and Fenton were appointed to assist the Earl of Ormonde in the negotiations, and two meetings with Tyrone took place near Dundalk; the one a short conference, of which Ormonde sends an account to the Privy Council (pp. 467–469), and the other a parley for four days, of which the Bishop of Meath gives a detailed and graphic description to Burghley (pp. 483–490). Tyrone drew up a book of grievances, which he pressed Ormonde to send to the Queen, saying that these grievances had in former times been suppressed by Burghley and others, so that Elizabeth should not become acquainted with them. He even stated that Burghley had sent a letter to the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliams, urging him to cut off Tyrone by any means. The result of the negotiations was, that a truce was agreed upon for two months, the Earl of Tyrone made his submission, and agreed in the main to certain articles prescribed to him by the Commissioners. His imperious behaviour, however, at the parley, and his never-failing craft, gave little promise of any prolonged peace.

Queen Elizabeth's condemnation of the misgovernment of Ireland has already been cited on a former page. She was particularly angry at the large expenditure on the army; and Sir Henry Wallop, the Treasurer, incurred her sharp reprehension. The total of Her Majesty's debt in Ireland at the close of June, 1596, was "26,768*l.* 16*s.* 8¼*d.*" (p. 67). In September, 1596, her monthly charge was "little less than 10,000*l.*" (p. 117); in October, 1596, it

was "over 8,000*l*.," "besides extraordinaries," and the debt had arisen to "about 40,000*l*." (p. 147). At the close of October the Lord Deputy and Council report (p. 154) that they cannot redress Her Majesty's charge of "130,000*l*. per annum," till the realm be freed of "these great occasions of expenses and troubles," referring to the scarcity of supplies and the general dearth in Ireland. The debt at the close of December, 1596, had risen to "about 60,000*l*." (p. 187). In April, 1597, the monthly charge had grown to "near 12,000*l*." (p. 302). On June 22, the Privy Council write to the Lord Deputy Burgh (p. 319) that they cannot comprehend how Her Majesty's charge is "12,000*l*. a month, and more, besides charges of victuallers, clerk of works, pensioners, and others not recorded by the mustermaster." They mention that Her Majesty is so distasted therewith, and looks for so exact and speedy a reformation thereof, that, if the charge continues long, her expectation will be mightily deceived, and assistance to him delayed. The annoyance of the Queen may be readily perceived from a remark that occurs in a private letter from Sir Robert Cecil to Lord Burgh, written on this same June 22:—"At this time did she that, which I think in Her Majesty's life she never did, for she had it [the account], and looked herself upon the particulars, and then do you guess what would follow."

But, besides the Queen, there were no critics of the government of Ireland more unsparing than her own servants in that country. The personal rivalry that accounts for much, will not account for all the severity of the following strictures. One able witness stated, in July 1597 (p. 347), that Her Majesty would find herself greatly wronged when she considered how her treasure, sent over to Ireland during the three preceding years, had been

spent, together with the revenue and composition money. He said the country was able to prove that the extortions and exactions upon it came to more than Her Majesty's charge of soldiers. He then put the following pertinent question: "the country hath borne the charge of the wars; what needeth then the treasure?" Sir John Norreys, while negotiating in Connaught in July 1596, writes to Sir Robert Cecil, with a soldierly frankness and sincerity: "the fault is in yourselves that this country is "not reduced into better terms, for, whilst the State is "governed in this sort, your Honour may be assured there "will be neither good war nor good peace; for, whilst we "break our hearts to bring these rude rebels to con- "formity, another humour doth strive to spur them to a "jealousy that we go about to betray them, so that, till it "be provided that the stream may run one way, there "can no good be looked for." Norreys contended that the assurance of the Lord Deputy, and of such as concurred in opinion with him, that there would be no pacification, but that all the offers of submission were only delays in view of the Spaniards' coming, had given the rebels rather occasion of jealousy than encouragement to obedience. But Norreys was not happy in his references to the compositions made by Kings of France with their rebellious subjects (p. 51). In some very interesting and able notes written by him on the state of affairs in Ireland, after criticising the largeness of the force asked for by Sir William Russell, he says (p. 59), "if there were twice so much force sent over as is "demanded, except there be a reformation in the govern- "ment, all will come to smoke, and the country nothing "the better." Sir Henry Bagenall speaks of the "masses of treasure" (p. 430) sent from England, but bitterly complains of the delay and unfair method adopted in the

issue thereof. Norreys also considered that the money sent to Ireland was most unjustly distributed. Once, he writes to Sir Robert Cecil (p. 123), "Her Majesty's "treasure is arrived ten days past, but yet we hear "nothing of it but a forerunning prophecy that we shall "be little the better for it. I protest before God that I "am ashamed to see how Her Majesty is used in it, and "the more because it depends upon my Lord your father's "charge; but, having written often thereof without "being hearkened unto, I will meddle no more in it." While he strove by all possible means to accomplish Her Majesty's pleasure, the State taxed him with wooing and flattering the rebels, if he sought to entertain the Earl of Tyrone with messages and hopes. Norreys complains that, whilst the Lord Deputy and Sir Conyers Clifford might with better success employ Her Majesty's forces, "underhand thieves are set a work to disturb that course, "and rumours and deniers spread to breed jealousies, and, "if any revenge be taken thereupon, though never so "little, then it is thundered out, what a shame it is" for him to talk of a pacification when the country is "a spoiling." He offered to prove that, for one cow taken from a subject during the cessation, there had been five taken from the rebels.

Sir Geffrey Fenton, who was generally in accord with Sir John Norreys, spoke of "this disjointed government" (p. 61), and was of opinion (p. 150) that so long as a treaty of pacification was in hand by some, and wars were prosecuted by others, the state of the government would be more and more disordered, and the foreign enemy might the better follow his opportunity. Fenton thought (p. 210) that God had not hitherto blessed the government in the hands of Menelaus [Sir William Russell], Her Majesty having in his time reaped but dishonour and disprofit. "She has

" lost," he adds, "holds and fortresses, her armies are " tainted in the field, her subjects' hearts altered from " love and duty, many Irish countries relapsed to their " wonted tyrannical customs of tanistry, God's kingdom " grown into exceeding contempt, and not so much as a " face of a church seen; and, lastly, a settled hope con- " ceived of Spaniards to be sent to invade this realm." Fenton strongly advised that Sir John Norreys might for a time be allowed to succeed Sir William Russell in the government of Ireland, so as to pave the way for the more perfect settlement of affairs by another Lord Deputy. If the Irish trusted any of the English rulers, they trusted Norreys, and Fenton truly says (pp. 222, 223), "a ship " that hath been so long tossed with storms and tempests " cannot so easily be fashioned to a good course when a " raw man upon a sudden is put to guide the helm. But " I see Ireland must run the destiny assigned unto it, " and advices of mean men are too weak to contend or " alter a resolution already grounded." He tells Sir Robert Cecil (p. 238) that he "mourns in his heart at " seeing the sores of Ireland continue and increase by the " contrariety of opinions in those that should temper and " apply the remedies."

Sir Roger Wilbraham, the Solicitor-General, speaks of "the decayed and tottering estate of the revenue" (p. 371). Sir Ralph Lane says emphatically (p. 151) that Ireland is "universally in one measure or other flaming with the " fire of rebellion in every quarter of it," and talks (p. 340) of "the loose carriage of the supreme government" there. Sir William Russell and the Council inform the Privy Council no less explicitly (p. 144) that they find the infection of treason and disloyalty to be so distilled in the land that, of the four provinces of the kingdom, they know not one to be clear, and three of them to be universally

corrupted with rebellion. Maurice Kyffin writes (pp. 232, 233), "never was there poor kingdom, bearing any show "or shadow of government, so miserably afflicted and "distressed as this is;" and also, "the captains (for their "parts) exclaim: our soldiers die wretchedly in the open "streets and highways; the native subjects spoiled and "brought to extreme beggary; no service in war per-"formed; no military discipline or civil justice exercised; "briefly, the whole kingdom ruined and foraged." Lord Burgh, in May 1597, even before he had set foot in Ireland, had learned sufficient to make him write to Sir Robert Cecil (p. 283) that he must encounter "a diseased "and distempered estate;" and, writing from Beaumaris three days later, he tells Cecil (p. 288), "before the rebels "can be suppressed, or the country reduced to obedience, "those who are ministers, every one in their several "callings of her Majesty's service, must be united in a "form of order and discipline." Such are a few of the testimonies given by the Queen's own servants as to the state of affairs in Ireland. The papers here calendared will furnish many more instances. On the English side we see the personal quarrels of Sir William Russell and Sir John Norreys, Sir Geffrey Fenton and Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Ralph Lane and Maurice Kyffin, Sir Henry Harrington and Captain Thomas Lee, Captain Charles Eggerton and Captain Rice Mansell, and many others. One little incident will show the prevalent feeling of distrust. Maguire, when he captured the castle of Enniskillen, took three cannon that belonged to the city of Dublin. Sir William Russell and the Council applied to the Privy Council for three pieces to replace those that had been lost, adding (pp. 211, 212) that they were willing to have given the Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin the value of the said pieces in money, but doubted much that they

would convert the same to some other use; so they preferred to have the cannon replaced from England. On the Irish side we see the Earl of Tyrone "expounding "himself absolute" (p. 144) over the other chiefs, and supporting them in treaty and in war; yet, when it suited him, now telling Feagh McHugh to make his submission to the Queen, or he will no further maintain him; now writing "a reprehensive letter" to O'Donnell, or saying he will deal with him for the giving up of his pledges to the Government. Then we have O'Donnell himself establishing McWilliam in Connaught, and then offering to serve against him; or, alternately coaxing and threatening O'Connor Sligo, imprisoning and then releasing McDermott and O'Connor Don, or keeping a high hand over the chiefs and people of Connaught generally. Now we see Philip, Edmund, and other O'Reillys disputing about the O'Reillyship. Then we have Tibbott Ne Longe offering to do important service against McWilliam, or, at another time, Tirlogh McHenry, half-brother of the Earl of Tyrone, leaving that powerful chief and fighting with the State against him. These personal quarrels are numerous and bitter enough, but we have to add to them the constant tribal jealousies and feuds, from which the English were not slow to reap all the advantage they could, just as the Irish did in the case of rivalries on the English side.

A harrowing account is given in these papers of the condition of Ireland, devastated alike by famine and rebellion. We know from the testimony of the Lord Deputy and Council (p. 60) that those who had been longest in Ireland had never seen so great a scarcity in all parts of the kingdom. They declared (p. 145) that there was "no store to feed the natural-born multitude of the "country, much less to sustain others." Sir William Russell says (p. 248) that, owing to the excessive prices,

he knows not how to provide for his household, unless he is supplied with money beforehand, as heretofore. Lord Burgh, his successor, makes a like complaint (p. 315). Sir Geffrey Fenton, writing of the poverty of the English Pale, says (p. 262), that it goes daily more and more to waste, in such sort that, if another war be put on foot, the Pale will in most parts be abandoned. The extreme scarcity of food had brought famine already, as well in the corporate towns as in the country, and ere long it could not but "sort to a further rage," even to the dying of people in the streets and highways. "This," he emphatically adds, "is a true report, whosoever writeth "anything to the contrary." Fenton's prophecy was soon fulfilled, for, three weeks later, Sir William Russell and the Council, after stating that a barrel of wheat (equal to four English bushels) was ordinarily sold for seventy-two shillings, "a price far exceeding that of all "former times," inform the Privy Council (p. 277) that "the scarcity is such that, ere it be long, there will be no "corn to answer the market. Of the farmers in the "English Pale, some have already quitted their dwellings, "and some are ready to do the like, not having where-"withal to sustain their families; insomuch that the face "of famine appears in every place, and the effects thereof "are pitiful, by the dying of people both in the country "and towns. So much corn has been taken from Munster "all the year, by all parts of the realm, that there "is no more help to be looked for there." Lord Burgh, when at Westchester, on his way to Ireland, heard from Sir Henry Wallop that wheat was at 10*l.* the quarter, and that malt and oats were not at all to be found for money. After he had been only ten days in Ireland, he wrote to Burghley (p. 299), "the waste of the country is such as "(*sic*) many of the villages be dispeopled, and the

" ground is left untilled; whereby it is apparent, no " harvest is here to be expected." About a fortnight later (p. 309) he tells Burghley, "we hear of great " quantity of rye come into England. The very report " of it makes our hungry jaws gape. The letters that " come daily from the towns, even the richest of them, " are lamentable, all groaning under hunger. The rebel " long since hath made his store, and from the subject " hath robbed all."

So much for the general scarcity: the testimony as to the dangerous condition of Ireland because of the wide-spread rebellion is equally explicit. Some of it has already been referred to, but a few more examples may serve to show how keenly the peril was felt. The Lord Deputy and Council pointed out (p. 27) that, even if the Spaniards did not come, as was expected, but only supplied the rebels with munition, arms, and a few commanders to advise and direct them, the rebel force was already grown so great, their combination so general, and their means to increase the same so certain, that the realm would be much hazarded by them alone. The Council considered (p. 34) that in Ulster was planted and laid the first foundation of all these dangerous alterations in Ireland, and that thence, as from the main head and fountain, had issued from time to time matter of infection to all the other parts within the realm, and means to call in the foreign enemy to the further hazarding thereof. In the same letter they stated that (p. 36) the home rebels were increased in strength and faction above expectation. Sir Richard Bingham regarded with concern the combination of the Irishry, and its daily augmentation of power. Sir William Russell asserted (p. 44) that the greatest part of the Irish had taken their oath to join the King of Spain on the landing of his troops; and protested before

God (p. 135), that, unless forces were sent with all expedition, all the English Pale would be ready to revolt, he himself not knowing whom he might trust. The Archbishop of Cashel compared Ireland to "a broken hedge," and said that there was no small cantred, without private woodkern preparing themselves against the next winter. He adds (pp. 82, 83), "in the meantime there is "no night without robberies, stealths, or murders, and, in "the day, everywhere, meetings like open wars; the "rebels cannot show worse tokens against Her Majesty "than are daily seen." Sir Geffrey Fenton, in December 1596, informs Sir Robert Cecil that, when the late incursions were made into the Pale, "there was not a soldier in place to make resistance." A reference to the index will lead to a great quantity of similar evidence as to the danger in which the country stood.

Before speaking of the state of the army in Ireland at this time, it is important to notice the way in which its people were regarded by those sent to bear rule over them. With the exception of a few kindly remarks from Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton, who strove long and earnestly for pacification, there is one consistent chorus of condemnation from beginning to end. Sir Henry Wallop, planting his timber-works at Enniscorthy, talks of "so "wild and barbarous a people." Captain Rice ap Hugh, having suffered some spoiling at the hands of the rebels, says, "it is lawfully accepted that the Irish will never "keep their promise about being at peace, whatever oaths "they may take." He thinks "they will never be quiet till "they be well and soundly beaten," and adds, "I would "to God all those, that will not inform Her Majesty of "the truth of the villainies of these Irish neighbours, "were as near them as I am." Sir Richard Bingham gives it as his opinion that "this people are become so

exceedingly proud, " as hardly or never to be reclaimed " but by the sword;" and, stung by the serious charges made by the people of Connaught against him, he tells Burghley that the Irish " care not to swear and " forswear anything that may benefit them for the present " time, especially when they are countenanced and cited " thereunto." A frequent accusation by the Earl of Tyrone in these papers is, that no promise is kept with him by the Government, and Norreys himself got sick of making promises to the rebels, as he bitterly complained that they were overruled and broken. In the letter just quoted, Bingham waxes fiercer than ever, and says, " When " they [the Irish] shall have their desire (as, God pleased, " they shall never have), it may be well said, that the wolf " may play, when the wolf greyhound is away; for " indeed the Irishman, in his kind, is no better than a " ravening wolf, but when he is kept within his bounds, " and the sheep defended from his paws." The Spanish messengers who landed in Ireland in July 1596, said that the Kings of Spain were ever favourers of the Irish, " who " had their original beginning from Spain " (p. 50); and Sir Geffrey Fenton was apprehensive that the Spaniards, " who had left some dregs of corruption in the people, " might take advantage of their tottering and discontent- " ment, and labour to seduce them to new alterations." He also refers to a supposed letter from the King of Spain to the Earl of Tyrone, as " a poor device drawn from a " silly ground, yet such weak forgeries have more force to " work with the Irish than any matters of truth." This scarcely accords with his opinion expressed in another letter, where, stating that the Spaniards are endeavouring to cross the Irish in any desire for submission to Her Majesty, he remarks that this will not long hold credit with the Irish, " who in their generation are as wily and

" subtle as the Spaniard is fine and deceitful." Sir William Russell, speaking of Ulster and Connaught demanding their " Macs and Oes," and so, in consequence, their Irish customs, " to the abolishing of Her Majesty's " laws," considers other parts will demand the like, " to " the banishing of the English from amongst them, and " to the gaining of the kingdom to themselves, which " assuredly is the only mark they aim at, what other " matter soever they pretend; as so faithless and trea- " cherous a nation will do many things as though wronged " and oppressed, when in very deed it will appear to be " nothing so." Sir John Norreys and his fellow Commissioners assert that " the Irishry of this realm are now " so altered, as (*sic*) they are not to be cautioned with any " pledges, how good soever they be." Finally, Lord Burgh writes to the Privy Council (p. 306), " Your Lordships " may please to be informed, grace with these barbarous " outlaws gains nothing: where they be compelled, there " they move: it is the appetite of most to live as they " list: much more of such who, ignorant of religion and " civility, have no other guide than nature." The only qualities that appear to have been admired in the Irish were their valour and endurance in conflict. Large numbers of them were employed in the army, and we have frequent representations, from the highest and most capable officers, of the danger of this course. Norreys said that there were not one hundred English horsemen in all the companies in Ireland, excepting his own and his brother's. It was not, however, at the Irish horsemen that he was alarmed, for he asserted that there must be a general reformation of the numbers of Irish in all the companies, especially amongst the horsemen, who were " good for nothing but to drive cows." The grounds for apprehension at the presence of so many Irishmen in the

English ranks were, that, although faithful on sundry occasions, they did "daily and generally revolt and run to "the rebels with armour and furniture" (p. 179), and that thus the wants and weakness of the bands were made thoroughly known to the enemy. Maurice Kyffin also tells us how these Irish soldiers wasted the country, and "deceived, disordered, and confounded all." Sir Edward Stanley informed Sir Robert Cecil that, of 7,000 men in Her Majesty's pay in Ireland, 4,000 were Irish, and pointed out how dangerous it was to train them in the use of arms, when they were so ready to desert, and turn the points of their swords into English bosoms. Even the Earl of Ormonde says that he is out of hope to draw his own nephews, Piers and James Butler, to conformity, "till "they be hanged" (p. 111). If the Irish among the English forces were a source of annoyance and loss, those of the rebel forces were much more formidable. These, on the authority of Sir Ralph Lane, the Mustermaster, were, "most ready, well disciplined, and as good marks-"men as France, Flanders, or Spain can show." All this he attributed to the Earl of Tyrone, who, as he had done for three years past, "infinitely belaboured" his men with training in all parts of Ulster.

Matters were far otherwise among the Queen's forces in Ireland. A more deplorable picture than that which these papers present of the army there could not well be imagined. Within the limits of this preface, only a brief summary can be given of the evidence on this subject. If the soldier was sinning, he was far more sinned against. Sent over from England very often in indifferent health, he was left for long periods without food, clothing, pay, or munition. We have ample testimony in these papers as to the utter lack of discipline. The Privy Council (p. 189) direct that means be taken for the restoration of good

order. Cowardice, too, was often exhibited, and Sir Ralph Lane declares (p. 151), "however valiantly the common "English soldier carries himself abroad against a foreign "enemy, they of the former supplies coming into Ireland "have shown themselves stark cowards against the Irish, "whom they were wont by great odds to beat." Sir John Norreys says (p. 21) that the men last sent over were such, that there were not 300 of them all that either were, or ever would be, fit to carry arms. Further (and the words are italicised by Burghley), that of "the 3,500 men sent "over within this year, there are not 1,000 that do now bear "arms, but are either dead, run away, or converted into "Irish." Norreys declares there must be another choice made both of men and of captains. Concerning the latter, he remarks that "men of worship," bred up in ease and plenty, can never endure the penury and travail of Ireland. From the diocese of Gloucester came "ten horses and their riders." These men had not only defects in their armour and weapons, but lacked shirts, doublets, hose, and shoes. The conductor of these men said he had paid them all the allowance delivered to him for their use, but that the men had sold their clothing. The footband of Captain Sir Thomas North is described (p. 195) as "most miserable, unfurnished, naked, and hunger-starven," and we are told that the feet and legs of some of the men "rotted off for want of shoes." Names of dead men were kept on the muster-rolls, and their pay duly demanded in England. No one did such good service as Maurice Kyffin in exposing the gross corruptions that existed in the army, especially in the musters. The index will guide to numerous passages throwing light on these. It was quite a common custom, when a band was to be mustered, for horses and men to be borrowed and hired to fill up vacancies in the ranks. A similar course was followed in

the matter of armour and weapons. Chester, where so many musters took place of troops ordered to Ireland, became (as a memorandum puts him) a *spelunca latronum* (p. 172); and these corrupt practices, "concurring with "the usual frauds and falsehoods practised likewise in "Ireland, had brought that country to the doubtful and "dangerous terms" it then stood in. Kyffin took strong measures to put an end to the malpractices mentioned, and did not hesitate to blame those high in office. He spoke of "palpable blindness and bribery" as subverting all truth in the service of the musters. Many "bitter threats of death and destruction" were in consequence directed against him, mainly by the captains. "Many of the captains," says Kyffin, "are about to sell their com-"panies, and some have passed their bargains already." He described the great opposition to all reformation, and informed Burghley (p. 265), "Her Majesty is extremely "deceived, the soldiers defrauded and hunger-starven, the "land wasted and destroyed. In Ireland there is nothing "more dangerous and detestable than to be an honest "man." Kyffin's courage and persistency were more than a match for his enemies, and the improvements he effected in the state of the army were esteemed by the Council to be worth several thousand pounds. The Queen, moreover, sent over certain ordinances that had been drawn up to do away with the corruptions existing in the condition of the forces. These ordinances directed, among other things, the appointment of Commissaries in the four provinces, and weekly payments to the soldiers.

The victualling, clothing, and pay of the army in Ireland were in the most unsatisfactory state. The papers calendared in this volume contain endless applications on the part of the Lord Deputy and Council,

and of various commanders, for supplies, and these were liberally responded to by the Privy Council in England. Yet the forces appear to have been destitute in all three ways. With respect to the victualling, it is true that there was a very serious dearth in Ireland, and scarcity likewise in England. Again, the victuals sent to Ireland were not always serviceable, as in the case of the rotten cheese, brought to Dublin in the *Flying Hart*, which, being unfit for the army, was sold to the poorer inhabitants of Dublin for 2½*d.* a pound. Then there were the mouldy cheese and butter, loaded in the *Mary Katherine*, on which James Quarles reported so precisely; and the 1,700 quarters of wheat, which arrived at Dublin, but the most of which was so bad that the bakers would not undertake to make biscuit of it (p. 367). But stores of sound victuals were from time to time sent over. In November 1597, the Privy Council write (p. 434), that during the last year they had sent victuals to the value of over 20,000*l.*, but that they had received no certificate as to the distribution of the same. Still the soldiers died from hunger and thirst, as well as from sickness. Sir Ralph Lane, the Muster-master, says (p. 113), "The decay of the bands by sickness "falls out ordinarily in July, August, and September, but "only in such bands as march in the army and lie in "camp, and that through the intemperature of the "weather, nakedness, and ill-feeding." Numerous passages tell of the mortality among the soldiers. Perhaps some solution of the mystery may be found in the discovery by Maurice Kyffin (p. 255) of "one of the most "foul and shameful abuses that ever was heard of in any "state, namely, the sale and purloining of the soldiers' "victuals by the clerks and inferior officers of bands,

" whereby the poor soldiers are most lamentably hunger-
" starven." As regards the clothing, Sir Henry Wallop entered a strong plea that the men should have garments of Irish make, as these were cheaper and more durable than those sent from England. By the ordinances, the soldier was to pay 4*s.* for a shirt, 2*s.* 8*d.* for a pair of stockings, and 2*s.* 4*d.* for a pair of shoes. Wallop maintained that he could be better fitted with Irish linen cloth, which would outlast two English shirts at 2*s.* 8*d.* a shirt. Further, that a pair of Irish frieze stockings, more warm and necessary for such as march in wet than kersey, could be had for 16*d.* or 18*d.* a pair; and that, instead of one pair of shoes at 2*s.* 4*d.*, the soldiers could have two pairs of good brogues at 20*d.* Lord Burgh was of opinion that money should be reserved in England for the clothing of the troops, on the ground that, if clothing was bought for them in Ireland, " Her Majesty's good coin " got into the hands of the rebels, and with it they bought powder and munition from Denmark and Scotland. The representations of Sir Henry Wallop were not received with any favour by Burghley, who (p. 413) supported " good English cloth " against Irish frieze, and " good shoes of neat's leather out of " England " against " Irish brogues of calf skins or " sheep skins." At last the Privy Council sent over clothing for the soldiers to the value of 17,150*l.* But there was a curious oversight even then, for the Earl of Ormonde, Lord General of the Forces, writes a little later to Burghley (p. 461), " Part of the apparel has " come, but in such sort that the same will do but little " pleasure, for there are no breeches come with it, and " the soldiers for lack thereof do daily perish." Thus the army was clothed.

With respect to the pay of the army, it was not only scant, but almost invariably in arrear, and this sometimes for years. Officers, from the Lord Deputy downwards, had continually to encroach on their own patrimony, where any such was possessed. Fenton said (p. 264), that he had no money, being already spent "to the bones." Lord Burgh, in his will, stated that he had spent all his patrimony in Her Majesty's service. Sir John Norreys, Sir Conyers Clifford, and the Earl of Ormonde drew largely from their private incomes. Captain Charles Eggerton writes from Carrickfergus (p. 30), craving relief for himself and the garrisons under his charge, as he had received no imprest for five years past. Sir John Norreys (p. 59) declares that want of pay "has been the "ruin both of the soldier and the country." Pensioners could not get paid, so they sold their pensions; and, to aggravate the case, the buyers were paid in full, and many pensions continued to be paid, when those to whom they were due were dead (p. 347). The captains, on Sir Ralph Lane's showing, usually pawned, or sold outright, the warrants of full pay for themselves and their men. Many papers tell of the gross misconduct of the captains, both personally and in relation to their men. The soldier, unfed, unclothed, and unpaid, did his best to maintain his own existence, and spoliation was the order of the day with English and Irish alike. So extreme were the extortion and pillage, that the Lord Deputy and Council issued a decree to stop the oppression of the inhabitants. The only wonder is that an army, suffering from such terrible abuses as have been mentioned could have existed at all in a rebellious country, much less have achieved any success against the enemy.

Attention may be called to the remarkable and elaborate account of the state of religion in Ireland, given by William

Lyon, Bishop of Cork and Ross (pp. 13–20). He speaks of the general alienation of the people, and attributes it mainly to "the Pope's legates, friars, priests, and seminaries," of whom Ireland was full. The people called the Divine Service appointed by Her Majesty, "the Devil's Service," and the clergy they styled "devils." The Bishop had caused churches to be rebuilt, and had provided books for every church in his diocese, as Bibles, New Testaments, Communion Books, both English and Latin, and the Injunctions; but none, not even the "country churls," would come to church at all. He had searched what books were taught in the schools, and had found that Her Majesty's style and title had been torn out of all the grammars. He dwells on the wealth, pride, and stubbornness of the corporate towns, and recommends that their charters should be inspected, to see if their conditions had been observed. One passage may suffice to show what the Bishop thought of the Irish people: "I am persuaded, "and do partly know the same by experience, that a great "part of the people of this kingdom are no better than "mere infidels, having but a bare name of Christians, "without any knowledge of Christ or light of His truth, "in that I myself have examined divers of them, being "sixty years of age or upwards, and have found them not "able to say the Lord's Prayer, or the articles of the "Christian faith, neither in English, Latin, nor Irish, "neither have they ever been taught the same, or examined "by the priests, whether they could say the same or not. "Therefore, in my opinion, there is neither truth nor "credit to be reposed in their oaths, words, or promises, "as by their deeds is verified." Allowance must be made for the Bishop's irritation at his small success, after fifteen years of the episcopate, and twenty-five years of residence, in Ireland. Sir Geffrey Fenton blames the

English Government for the deplorable condition of affairs indicated by the Bishop of Cork. Here is the passage (pp. 244, 245) wherein he prays that "my lords of the "clergy may be more careful to countenance the Word, "and the people brought more to reverence it, for in both "those estates there is a lamentable remissness, such as "cannot but draw on a more heavy judgment." [The allusion is to the explosion of gunpowder at Dublin.] "And as the backsliding of the church here is lamentable, "so is it made more fearful by the carelessness of England, "from whence comes not so much as an advice, either to "the magistrates or my Lords the Bishops, to enter into "the reduction of it; but way given so far, as it may be "said, that idolatry is almost countenanced by authority. "If Her Majesty were rightly informed of this, I know "Her Highness would give order for the remedy; and no "doubt the way to repair and confirm the politic kingdom "is first to begin to countenance and bear up the kingdom "of God." Fenton adds that this belongs more to divines than to him; yet that, "being an eye-witness of God's house in the way to ruin," he has an interest to speak for its preservation, before it be suffered to fall altogether to the ground. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, had somewhat similar opinions. He had lived for more than thirty-six years in Dublin, and he tells Burghley (p. 193), "this people, albeit they are still "backward in religion, because the High Commission is "not executed amongst them, yet I dare assure your "Lordship that there is not in any like place in England, "more often preaching of God's word (by godly and "learned preachers) than in this city, where it little "prevaileth."

In accordance with the fifth instruction to editors of calendars given by the Master of the Rolls, by which it is

directed that "striking peculiarities of expression, proverbs, "manners, &c. are to be noticed," the following examples may be cited, in addition to those already quoted in this preface:—"Rome-runners" [emissaries from Rome, p. 18]; "a loose and voluntary man" [an unattached volunteer, p. 28]; "delatories" [delays, p. 34]; "inculpe" [convict, p. 41]; "inward with" [intimate with, p. 43, &c.]; "deciphered from" [distinguished from, p. 43]; "interlarded them with garrisons" [placed several garrisons in their midst, p. 48]; "contained" [continued, p. 49]; "patiented" [borne with, p. 54]; "eventynge" [discovering, p. 55]; "footmanship" [running, p. 57]; "all a height seen" [clearly seen, p. 77]; "a shipman's hose" [a sailor's yarn, p. 79]; "to sequence" [to follow, p. 96]; "by hook or crook" [p. 102]; "ran away like devils" [p. 103]; "closely cubbed up" [cooped up, p. 114]; "what buzzes this may breed" [p. 114]; "to return to their vomit" [p. 115]; "chepman" [purchaser, p. 148]; "depeachment" [despatch, p. 170]; "furniture" [weapons, p. 172, &c.]; to win "with a white rod" [easily, p. 177]; "pulled many feathers from," "have his feathers plucked," [p. 184 and 309]; "manage" [details, p. 200]; "stood upon thorns" [p. 202]; "played the bugbear" [p. 202]; "a but end" (the outer part) of a castle [p. 206]; "correspondence" [co-operation, p. 208]; "a web in his girt" [p. 226]; "begins already to stir coals" [p. 232]; ships "drowned" [p. 235]; "laugh in their sleeves" [p. 242]; "dallies out the time," "lingered the time," "forslowed the time" [p. 245, 73, and 288]; "pesterous to carry" [p. 260]; "hobbies" [horses p. 261]; "rifraffs" [p. 274]; "taken days with" [made a truce with, p. 279]; to "affront" [face, p. 284]; "on what elbow to lean" [p. 285]; "to play the wise politicians" [p. 285]; "naturals" [natives, p. 286];

"incident to" [liable to, p. 292]; "it is an old proverb that the loser must have leave to speak" [p. 292]; "distemperatures" [disturbances, p. 292]; "writing of consideration" [comments, p. 293]; "driven to his shift" [p. 294]; "pease well" [weigh well, p. 297]; "become compatible" [be conciliatory, p. 297]; "lived only on air" [p. 297]; "carswose" [? warning, p. 326]; "cept in" [hedged in, p. 326]; to "beat the Diana" [p. 340]; "viketh" [p. 358]; "having all things upon the penny" [p. 363]; "to apprehend the commodity" [to seize the opportunity, p. 365]; "platted forth in lineal descriptions" [drawn or sketched, p. 368]; "draw such a draught upon" [p. 338]; "broken the ice to this hard exploit" [p. 391]; "despatch autenticall" [official letter, p. 398]; "replenished with bestial" [furnished with food for beasts, p. 424]; "in parcels" [one after another, p. 446]; "in piece-meal" [singly, p. 446]; "budraggs" [spoils, p. 464]; "to bolt out the very truth" [p. 471]; "burdenous" [burdensome, p. 479]; "his own scratching (struggling) in the world" [p. 484]; "a corosy" [a burning, p. 489].

Amongst other papers of interest and importance are those relating to the "new College" in Dublin, or Trinity College; the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin; the safe preservation of the Records of Survey in Dublin Castle; the state of justice in Ireland; the employment of spies in Spain; the prices of grain and divers other victuals; the charges against Chief Justice Saxey; the intrigues of Mountford, Fawkner, Bernard O'Donnell, and other priests; the export of arms from England for the rebels in Ireland; the rush for the Earl of Ormonde's high offices in view of his anticipated death; the timber trade in Ireland; the fortifications of Waterford; the sending over of tons of touchstone by the Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil for building purposes; the port-corn due from

various Irish counties, and the beeves, hawks, horses, &c., due from sundry Irish chiefs; and many other subjects. The Corporation of Waterford, having certain suits in England, which they wish to be expedited, send Burghley "two bed-coverings, one green mantle, and a rondell of "aqua vitæ" of Waterford making. Sir Ralph Lane styles Burghley "the patron of justice and piety to all in "general living under Her Majesty's Royal sceptre." One other paper may be referred to, in which John Bell, Vicar of Christchurch, after advocating the gradual extermination of the Irish from their country, thus rapturously describes Ireland (p. 499):—"I will not say, as Joshua "and Caleb said, if the Lord have a favour unto us; but "I will say, the Lord having a special love unto us, God "hath given the Kingdom of Ireland to Her Majesty; a "country most sweet, most wholesome, and most fruitful "to dwell in; so full of springs, so full of rivers, so full "of lakes, so full of fish, so full of cattle, and so full of "fowl, that there is not a country upon the face of the "earth more beneficial to the life of man than that is."

ERNEST G. ATKINSON.

November, 1893.

# IRELAND.

## ELIZABETH.

### Vol. CXCI. 1596. July.

1596.

July 2. The Camp. 1. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Good service of the Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, in this journey. Prays that the fine of 500*l.* imposed on him may be remitted as an encouragement to increase his good devotion to Her Majesty.—The Camp, July 2, 1596. *p.* 1.

July 2. The Camp. 2. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Barry's state is such indeed that he is not well able to pay the fine of 500*l.* Recommends that it be remitted, owing to Lord Barry's good service.—The Camp, July 2, 1596. *p.* 1.

July 2. Dublin. 3. Sir Roger Wilbraham to Burghley. The 2,000*l.*, forfeited by Philip O'Reilly's disloyalty, unpaid. The statutes in Ireland appoint no such speedy and sure means for payment of the Queen's debts as the late statutes in England do. Dares not undertake to write of any occurrents. "It is hard to yield any sound conjecture of the tottering estate of Ireland." His acquaintance with matters of estate very little. Her Majesty never at a greater or more royal charge, yet the rebels never in higher pride. "The civil born people express daily their discontentments at the oppression of the present time, and the English most distrustful of the time approaching." Burghley's health and prosperity the "anchorhold and hope" of the Queen's acceptance of the writer's service.—Dublin, July 2, 1596. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

3. 1. *Recognizance of Philip O'Reilly for his personal appearance before the Lord Deputy within* 21 *days after warning being given to him. Copy certified by James Newman, clerk to the Master of the Rolls, with the state of the proceedings against the sureties.*—1592, *November* 12. *p.* 1.

July 2. Chester. 4. George Beverley to Burghley. Certain wheat left at Haverfordwest, near Milford, has broken the floor of a barn, and fallen upon salt below. Cannot therefore be shipped for Ireland. Advises its sale at Milford. Meantime, at Chester, he is grinding a portion

1596. VOL. CXCI.

of such corn as he can get paid. Some of those that owe corn hardly able to perform the remains of their bargains. Will endeavour to get all he can, and ship it into Ireland, for the victualling of the garrisons there, with a portion of cheese, which he has ready to send. Incloses the prices of grain at Chester and at Milford. [*This inclosure is wanting.*]—Chester, July 2, 1596. *p.* 1.

July 2. Dublin. 5. Sir Charles O'Carroll to Sir Robert Cecil. After writing his last letter, and departing homeward, he had, on the way, certain intelligence that, in his absence, the Earl of Ormonde's nephew, James Butler, and his old adversary, Pierce Butler FitzEdmond, of Roscree, with many others of the Butlers and chief gentlemen of Tipperary and Kilkenny, invaded his country, and assaulted his chief house of Lem Ivanan, and there most traitorously murdered Mullroney O'Carroll, his nephew, and others. All his horses and the prey of the whole parish taken; also the whole prey of the country to the number of 1,200 head of cattle. Other rebellious misdemeanors, as may appear by a supplication preferred to the Lord Deputy and Council, and now sent to the writer's agent, Mr. Par. Stavarton, a man learned in the laws. Refers the furtherance thereof to Cecil. —Dublin, July 2, 1596. *p.* 1.

July 6. Camp near Athlone. 6. The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geoffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. At our entering into this Province of Connaught, we despatched several letters to the chief heads of the rebels of the country, signifying the cause of our coming to be by Her Majesty's express commandment, to hear their grievances, and to right them therein, to the end that upon their penitency for their faults past, and meet conditions for their future loyalty, they might be again recovered to the state of subjects, and receive Her Majesty's gracious pardon. And for the more conveniency and expedition of our proceeding, we sent to them certain provincial gentlemen, well known to them, by whom we assigned them a time for their coming to us, giving to the gentlemen private instructions, tending to prepare them to Her Majesty's purpose for pacification.

The answers we received from them in writing, and the relations of the gentlemen, being in some points haughty and arrogant, were in others tolerable, and not void of appearance of conformity, so as the safety of their lives might be better assured hereafter. And yet, as well in the manner of their writing to us, as by the report of the gentlemen, we found them to stand precisely of O'Donnell for their coming, to whom they said they had given their oath and bonds not to come till he came, and to be advised by him touching their dealing with us in the treaty; which impediment, albeit we laboured to remove by employing again other messengers and letters, signifying to them that they had no reason to insist so much of O'Donnell's coming, for that he and all the rest of Ulster had already made their own submissions, leaving them to do the like for themselves. And likewise, they being in Connaught, and therefore severed from Tyrconnell, O'Donnell could have no just interest in them, neither would Her Majesty suffer that he or any other

1596. VOL. CXCI.

should intermeddle for them in this matter of treaty. Yet, they urging still their oath and bonds passed to O'Donnell, and the fear they had of their lives and safety, if Sir Richard Bingham should continue their governor, they occupied the time with us from the 6th of the last month, when we came to Athlone, till the 20th of the same, that O'Donnell came to them, who, offering for his part to further the pacification by all the means he could, we employed to them Captain Warham Sentleger and Captain Anthony Brabazon, by whom we sent certain articles on Her Majesty's behalf, to be considered by their supposed M'William, and his adherents; and charged them to require O'Donnell to send in his own pledge, according [to] the conclusion made with us at Dundalk in April last.

Touching the articles, they retained them with them three or four days to deliberate upon them, in which time many objections were made and avoided, and at length the supposed M'William signed them without alteration; but, being ready to deliver them to the Captains, to be brought to us, he suddenly blotted out his name, setting down in writing certain qualifications to the most material articles, which he sent to us, together with a petition containing matter insolent, neither meet for them to offer, nor for us to allow, being in our opinion neither honourable nor profitable to Her Majesty. For, first, where he sought to have the name of M'William, with all the lands and pre-eminences assured to him by grant from Her Majesty. Her M[ajesty] in that case should have confirmed to him by her grant that which he held before by usurpation, and was raised to it, not by law nor any lawful custom of the country, but created by O'Donnell, they both being rebels in action at that time, which, how dishonourable it would be for Her Majesty, upon the receiving of a traitor to mercy, to give him an increase of honour lands and immunities more than he had before his fall, we humbly leave to your Lordships' consideration. Besides, Her Majesty could not grant this without doing wrong to sundry other gentlemen of the Burkes, to whom the lands and seigniory of M'William were divided, by consent of the whole Province, when the composition was passed, and Her Majesty bound by the tenor thereof to maintain them in their several portions, of whom some have stood firm for Her Majesty in this broken time, and the rest do yield him a tyrannical seigniory, by his coaction, and not of their will, being forced to live in disobedience with him, through his compulsion and greatness. Secondly, where he makes demand that the composition concluded with the whole Province might be lessened, and he might have left unto him all the spiritual and temporal lands of the country, for his maintenance, this is so much against Her Majesty's profit and the public good of the country, who do not repine at the composition, so as it might be kept with them, that we could in no degree of duty consent thereunto. Lastly (which in our understanding was more dishonourable), he required, in case we would not allow of these points, that the differences between us and them might be referred to the saying of the Earl of Tyrone, and a month's

1596. VOL. CXCI.

respite given for the same; otherwise they would not accord. So as, unless Tyrone, an offender lately received to mercy, and [who] as yet keeps aloof from the State, might be made the sole moderator of the treaty, and a judge between Her Majesty and her rebellious subjects, touching conditions to be given and taken, there would be no pacification yielded unto by them, and yet during this month's respite they would give no pledge for assurance of the peace, by which course we saw the good subjects should be left in as ill case, for their safety, as they were before, to whom most harms were done by the rebels in times of cessation, no pledges being put in for their preserving.

We found that O'Donnell was concurrent in these unreasonable demands, and by special means urged that all differences in the treaty might be referred to the arbitrament of the Earl, discovering thereby that they two aspired to gripe between them, being strangers in this Province, the censure and arbitration of all causes, which is as much in effect as to seek to subtract from Her Majesty the government of the country, and carry the hearts and obedience of the people from Her Highness to themselves. Touching his pledge, being pressed to deliver him, he utterly denied it, alleging that till he saw what would be the issue of these affairs in Connaught, his pledge should not be delivered. Yet for that we would leave no good means unproved, which might draw pacification, for that we saw such was Her Majesty's purpose, we were contented to give them 15 days' time, to consider better of the articles, and to take the advice of their best friends, so as they would deliver us good pledges for the peace, and furnish the army with a competent number of beeves for that time. But this they refused, and nevertheless, to make a further trial of them, and to let the world see how much Her Majesty sought to win them, and preserve the country from ruin, we sent them eftsoons a respite of 15 days without mentioning the two conditions; and withal published a proclamation signifying our whole proceedings, to the end their apparent wilfulness, and Her Majesty's abundant goodness, might be made known to the world, and by the proclamation we gave liberty to any of them to come in and seek mercy within seven days, which we assure ourselves will not work that good effect which is expected, for that many of the better sort have privily dealt with some of their friends remaining with us, that so long as Richard Bingham governs, there can be no safety for them to come in. And though (as they affirm) they are inwardly weary, and loathe this life of rebels, yet they protest that having left nothing to them but their bare lives, it is better for them to seek to preserve them in this odious course of rebellion, than to trust again the courtesy of the governor, by whom and his ministers, so many gentlemen of their blood and kindred have been miserably cut off, some being in protection, and some not having the due course of trial, as Her Majesty's laws do prescribe.

When we found there was no hope of pacification by these endeavours, and that the army, in the long time of expectation

1596. Vol. CXCI.

thereof, began to be weakened, neither had we above two barrels of powder for all the companies, and one sow of lead, to answer skirmishes if need were; and for victuals we had none at all, but such as we could get from the rebels, besides that for 21 days that we were in camp, we had but two days' bread, and no drink at all, neither garrans for carriage. In respect of those great wants, and not to ruin the army altogether by depending upon the uncertainties of the rebels, we have by way of admittance assented to their demand of a month's respite, which is to expire the first of the next month; and, in the meanwhile, we thought best for defence of the subjects, and to annoy the enemies, to dispose the army into garrisons, in such places as lie best for service, and I, the President of Munster, to continue in the Province, for the better ordering and directing of them, till I may again take the field towards the season of their harvest, unless it shall please Her Majesty or the Lord Deputy to countermand me. And for our parts (under your Lordship's better opinion) we think it necessary to have an army kept on foot in this Province, and some superior commander over it that hath not grieved the country, nor is hateful to the people, for we have gathered by many intelligences from the rebels themselves (and their manner of dealing in frustrating the treaty makes it good) that they stand upon new hopes of the coming of Spaniards in very short time, and that [they] mean to attempt the getting of Galway, where they give out they have many friends, and therefore to secure that town with a strength of soldiers we have put into it three companies of foot, under a commander, Captain Goodwyn, who has also charge of some other garrisons placed at Cong, and upon Lough Curbe, being at hand to minister to the defence of Galway upon any sudden occasion.

For the rest of the garrisons, how they are sorted, it may please your lordships to see by a list now sent, containing the names of the places, and their conveniency for doing service. Only Sligo, if it were built up again, would be the fittest place for a strong garrison, both for that it would be a bar to break O'Donnell's coming into the Province, which is one of the many grounds of all these alterations, and also, under the cover of a force laid there, the whole country would easily be drawn to obedience, and O'Donnell's dependency cut off, and by their example, it is not unlike but the counties of Mayo and Roscommon would also fall in if they saw that O'Donnell were taken from them. Besides, if O'Connor Sligo, now remaining about the Court, were sent back, countenanced with good conditions from Her Majesty, that he might dwell amongst them at Sligo, he would be a good mean to range the people and settle them, specially if he might have from Her Majesty some good estate in the country, and so enabled to maintain it for a time, as he should be able to front O'Donnell, as his ancestors have always done, and not be driven to make league with him. And touching the office found against him of those lands, albeit it is not our parts to speak against Her Majesty's title, but to support it, yet we are bold to send to your lordships herewith such matter as was exhibited

1596. VOL. CXCI.

to us in the camp, touching some part of the proceedings in the finding of that office, together with the verifications thereof by some gentlemen of good sort, being then of the jury. This was a matter offered to us in the presence of the Earls of Thomond and Clanrickarde, the Justice and the Attorney of the Province, and we could do no less than transcribe it to your lordships, together with the manner of the attainder of Theobald Burke, the now supposed M'William, and the sinister course held therein, which have been two chief grounds of these great alterations in Connaught, for as, O'Connor Sligo being thrust out of his country by force of that office, the gap was made open for O'Donnell to enter, who never before durst attempt anything on this side the Erne; so likewise Theobald Burke, the supposed M'William, being put from the benefit of his pardon, was driven to seek refuge of O'Donnell, who by his means had a thorough passage into Mayo and many other parts of the Province, corrupting the people with rebellion, and drawing them to depend upon him, who before was kept within the bounds of Tyrconnell, without meddling with this Province, but to his own harms.

We have also sent your lordships herewith a copy of a letter written to Captain Theobald Dillon, touching a great outrage of burning and murdering of Her Majesty's tenants of her own lands near to Roscommon, committed by Sir Richard Bingham's lieutenant and the footband under his charge, about Easter last in the time of cessation; and, at the same time, a gentleman bringing unto them Sir Richard Bingham's protection, the lieutenant laid hands on him, and, as they returned to Athlone, in the pass there, caused him to lie down upon a block, and there cut off his head in cold blood. It is affirmed that these poor people thus burnt and murdered were but husbandmen and labourers, and not men of weapon nor in action, which, if it be so, the fact is the more odious against the doers, considering that Her Majesty's forces are to defend her subjects, and not to murder them violently. Other matters of this nature have been offered unto us since we came into this Province, which we forbear to transcribe to your lordships without further examination, for the which we have not had leisure as yet, and, besides, we see a great fearfulness in some good men to utter their knowledge touching these things standing in doubt, to be called in question afterwards by the governor to their danger. And for the books of complaints, exhibited at Galway to the Lord Deputy and Council in November last, wherein were many things that concerned the grievances of the Burkes and others in rebellion, the supposed M'William, in all the time of our treaty with him, urged vehemently to have those books re-delivered, that they might both prove the matters therein contained, and add other violences done since, and held it no small wrong done to them that those complaints were detained so long time, and yet no course taken for their redress or to have them heard; and, for our parts, we had no means to satisfy them in this point, for that those books being delivered by me, the President of Munster, to Sir Richard Bingham, by direction from

1596. VOL. CXCI.

the Lord Deputy before our coming from Dublin, they were not returned to us before yesterday in the camp near Ballinasloe, notwithstanding we had often written for them before; and then it was too late to recontinue the treaty, neither could we do it, the Burkes and the rest being dispersed, and Her Majesty's forces at point to be sent to their garrisons.

We have sent to your lordships herewith such letters and reports as have come from the rebels to us during our proceedings with them, together with the articles we proponed for Her Majesty, and their answers and qualifications, with all other things incident thereunto, such as we thought might best serve for your lordships' information, not troubling you with the rest that were slight and frivolous, by which your lordships may see the discourse and passage of all things, and particularly the wilfulness of the rebels borne up by O'Donnell, and the fear they have of the governor, which two points till it shall please Her Majesty to redress, we see no hope of the recovery of this Province, and so long as this Province standeth loose and [un]settled, it will be a ground still, both for the foreign and h . . . . . to work upon, to the endangering of the whole realm, and therefore it may please your lordships, till some better means of pacification may be wrought, to give order for munitions and victuals to be sent out of England, to be stapled at Limerick, Galway, and Athlone, with other things requisite for the war, wherein we doubt not but the Lord Deputy and Council do particularly and at length write to your lordships, they having better commodity to send advertisements than we, and we from time to time have given them notice and put them in mind what were requisite to be done.

I, the Secretary, am now to return to Dublin to attend Her Majesty's services there, not having cause of longer stay in this country, now that the forces are bestowed in garrison, and no further course to be taken, as yet, to examine the complaints and griefs of the rebels, till they shall bethink themselves better of Her Majesty's gracious offers and their own barbarous omissions in not hearkening to them. But before we separate ourselves, inasmuch as we have been jointly employed in these great affairs of Ulster and Connaught, and have taken as good observation as we could of the grounds of their conspiracies, and how they have been nourished both by the foreign and domestic adversaries, we make bold to put your lordships in mind that it is meet that some well experienced person might be sent over to inform your lordships at length; wherein we have now written to the Lord Deputy and Council that one of ourselves might be used, which, if it shall please his lordship to allow of, either of us will be ready to obey his choice.

Lastly, we send your lordships herewith the copies of such letters as we have received from the Earl of Tyrone since our coming hither, and others written by him to the supposed M'William and O'Donnell, by all which we see an outward show of dutiful meaning in him, and to labour the residue to the like, howsoever he be

1596. VOL. CXCI.

inwardly affected in his heart. And albeit we doubt not but your lordships will be advertised of many things tending to a jealousy of his loyalty, and the same made probable by collections and inferences, yet in all our intelligences touching the coming of Spaniards, or contracting with them since his conclusion made with us at Dundalk, we find him not to be touched therein, but both by his actions since, and by his protestations and letters written to us and to Sir Edward Moore, now employed as a commissioner to deal with the woodmen, he makes show of a desire to live in duty to Her Majesty, and to draw others to the like. And the better to nourish him therein we have now sent Captain Sentleger to him, with instructions, signed by us, tending to good advice, and to make report of the backwardness of these people of Connaught, and what has been our manner of proceeding with them.—The Camp near Athlone, July 6, 1596. *Inclosing,*

6. I. *Note for the disposing of the companies of horse and foot into garrisons at the Abbey of Boyle, Roscommon, The Annaly, Kells, Ballinasloe, Galway, Cong, Thomond, Limerick, Meelick, Athenry, Athlone, Leix, Offaly, Wexford, and Mollough More.*—1596, *July* 5. *p.* 1.

6. II. *Complaint of Richard Og M'Jonyn, Sheriff of Sligo, sent with others to parley with Her Majesty's Commissioners in the behalf of Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, the supposed M'William. Sir R. Bingham's cruel threat to make a juryman give in touching the finding of the office of Sligo for Her Majesty, on the death of Sir Donnell O'Connor Sligo, knight. Also, complaint of Enys O'Higgin against Captain John Bingham.—The Camp at Kinlagh,* 1596, *June* 20. *pp.* 2½.

6. III. *Declaration of William Taaff, gent., one of the jury that found O'Connor Sligo's lands for the Queen, that Sir Richard Bingham had informed the majority of them that they might lawfully beat and bite the four or five jurors which did not agree with the rest, till they did agree; and that, if the jury did not agree by the following morning, they should be carried to Dublin in a cart, and such as should be obstinate should there receive further punishment.*—1596, *July* 5. *pp.* 1½.

6. IV. *Report by Thomas O'Mollala, Enys O'Higgin, and Richard Og M'Jonyn to Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton of the hard usage of Tibbott Burke, whom they now call M'William. —The Camp at Kinlagh, co. Mayo,* 1596, *June. pp.* 1½.

6. V. *William Ryogh to Captain Theobald Dillon. His country burned, his goods and cattle taken, and his only son slain by Sir R. Bingham's band of foot. Destitute condition of himself, his brother, and their tenants. To move Norreys and Fenton for his restitution and personal safety.—Lagan Innly,* 1596, *June* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCI.

6. VI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Disapproves of the undutiful tenor of the letters of M'William and O'Kelly. Has written to them, counselling their submission to Her Majesty. Has also advised O'Donnell to show unto the Burkes and others in Connaught the way for their conformity, and to work his best for Her Majesty's service. O'Donnell has denied the Scots; yet* 200 *of them went a few days since into Sir Jo. O'Doughteries country, and have drawn themselves into Connaught. His brother Cormack is not going thither with forces, as the Earl has expressly commanded that none of Tyrone should go thither, on pain of hanging. As touching Maguire, he presumes he would have understood of his going, if the information were true. Would long ere this have repaired to the Commissioners appointed for the ending of the rest of the troubles of Ulster, but for those Scots, that seek the disturbance of all places where they come. Understands that Angus M'Connell himself, with* 400, *is to come into the Route within two days, but knows not as yet what he intends to do. Omits at this instant "to aggravate anything touching the King's letter detained from me, which how well or honorable I have been therein dealt withal, I refer the same to be censured by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty."*—1596, *June* 16. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. VII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to O'Donnell. Desires him to procure M'William, O'Rourke, the Kellies and the rest to put in their pledges to the Lord General Norreys, as the Earl himself has done, and to make a peace honourable to Her Majesty. If they mind the contrary, O'Donnell is to use force. The Commissioners have sent letters to the Earl to draw towards them to the borders of the Macherye. Would have gone without fail, but that Angus M'James is coming with a great freight of Scots into Ireland. His son Gilleisboigg has arrived already with a great many. The Earl cannot give his back to them for fear they should spoil his country.—Castle Row,* 1596, *June* 16. *Translation. p.* 1.

6. VIII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to M'William and the Kellies. If they had not been minded to peace, they should have said so much before the Earl's pledges went in. Will not choose but that they all deliver their pledges. O'Donnell will compel them to make peace, whether they will or not.*—1596, *June* 16. *Translation. p.* 1.

6. IX. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Difficulties caused by "those stiffnecked persons" with whom Norreys has to deal. Has written to O'Donnell, and enclosed the copy, received from Norreys, of the complaint of the Burkes, and has told O'Donnell do his uttermost to persuade and reduce the rebels to accept with all expedition the terms offered by the Queen. Has sent to him also to learn whether Sir Richard Bingham is a practiser against Norreys. O'Donnell will deliver Norreys his own pledge, and that of O'Rourke. Maguire's pledge shall be delivered on Norreys's coming to Dublin. Has this day taken order with*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*Angus M'Connell for his immediate return to Scotland; therefore thinks the charges in connection with that service may be spared. Hopes shortly to repair to the meeting of the Commissioners. —The Bann side,* 1596, *June* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. X. *Theobald Burke, the supposed M'William, to Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Means if possible never to be otherwise than a dutiful subject, or to change his own natural prince for any other. Would not seek signification of wrongs by any extraordinary means of rebellion, if they had audience and favour in seeking redress of injuries orderly. They were not heard nor admitted at all. It is manifest to the Council of Ireland how he has been handled.—The Camp,* 1596, *June* 16. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. XI. *Theobald Burke, the supposed M'William, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Will send Richard Og M'Jonyn, Thomas Lally and Eneas O'Higgin to parley. Desires an absolute protection for them without condition. —The Camp,* 1596, *June* 17. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. XII. *The "last and insolent" petition of Tibbott Burke, the supposed M'William, addressed to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Praying that the composition may be mitigated, and order taken that it be faithfully observed hereafter, redress being had for former breaches thereof; that the name, lands, and living of M'William be entirely granted to him, whereunto the country has assented, and whereby its disordered and seditious heads may be kept in subjection; that the lands, temporal and spiritual, of the country be left to him and the country, towards their better maintenance and answering Her Majesty's service; and that O'Kelly and all other his friends and dependents may have the like favour and mercy shown unto them.—No date. p.* 1.

6. XIII. *Hugh O'Donnell to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. M'William and Captain Sentleger disagree regarding the articles. The Captain importunate with O'Donnell about the delivery of his pledge. Cannot do so until the parties are agreed. Suggests that the matters be referred to the Earl of Tyrone. Begs to know what course the Commissioners will hold. Is the more circumspect as to sending in his pledge because Captain Warren did not return the* [*King of Spain's*] *letter that he took to Dublin. O'Rourke and the rest are now come.*—1596, *June* 26. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. XIV. *Hugh O'Donnell to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. To let him know whether they will continue Her Majesty's peace towards him until he may confer with the Earl of Tyrone touching these causes. If not, he must think they take a very hard course with him. They have not as yet in their hands the pledges of O'Reilly, M'Mahon and Maguire. Desires the peace may continue.*—1596, *June* 27. *Copy. p.* ½.

1596. VOL. CXCI.

6. XV. *Hugh O'Donnell to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Cannot send the beeves. Hopes his Honor will forbear any rigorous dealing.*—1596, *June* 27. *Copy. p.* ½.

6. XVI. *Hugh O'Donnell, Theobald Burke, Ferdorogh O'Kelly, and other gentlemen of Connaught to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Pray that the grant of* 15 *days respite may be extended to a month, in order that they may have time for access to the Earl of Tyrone. Promise faithfully to do whatever he says. In the mean time of cessation, such as will not to be letted from going in to exhibit their complaints. Pray that the English Army be removed from those parts.*—1596, *June* 29. *Copy. p.* 1.

6. XVII. *Examination of Thomas Bingham, gent., Vice-constable of Athlone, touching the arrest of Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, the supposed M'William, and his imprisonment in the Castle of Athlone.—Athlone,* 1596, *July* 6. *pp.* 1½.

6. XVIII. *Complaint of Enys O'Higgin, and others, sent to parley with Her Majesty's Commissioners, touching the arrest and imprisonment at Athlone of Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, the supposed M'William, and prevention of the same from pleading the Queen's pardon. Eight or nine score cows taken for his reprieve.—Kinlagh,* 1596, *June* 20. *pp.* 2½.

6. XIX. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Two main obstacles to the recovery of Connaught, viz., "the awful interest" that O'Donnell has in the people, which alters their hearts from Her Majesty, "and the hatred they bear to Improvido* [*Sir Richard Bingham*]*, under whose government they will never be brought to perfect obedience." Until these chief obstacles be removed, Connaught will be a ground of common stirs within the realm, and matter for the Spaniards to work upon, to endanger the whole kingdom. For Connaught and Ulster being made one party against Her Majesty, which has not been so in other times, and the infection having taken hold of some parts in Munster and Leinster, and going on still increasing, he sees not but that the hazard will be great to the whole realm, upon the access of any small companies of Spaniards, who assuredly are very confidently expected this summer. Through their late prevailing, the great rebels in Ulster and Connaught are become proud and insolent above measure. Many others are altered in heart, and, upon the first approach of Spaniards, will run to them; and they with their money and promises having wrought this inclination in them, Burghley may consider whether they will let so fair an advantage slip, having so good means to follow it, by the greatness of their side almost in all parts of the realm. It is time to consider the remedy, the disease being seen and known. If Burghley is to prevent the general danger of the realm, the particular of Connaught must first be provided for, for by it all the rest is nourished, and the way to put by the hazard of Connaught is to revoke "Improvido," and put some other governor over them,*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*qualified as well for peace as for war. This being done, it is probable that the other obstacle, namely their dependency upon O'Donnell, will easily fall off, and consequently their hopes of Spain languish. Through the fear the people have of "Improvido," their necessity drives them to depend upon O'Donnell, whom they hate for his pride and ambition, and are weary of the burthens he daily lays upon them. Tyrone stands still aloof, though hitherto he has not broken the conclusion of Dundalk. If Her Majesty were to grace him with a letter of assurance from herself, it would not only well confirm him in his loyalty, but it would also quicken him to be an instrument to serve Her Majesty's turn upon O'Donnell and the Burkes, and any other who might stagger: a matter which this brokenness of the time, and present great backsliding of the subjects of this realm may make reasonable to be done, though in other considerations and respects of state it may be thought not allowable. If Her Majesty will not, for the excessive charges, take the way of force, but will close up the sore with a mild plaster, "their reasonable complaints may be admitted for the time, which in after times may be easily cancelled and forgotten." So long as Tyrone continues a firm subject, Her Majesty need not doubt any great alteration in Ireland, and to make him a good subject were one of the best acts done since the writer served in Ireland.—The Camp near Athlone,* 1596, *July* 6. *pp.* 1½.

6. XX. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Dependence of the people of Connaught on O'Donnell, and their fear of Sir Richard Bingham continuing Governor. Disaffection in the four Provinces. Tractableness of the people. The Connaught rebels had tied themselves to O'Donnell, by oath and bonds, not to conclude peace but by his allowance. Advises that one of the Council, well experienced in the present affairs, and not devoted to parties, be drawn over to acquaint the Privy Council with the sickness of the country and the true grounds thereof, so that the remedies may be applied in time. "The evil estate of things here, and the likelihood of worse, makes me thus plain in this point, and yet I humbly submit to yourself, whether you will suppress the overture, or acquaint Her Majesty with it." His comfort that it hath pleased Her Majesty to grace their endeavours at Dundalk with her good opinion and acceptation.—The Camp near Athlone,* 1596, *July* 6. *p.* 1.

6. XXI. *List of inclosures headed, "A docket to answer this packet." Endorsed,* 1596, *July* 6. *p.* 1.

[*The following mentioned in the docket are wanting:—*

"*Articles proponed to the supposed M'William in the camp at Kinlagh.*"

"*The answer of the supposed M'William to the Articles, and the Commissioners' reply thereunto.*"

"*The Commissioners' resolution to the Burkes and other rebels in Connaught.*"

"*The Dutchman's report that came over with Black.*"]

1596. VOL. CXCI.

July 6. Dublin. 7. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Letter recommending the bearer Thomas Chapman, who is reputed to be a very skilful auditor, and in all the carriage of his life a most honest man. He served formerly under Auditor Genison, and has special understanding and skill in foreign accounts. Prays that he may be given some employment in his profession, in Ireland or in England, and that certain bills may be paid him.—Dublin, 1596, July 6. *pp.* 1½.

July 6. Cork. 8. William [Lyon], Bishop of Cork and Ross, to Lord Hunsdon. Miserable state of God's church, and of the commonwealth, in Ireland. Where there is no knowledge of God and his truth, there can be no obedience to magistrates, no submission to laws, no true hearts to the Prince. The people in Ireland are led away by false teachers, who draw them "to that palpable and damnable blindness, to obey her Majesty's capital enemy, that Antichrist of Rome; swearing the people to the Pope, and that they shall not come at Divine service, taking xijd. of every one so sworn (this is true, and divers have confessed that they would gladly come to service, but that they are sworn to the contrary), and vjd. for every mass they hear after the oath so taken. And if any will have his child baptized in the church, they shall hardly get gossips (as they call them) as the law appointeth, but one poor man, that is the clerk, his wife, and a poor minister, these are the common gossips in the city of Cork: all is done in private houses by massing priests."

About March in the previous year, Sir Thomas Norreys, himself, and others, committed seven or eight recusants of the city of Cork, who would not by any persuasions conform themselves. Upon their commitment, their wives preferred a petition, alleging that it was Her Majesty's pleasure that none of her subjects in Ireland should be dealt with for any matters of religion. He answered that Her Majesty had made laws for her subjects in Ireland, to observe one uniform order in Divine service and in the administration of Sacraments, and that he knew of no law to the contrary. "If these priests and seducers be not prevented, they will hazard the state of this kingdom, and now is the time to reform them, for they are of no force in this country, and unprovided of weapon. I know by mine own experience, for having the mustering of Carbery, Ibawne, Courseyes country, Beare and Bayntree, which countries were able to make 300 horsemen and 3,000 or 4,000 footmen, amongst all these at this last service, they were not able to furnish twenty horsemen and 200 footmen with weapon; for they had none, neither are there any weapons in all the country; they have turned them to mattocks and ploughirons which I was nothing sorry to see, except they were better minded to Her Majesty and her laws. But the cities and towns are very well furnished with weapons, and they shew themselves very perverse and obstinate, the young merchants among them going to their masses with their daggers and pistols ready prepared. They were not so ready in the service against the Ulster traitors, but made

1596. Vol. CXCI.

forth the simplest of the people. Twelve good men had been better than 100 such as they appointed in Cork, but went not. They of these parts were very unwilling to go thither, because Tyrone is of their faction, and hath the Pope's legate with him, one Galloghore, an Irishman, a Bishop appointed from the Pope, and is called the Bishop of the Dirrye. He directeth the traitor in all his dealings (as I was informed by a credible person), and many priests are gone out of this country to Tyrone that traitor; he hath also three English Jesuits with him. The recusants of this city said that they are commanded not to reason with any of us; that is an especial charge they have. All which things I leave to your Honour's godly care. Our state here is very dangerous. The Lord of His mercy put it into Her Majesty's heart, and the rest of that most honourable state, to see to the reformation of the same, for the furtherance whereof I most humbly crave your Honour's favour. Here are five justices of peace that sit on the bench every sessions, but they never took the oath of supremacy to Her Majesty, nor will. Two of them utterly refused at the general sessions holden in March last. Hereby they generally are mightily drawn away from their loyalty to Her Majesty's godly laws now within these two years so far, that where I had a thousand or more in a church at sermon, I now have not five; and whereas I have seen 500 communicants or more, now are there not three; and not one woman either at Divine service or communion, which thing (my good lord), if it be not looked unto, will grow to a greater mischief in the commonwealth."

Alienation of the people. The great lack of teachers and preachers, and unwillingness of the people to be taught. Not one Irish preacher in Munster, and very few in other parts of the kingdom. Want of due execution of the laws emboldens the people in their ungodliness and disloyalty. "The Pope's legates, friars, priests, and seminaries, of whom this country is full, as also the city of Cork, whereas there be ten seminary and seducing priests, resident within the city, maintained and kept daily by the Aldermen and merchants of the city, to say mass, baptise, minister the sacraments and other their popish and heretical ceremonies, in their private houses; and, when I am out of the town, they walk openly and commonly in the streets, accompanied with the Aldermen and officers of the city, and conveyed forth of the town, when they go to say their masses in the country abroad; neither want they anything." Has the names of them and their maintainers. How far he has dealt in the matter may appear by his letter to the Lord Deputy. Prays for redress of these things, and that some order may be taken that priests, friars, jesuits, and seminaries, and their maintainers, may be restrained and punished, and "that those that are in Cork, Waterford, Limerick, Clonmel, Cashel, Federt, Kilmallock, Youghal and Kinsale, and other towns may be reformed (whereon the reformation of the whole country dependeth, for the example of the cities and towns mar the country, their trade being beyond the seas, from whence they bring little good), and in the

1596. VOL. CXCI.

country they may be straitly looked unto, and also that none come over from beyond the seas, as they daily do, I mean of these wicked priests, which are the sowers of rebellion in this kingdom, and will do mischief, if it be not looked into in time." His duty to deliver his knowledge. "I have been acquainted with their manners and life these twenty-five years (so long I have dwelt here), and have been Bishop these fifteen years, and I have observed their doings, but I never saw them so badly minded as they be now in general (for it is a general revolt through the whole kingdom at this present, and therefore the more dangerous), which may be imputed to this, that they have had the reins of liberty let loose unto them, and have not been kept under, whereas they are a people, as your Honour very well knoweth, which, feeling the rigour of justice, and severely regarded, are a good people in their kind, and, with due justice and correction (but not oppressed, extorted, or unjustly dealt withal), they will be dutiful and obedient; but, let them have favour and be well entreated, they will wax proud, stubborn, disobedient, disloyal and rebellious: this I know, my good lord, by experience. Also the priests of the country forsake their benefices to become massing priests, because they are so well entreated, and so much made of among the people; many have forsaken their benefices by the persuasion of those seminaries that come from beyond the seas; they have a new mischief in hand, if it be not prevented." His duty to the Queen. "The best name that they give unto the Divine service appointed by Her Majesty in the Church of England and Ireland, is, the Devil's Service, and the professors thereof, devils; and, when they meet one of the profession, they will cross themselves after the popish manner, and any that company with us, or receive any living of me, or the like being appointed by Her Majesty, they excommunicate him or them, and will not suffer them to come in their company.

"My good Lord, I have caused churches to be re-edified, and provided books for every church through my diocese, as Bibles, New Testaments, Communion books, both English and Latin, and the Injunctions, but none will come to the church at all, not so much as the country churls; they follow their seducers the priests and their superiors. Now remaineth that the churches may be frequented with a Christain congregation." Leaves the consideration thereof to Hunsdon, whom he prays the Almighty may stir up to have a care of the same. "Also I must not forget the perverse recusants that come out of England hither, and especially to these parts, and most part to Waterford, the sink of all filthy superstition and idolatry, with contempt of Her Majesty's godly laws and proceedings. In Waterford the Mayor and Sheriff of the city come not to church, neither will they take the oath of supremacy, and in this city of Cork the bailiffs refuse the oath, neither come they to the church. And I, questioning with one of the last year's bailiffs, named Richard Rawley, for whom I sent to know the cause why he would not come to the church nor obey any of Her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws, he made me answer, that he was sworn to the

1596. VOL. CXCI.

league that he should never come to the church, nor obey any of Her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws concerning the same." Will not trouble Hunsdon with his reply and further discourse with the bailiff. All the premisses are true, and he would justify them if he were before Her Majesty. "These intelligencies I had from themselves, because I visit the country several times in the year, and do observe things, and hear and learn the dispositions, how they are inclined and bent. There is not anything done but I get knowledge thereof among themselves concerning church government and many things that concern the commonwealth, and the state of this kingdom," which he considers it his duty to mention, that they may be imparted to the Queen. "These men look for and desire a change, and that maketh them so obstinate, swearing against Her Majesty's laws (a thing most contrary to the nature of subjects), and swearing themselves to the Pope, that they may with the more favour be received, when alteration cometh, which I trust in our good and gracious God shall never be seen in our days, although the bloody papists do leave no ways nor means unassayed or unattempted to bring their ungodly desires to effect." Delivers these things for the dangerous sequels that are like to ensue, if they be not prevented in time.

"For I am persuaded, and do partly know the same by experience, that a great part of the people of this kingdom are no better than mere infidels, having but a bare name of Christians, without any knowledge of Christ or light of His truth, in that I myself have examined divers of them, being sixty years of age or upwards, and have found them not able to say the Lord's Prayer, or the articles of the Christian faith, neither in English, Latin, nor Irish, neither have they ever been taught the same, or examined by the priests whether they could say the same or not. Therefore in my opinion, there is neither truth nor credit to be reposed in their oaths, words, or promises, as by their deeds is verified. And as for those that profess religion and can yield account of themselves in some sort, there is little trust to be given to the oaths or words of them as of the other, for they build upon the Pope's dispensations and pardons, with the absolutions of Popish priests, persuading themselves that they may lawfully swear and forswear themselves unto any sincerely professing the gospel, whatsoever oath by them made notwithstanding." The ignorance of the one, and the superstitious blind opinion of the other: therefore neither can bear loyal heart towards Her Majesty. "I, with many other besides mself, have noted their services done on the behalf of their prince and country, and I never saw nor heard that any of the Irish nation did ever any good service, or apprehended any traitor or felon, except it were in revenge of some private quarrel or secret grudge borne, in respect whereof their service hath been shown, and not of any good mind they bear to Her Majesty, or reformation of the commonwealth, and suppressing of bad-minded men and evil members of the state and country." Again prays that order may be taken against the seditious priests, or the suppression of their mischievous intents and

1596. VOL. CXCI.

devices will cause an infinite charge to Her Majesty. And here I thought it an advice worthy the noting to your Honour, that it is an usual thing amongst them here in Munster, after meal and some sort of thanksgiving made (without the once naming of Her Majesty) to pray for the good estate with the speedy and safe return of their good Lord James, meaning the Earl of Desmond's son, who now is there in England in the Tower, where I heartily wish he may still remain, and I would that a great many here in this country of that mind were there with him." Prays Hunsdon to peruse the inclosed notes.—Cork, 1596, July 6. *pp.* 4. *Incloses,*

8. I. "*A view of certain enormities and abuses meet to be considered of, praying your Honour to vouchsafe the perusing thereof at your best leisure.*"

*The contempt of God's word abounds in "this barbarous country" amongst all sorts. Necessity for the teaching of it. Bishops to be straitly commanded, upon a pain, to admit none to teach, publicly or privately, within their diocese, but such as are sound in religion, and that will teach the children to them committed the principles of religion. "For better they were ignorant in wickedness than learned to practise mischief, rebellion, and troubles in the commonwealth, as the most part do apply their learning to that end." The truth of this daily proved. "For the youth will not come to church no more than the older sort. For example whereof I commanded the schoolmaster, which teacheth in the town where I dwell, to bring his scholars to church, or else he should not teach them. Upon this, the most part of his scholars went away and left the school. And now lately, within this quarter of this year (according mine yearly custom) I made search in schools myself for books, and what books were taught in schools, whether according Her Majesty's laws; and, searching, I found to my great grief Her Majesty's style and title torn out of all the grammars, to the number of 74 in one school; the leaf in the grammar quite torn out, which containeth in it,* Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c., *and in the end of the leaf,* God save the Queen. *Whereupon I caused search to be made in all schools within my diocese, and found them all torn out, although they came new from the merchants' shops. I sent for two of the schoolmasters, and examined them upon that point, whether they did acknowledge Her Majesty's said title as is abovesaid. The one said her ancestors were so, but he denied her to be so. The other likewise denied, whereupon I committed them to prison, and there they remain. And what good shall be looked for in this commonwealth, where the youth are taught by such schoolmasters?"*

*No scholar to depart the realm to go beyond the seas to any school or university, save those in England. For beyond the seas they practise mischief, and when they come home they set it abroach. At this time the country is troubled with them. By such means the cities and corporate towns grow very stubborn, disobedient, and*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*indurate, and there is a general contempt of Her Majesty's ecclesiastical laws. Evil teaching of the "false apostles, Jesuits, seminaries, and Romerunners"; general false swearing of the people, for which they receive absolution. The seditious priests to be looked to. "The citizens and corporations grow wealthy, proud, stubborn, obstinate, disobedient, and rebellious; they have furniture, good store in every city and corporate town." They produce their charters to defeat some right of Her Majesty, but never for the furtherance of any service to her. "In the late rebellion, and in all stirs and rebellions, the cities and corporate towns do maintain and relieve the traitors and rebels with victuals, as wine, aquavite and bread, and with powder, shot, swords, targets, sculles, and other munition, which was proved by the late rebellion to be true, and the traitors confessed the same, after they were received to grace. They will also allege a point of their charter for this." Along with this open spurning of Her Majesty by the cities and corporate towns, there are no children baptized in the churches, but in private houses, no communicating in the churches, no resort to divine service nor sermons, neither of men, women, nor children. No such obstinacy and rebellious minds seen during Her Majesty's reign as within the last two years, "and they go in defensible sort to their idolatrous service." The seditious priests have their houses for rent in the city of Cork, and other cities and towns, where they say their masses and walk in the streets, and are conversant with the best in the city; but when they are sought for they are conveyed away. The storehouses of munition in the cities and corporate towns should not be in the charge of Irish Papists as they are in Munster. Recommends that all charters should be inspected to see if their conditions have been observed, "Reform cities and towns, and reform all the countries round about them."*

*Fines for absence from church on Sundays and holy days, as enacted by the statute 2 Eliz., to be taken up, the names of absentees being certified to the Lord Deputy. The proceeds of such fines, which will amount to a large sum, to be devoted to the repairing of churches, relief of the poor, helping poor soldiers, the maintenance of the colleges, or other godly uses. As by the statute these fines are to be taken up by the churchwardens, the most part of the parishes have no churchwardens at all because they will not levy the fine, and those that have churchwardens will not do it although they have been commanded. Both the negligence and the contempt to be punished.*

*"It is dangerous to admit any of the Irish to any office about the State or government, or to the place of a clerk or writer, but such as be approved and found sound in religion. For, if they be otherwise, they are not to be trusted, as daily experience teacheth, unfaithful to God and untrusty to man." Prays pardon for his boldness, and for his rude and simple style in penning. Recommends the placing of a governor and garrison in every city and town, to be maintained by the papists and recusants until they reform themselves. "For they maintain both Bishops and priests beyond the*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*seas, and they have legates here and receivers that collect for them and send it them, as I am credibly informed, and I do partly believe it. For there is never a bishopric in Ireland but it hath two Bishops, one from Her Majesty and another from the Pope; and the Pope is not so liberal but he will rather receive than give, but he is content to give them the name to serve his own turn." The Mayor of Waterford, who is a great lawyer, one Wadding, carries the sword and rod for Her Majesty, but neither he nor his sheriffs ever came to the church since he was Mayor, nor ever since Her Majesty's reign, nor any of the citizens, men or women, nor in any other town or city throughout Munster, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see.*

*"Forasmuch as the cohabiting and living of men together breedeth love and civility, the contrary of necessity bringeth hatred and barbarousness, and dispersed dwellings abroad, which is a maintenance of idleness and thieves. For that the people of the country, specially in the province of Munster, dwell scattered by bogs' and woods' sides, and such remote places where idle men and thieves do lurk, and are there by them relieved; then, if they be sought for, they start into the woods and bogs, and so escape. For remedy, redress, and reformation whereof, whereas now their tenants continue not past three years in a place, but run roving about the country like wild men fleeing from one place to another, that it might please Her Majesty that order may be taken, that no lord, gentleman, or freeholder, let his land but for 21 years, and to condition with his tenants to enclose with quickset and ditch such portion of land as he shall take by lease, according to his ability, every year a portion, and to make lanes, and gates in the lanes, whereby, if any rebellion or spoiling be, they shall not be able to carry away the prey suddenly, but that they shall be met withal; and also that they make trenches and ditches about where their dwelling shall be, that their goods shall not lie open to the spoil of the enemy; for, having a fastness about themselves and their goods, and a company dwelling together, they shall not be able only to defend themselves, but it will be a great occasion to prevent the relieving of thieves and idle men, for one will bewray another, for fear lest he himself should be brought into danger by keeping counsel, and this will be an occasion for them to build houses, plant trees, orchards, and gardens, and set idle persons on work."*

*That some strait order may be taken "for idle persons, as caroughes, hazardes, rimers, bardes, and harpers," who run about the country, not only eating the labours of the poor, but bringing news and intelligence to the rebels against Her Majesty, and bruiting false tales amongst her subjects, which breeds great mischief. The "rithmers" also make songs in commendation and praise of the treasons, rebellions, spoilings, preyings, and thievings made, to the great encouragement of such a people as this is, not well staid under government.*

*"That all lords and gentlemen be commanded that they keep no idle men but such as are officers in their houses, for the lords and*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*gentlemen use to take quiddyes and night suppers upon their tenants, and upon others which are not their tenants, which is a great nourisher and maintainer of vagabonds and idle persons. For, when they go to those quiddyes and night suppers, then those bards, caroughes, rithmers, hazardes, and harpers, flock after them in great multitudes, to the maintenance of idleness, and great grievance and impoverishing of Her Majesty's subjects, as they daily complain of the same. It were good if order were taken that these quiddyes, night suppers, coyne, and livery, if they be lawful to be taken, were turned into certain rent, for then they would not maintain so many, if they were maintained upon their own charges, as they do now upon other men's costs." The Sheriffs of the counties are also in fault, for neither they nor their officers will apprehend any of these idle persons, because they get nothing by them, for they will not serve but for profit; they serve themselves, but not Her Majesty. The sub-Sheriffs and Bailiffs buy their offices of the Sheriff, and therefore they must needs sell, poll, and pill to get up their money again. Ten pounds, six pounds, five pounds, eight pounds, more or less, they give for a bailiwick, which is never to be made up by it but by falsehood and deceit. This is too true, and therefore it is good for Sheriffs and sub-Sheriffs to have a pardon after they come out of their office.*

*It has been common within these three years and less for lawyers and pettifoggers, when they were ready to go to the term, to go about and inquire who would have a pardon, and so they would gather* 20, 30, *or* 40 *names, and for twenty shillings or four nobles a piece, they might have their pardons. This was to bear their charges to the term, and so the governors are abused, and some procured their pardons more through fear than because they had any need of them. Others of good account, but bad men, were thrust in among these, which if the governor had known, he would not have granted their pardon. This came by corruption of clerks, whom the governor gave credit unto and trusted.*

*There are certain lands, called chantry lands, which, as well as the abbeys, are in England granted to Her Majesty by Act of Parliament; but it is not so in Ireland. "If a Parliament were here, it would be very beneficial to Her Majesty, or to the new college lately erected, which would amount to a great sum by the year, for there are very few churches but they have chantry lands belonging unto them, some churches* 20*l. by the year, some more and some less, which were given for the maintaining of massing priests, and so I think they be used yet, or taken up by lords and gentlemen whose ancestors bestowed them upon massing priests; it were better bestowed upon the uses aforesaid.*

*"All the lawyers of this realm born in the land are most obstinate and indurate recusants, a thing too well known. God amend it."*

*Endorsed:—"The Bishop of Cork in Ireland to the Lord Chamberlain, deceased."* pp. 5½.

VOL. CXCI.

1596. July 7. Athlone. 9. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. The Commissioners have not been wanting in travail to effect what Her Majesty desired. Sudden alteration in the mind of the supposed M'William, who signed the articles, and afterwards blotted out his name. O'Donnell's men said that there were some in the English company who did more hinder the pacification than the Commissioners could further it. The loss of this country [Connaught] most strange; if those that had the charge there had not been much amazed, so beggarly a rebel as this was at the first could never have prevailed so much. There have been lost in the county of Roscommon more than forty strong castles, besides forts, without striking one blow. There were "seated" in the county of Mayo six or seven score Englishmen in good castles and houses, all which have been shamefully driven out of the country without any resistance, besides many other castles taken in the other counties. This oversight will be as hard for Sir Richard Bingham to answer as the former course of his government.

Cannot assuredly advise whether there is to be a war or a pacification, until they have an answer to the despatch now sent to the Earl of Tyrone by Captain Sentleger. Whichever falls out it is most necessary that the towns of Limerick and Galway be presently well provided with corn and munition, "for since the Spaniard hath thus far entered into a purpose of invading this country, I do not think that he will give it over, although he have no assistance of these rebels; and such, by our best advice, was the conclusion of the Spaniards that were here, when they departed." The town of Galway of no strength, and only to be kept by force of men. The state of the English companies most miserable; they have as great need to be supplied as ever. The men last sent over were such that there were not 300 of them all that either were, or ever would be, fit to carry arms. Further, of "*the* 3,500 *men sent over within this year, there are not* 1,000 *that do now bear arms, but are either dead, run away, or converted into Irish*" (*italicised by Burghley*). If any foreign force is to be expected, there must be another manner of choice of men for this service, or else the event will be very dangerous. Agrees with the opinion that the difference between the Lord Deputy and himself was a great occasion of the continuance of these troubles, and more, a great hindrance to the service; but which of them runs the course that Her Majesty directs may be apparent to the world. Gives an instance with regard to the companies of horse and foot, which were to be assembled from the most remote parts of the realm. Had given orders respecting their apparel. Great scarcity of munition provided for them. After distributing half a barrel to each of the 31 companies that were in the army, there remained but two barrels and a half for the store of the army and provision of the garrisons. Only one poor labourer to take the charge of it, and the carriage for it was such that on the second day of their march they were fain to carry it upon their own hackneys. Insufficiency of the victualling, and of the carriage for the same and for the baggage of

1596.

the whole army. By this manner of provision it was meant that the army should be tied to those places where there was a small store of victuals, and not continue long together; notwithstanding they kept the field one month, and marched round about a great part of the country, getting the most part of their relief from the rebels. Most of the garrisons have been settled, and the rest would have been placed, if there had been munition or carriage. "That which brake the heart of the poor soldier most, after he had endured want and much travail, and all his apparel worn out, we met with letters from my Lord Deputy and the Treasurer, that, of this 12,000*l.* now sent over, there should be but 1,200 sent for the relief of the whole army and all extraordinary expenses, and that to come after a while."

Forgot to set down in its right place that towards the entertaining of guides, spies, messengers, rewards, intelligences, reparations of garrisons, and other charges incident to the carriage of an army, they were not furnished with one penny, but left to make shift as well as they could. Prays Burghley to be informed of [the Lord Deputy] Sir William Fitzwilliams and others, whether in former times Her Majesty's armies have been in like sort provided for. Now Burghley sees the true report of their proceedings. Leaves it to his judgment to censure who is faulty, beseeching Her Majesty that the matter may be duly examined, and the offender not only removed but severely punished. "For mine own part I must protest to your Lordship that I will be a suitor to Her Majesty rather to pass the rest of my threatened miserable days in any prison in England, than to live in this sort, where I can do Her Majesty no service, and venture the loss of my small reputation, for which I have endured no small hazard." Is no longer able to endure the burden of the extreme charge he is forced to be at, but must presently sink to the ground unless Her Majesty has consideration of him.—Athlone, 1596, July 7. *Holograph. pp.* 5.

July 7. Athlone.

10. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Complains of the want of letters. Has great need of directions in the dealing with these barbarous rebels. No letter from the Lord Deputy, but, after long stay, the bare copy of Her Majesty's letter, without any advice or direction. Refers to the Commissioners' joint letter of July 6, and to the preceding one to Burghley. The principal cause why the cessation was not continued was, that they were certainly advertised that the M'Shees, the only rebels that infested Munster, and some of the Moores that rebelled in Leinster, were importuning this pretended M'William to have some men from him to kindle the fire in those quarters; and this he granted them as soon as the cessation should be continued. Thought it an ill course to let them at ease in their own country, and let them set a war on foot in other countries, where no doubt, as soon as any head should be raised, many would fall in the same action. Chose rather to keep them occupied in this country, where they might consume those that were their own friends. Trusts, by the com-

1596. Vol. CXCI.

modity of the English garrisons, so to trouble them that they shall be the more willing to come to conformity.

"The view of this country discovereth unto us a wonderful weakness in Sir Richard Bingham, that could let it fall into the rebels' hands, being so strengthened with castles, and inhabited with so many Englishmen that professed to be soldiers; and, if there had not an extreme amazement fallen upon him, a small rabble of these beggarly rebels could not have so prevailed. As touching the complaints made against him, the books were hastily commanded from us, and detained till we had ended the journey, so that we could do little in it, and no marvel, for *sua res agitur;* yet, by examining of some few that were exhibited unto us, and by inquisition and report of the whole country, we find that more will be proved against him than is yet spoken of." The quiet of the North is like to be somewhat interrupted by James M'Sorley, who now stands upon proud terms where all this while he has seemed to be conformable. This alteration grew by the delivery of a brother of his, that was pledge in Her Majesty's castle, on whom depended the most part of his country. He, for the gift of 200*l.*, is released, and a bastardly child received in his place; so is Her Majesty's service everywhere managed.

As regards the treasure, does not think that, of the 32,000*l.* last sent over, the half has been paid to the men of war in Ireland; therefore prays that, if he must continue there, the portion meant for the payment of the soldiers may be set apart, and that he may have an interest in the distribution of it, as formerly Lord Ormonde and himself had in the like charge. Otherwise he fears he shall give Her Majesty but an ill account of her service. Those that have the chief managing of the treasure doubt that they shall have any inheritance in it, "and therefore, as the Frenchman saith, *ils veulent fayre leur dernière mayn.*" Those deputed from the rebels did vehemently urge against Captain John Bingham a letter of his that they intercepted. Sends a copy, but thinks the Captain will find a reasonable answer to it. Purposes within five days to go to the borders of the Brenny, to seek to compound the difference between that perverse rebel Philip O'Reilly and others of his kinsmen, who by the death of Sir Jo. O'Reilly are fallen into strife. Begs leave to say thus much: "the fault is in yourselves that this country is not reduced into better terms, for whilst the state is governed in this sort your Honour may be assured there will be neither good war nor good peace; for, whilst we break our hearts to bring these rude rebels to conformity, another humour doth strive to spur them to a jealousy that we go about to betray them, so that, till it be provided that the stream may run one way, there can no good be looked for." Fears these letters will have no speedier despatch to Cecil than the last, which the Lord Deputy stayed at Dublin.—Athlone, 1596, July 7. [*Postscript.*] Begs that Sir Geffrey Fenton may know that Norreys gave a good report of his service, "wherein assuredly he useth great care and diligence, and I fear he hath lost all the favour he had on this side for my sake." Cecil conceived aright

1596. VOL. CXCI.

that Norreys does not mean any of his letters to be kept secret. *pp.* 4½.

*An endorsement states that the letter was received at Greenwich on the 18th July. Incloses,*

10. i. *Extract from a letter of the Lord Deputy and Council, stating that they have dealt with the Treasurer to supply Norreys's wants with money according to the proportion that is come. Half has been expended in paying the borrowed monies and impresting the victualler. As soon as carriage can be had 1,200l. shall be sent to Athlone, out of which Sir John Norreys may be furnished with as much as is thought convenient.*

*A note in another hand says that "the money mentioned for Sir John Norreys is an imprest for the providing to sea of four pinnaces, which is likewise to be taken out of the said money." Endorsed:*—1596, *June* 30. *p.* ½.

July 7. Athlone. 11. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Can testify that the Lord General Norreys's companies both of horse and foot are well appointed and complete in numbers. Trusts that the great charges necessarily incurred by Norreys may be attended to.—Athlone, 1596, July 7. *p.* 1.

July 8. Athlone. 12. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy. To grant to Captain Garrett a commission for reinforcing his company to a hundred strong, as he is appointed to lie at Ballymahon in the Annaly, near the borders of Westmeath. Incursions lately made in those parts by a few naked kerne, to the great harm of the inhabitants.—Athlone, 1596, July 8. *Endorsed:* Received the 13th by Captain Garrett from the Lord President. *Copy. p.* 1.

July 8. Whetstone. 13. Captain Henry Malbie to Burghley. Much hindered on his journey by a late hurt. Sends the bearer his wife to particularize his misery. Prays for a gracious end to his former suit, for the relief of his "overthrown" estate, now in the hands of the rebels, and in more extreme misfortune than any in that land. Incloses a schedule. Unnatural courses held towards him in Ireland. Is ready to give details. Craves the benefit of a subject, and the account of his labours, which he hopes to have very shortly recommended to Burghley.—Whetstone, 1596, July 8. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

13. i. *Petition of Captain Henry Malbie to Burghley. Hurts sustained in the rebellion of Connaught. Was shut up by the enemy in the house of Roscommon for three months, January, February, and March. Eleven of his best men slain and twelve taken prisoners. Loss in horses and munition. His wound. Privations of the garrison. Lost 150 men by famine in 28 days. Burnt all the tables, stools, chests, and wooden stairs for firing. The town of Roscommon, and all the towns and buildings, corn,*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*cattle, and goods of the whole lordship, were burnt and spoiled suddenly, in time of peace* (sic). *Has lost all his goods to the value of* 500*l. per annum, besides his customs, royalties, and good tenants. His great debts incurred during his service. His wife and children depend on the Queen's grace.* [1596, *July* 8.] *pp.* 2.

13. II. "*A collection of the force and service of Ireland,*" *by Captain Henry Malbie, giving the names of the Irish chieftains, and the numbers of horse and foot at their command.* [1596, *July* 8.] *pp.* 3.

[July 8.] 14. Hugh O'Donnell to O'Connor and his sons. Full trust in Connaught men. O'Connor's pledges in the hands of the English are nothing dearer than O'Neill's and the writer's. O'Connor and his sons to repair to O'Donnell in all haste, "by reason, unless you come to us, you might hinder us of a great matter, which we intend to effect." For security, mentions the oath taken by O'Dogherty, MacSweeny Ne Doe, O'Boile, Rory O'Donnell, Neale Garvey O'Donnell and Ulick Burke, who are in his company. Teig O'Rourke is also sworn to them. *Endorsed:*—Received the 13th of the Lord President. *Copy. pp.* 1½. [*There is no year given on this document, but Teig O'Rourke had slipped to O'Donnell on the 27th June. See inclosure in July* 9. *Norreys also wrote on July* 8 *a letter which was received July* 13, *the same day as this one was.*]

July 9. Dublin Castle. 15. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. "It may please your Lordships. Anon after the despatch of our last unto your Lordships, wherewith, amongst divers other things, we transcripted such letters out of Connaught, as had then been sent us by the Lord President and Mr. Secretary, we received two other letters of theirs, the one jointly from them both, the other from Mr. Secretary alone, which have necessarily occasioned this despatch so soon after, both in regard of the importance of the service depending thereupon, and that Mr. Secretary hath especially desired it, alleging for excuse that it cannot be done by them there, in a part so remote, though we make no doubt but they have taken some course therein, for your Lordships' immediate satisfaction, as heretofore they have done, without acquainting us therewithal, unless for some other reason it be foreborne than for that by him alleged. First, therefore, we will begin (by your Lordships' good favour and license) with the copies of their said letters, which herewithal we send, to the end your Lordships may be pleased by the same to take notice, without any collection or inference of ours, how far they have proceeded, and what conclusion they are grown to, which we leave unto your wise and most grave considerations, and next, we have thought fit, in discharge of our duties, to impart unto your Lordships some observations of ours upon the same letters, as followeth.

1596 VOL. CXCI.

"Where they acknowledge to have pressed the Burkes and O Donnell to accord to their articles* proposed unto them, or else to know their final resolution, to the end they might avoid their evasions and delays, it appeareth how small hope there is of any good to be expected from those rebels, by course of pacification, if there were no other cause to mistrust their treacherous and unsound meaning, when they must thus be pressed to accord to such articles, as of themselves, upon their knees, they ought to have sought with all earnestness and importunity, and think themselves most happy that Her Majesty would be pleased to vouchsafe them the hearing. Further, where they signify that, as a last shift, those rebels, being pressed in that sort, have written unto them, desiring a month's respite, that the Earl of Tyrone might be made acquainted with the articles, who (as O'Donnell said) was able to induce the Burkes, and persuade them to conformity, that motion to our conceivings is apparent to be only a device, to defer and delay the time till the Spaniards' next intended arrival at Lammas, as they found the means to do the like from time to time, till their coming to them in May last, and not of any good intent to work their conformity, as they seem desirous to make show of. For neither can it reasonably be thought that the Earl is unacquainted with those articles, inasmuch as they have already had long time to deliberate thereof, and were not at any time hitherto so far removed from the Earl's place of abode, but, within the space of four days at the furthest, they could both send to him, and hear from him; neither had the Commissioners any just cause to think, whatsoever O'Donnell might pretend, that the Earl is either able or willing to persuade them to more conformity than himself could, seeing he hath the greatest interest in them, as dependers upon him and not the Earl; nor ought they to have hearkened to that motion of his, as knowing that it proceeded not of affection, seeing themselves in the same letters do acknowledge, that they did find the rebels resolute in their wilfulness, and the same to proceed most of O'Donnell, who worketh and carrieth them (as they say) to his own ends, and not to their good. Lastly, where, notwithstanding all this, it appeareth, by the said letters from the Commissioners, that they have been contented to yield to 15 days' respite for the rebels, to consider of their resolution to the articles, in that time to take the advice of their best friends, being left at liberty without pledges to do their worst; and, by a later letter of the third of this present, it further appeareth that they have yielded to the whole month's respite desired, as the copy of that letter herewith sent will likewise declare and make manifest, we cannot but very much marvel that they, having an army in the field of 5,000 strong, in Her Majesty's pay and otherwise, and well supplied as we think, should in such sort yield and assent to a course dishonourable for Her Majesty, and so utterly disliked by

* *Burghley writes on the margin* :—"These articles were never sent hither, either by the Lord Deputy, or from Sir John Norreys."

1596. VOL. CXCI.

themselves, as in their said letters they have noted; especially seeing therein they take knowledge of a great opinion conceived of the coming of the Spaniards about August; and withal give us warning to be upon our guard, and provide for the defence of the borders, lest something be attempted to our prejudice, as indeed since there hath been in Westmeath; when they know all the forces are with them, or in garrisons and wards far off from us, and only forty of Sir George Bourchier's company here with us, whatsoever should happen, for a guard.

"Wherefore, in discharge of our duties, we must deliver plainly unto your Lordships, which we humbly pray your Lordships to pardon, being enforced by the necessity of the service, that we do greatly fear this last delay will very much endanger this kingdom. For if, by the end of this month, till which time this respite is now granted, the Spaniards come according to their promise and the undoubted expectation of the rebels, as we have many reasons and advertisements to move us to think they will, besides their late special care to keep touch with them, observing the very day of their last appointment, being May day, without any breach at all, we see not, nor in our judgments can conceive, how this kingdom should any time be kept against them. But rather, we are all here of opinion, that, though the Spaniards do not come as is expected, but only supply them with munition, some arms, and a few commanders to advise and direct them, their own force is already grown so great, their combination so general, and their means to increase the same so certain, by reason of these cessations and treaties of peace, wherein there have now been spent full ten months with this, to Her Majesty's very great charge, the consumption and waste of the victuals, and the utter undoing of many subjects, with very little service performed, but contrariwise to the benefit and advantage of the rebels, whose strength is thereby almost doubled, as the realm by them alone will be much hazarded, if order be not taken, and that speedily, both to send over the horsemen late at Chester, better furnished and provided than the last were, and such other supplies of men, money, munition, and a very large proportion of victual,* as the war may be more roundly undertaken and proceeded in than hitherto it hath been, whilst the time of the year serveth for the purpose.

"We do very earnestly beseech your Lordships in your wisdoms to consider hereof seriously, and to resolve upon some course very effectually, for of this peace we are wholly in despair, for the sundry reasons herewith sent by way of collections,† which we humbly recommend unto your Lordships, whom it may please to understand by the enclosed letter of Captain Sentleger's, who in all these courses of pacifications hath been specially employed both in Ulster and Connaught, that he doth confirm our opinions, and

* *Burghley writes on the margin:*—"Horsemen, men, money, munition, victual without limitation."

† *Burghley writes on the margin:*—"The collections in a paper apart."

1596. VOL. CXCI.

giveth his judgment, that if a peace had been patched up, all the English in an instant should have had their throats cut."—Dublin Castle, 1596, July 9. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 16th of the same." *pp.* 6. *Inclose,*

15. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. The Burkes and O'Donnell have written for a month's respite. O'Donnell worketh them to his own ends and not to their own good. Fifteen days' respite granted them. Guard to be taken against any incursions that may in this interim be made by the O'Reillys and others bordering on the English Pale. Have warned the Lord of Delvin to be upon his guard. Teig O'Rourke, who was following the camp "as a loose and voluntary man," is slipped to O'Donnell.—The Camp at Ballinrobe,* 1596, *June* 27. *Copy. pp.* 2.

15. II. *Hugh O'Donnell to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. See inclosure* XV. *to letter of July* 7. *Copy. p.* ½.

15. III. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy. The rebels of Connaught are so fast tied to O'Donnell, and O'Donnell so proud and ill-affected, that he sees there will be no pacification till there be first a sharp war. They have essayed all the good ways they could devise to reduce them, and have received nothing from them but barbarous dissimulation, and now at last the Scot O'Donnell, pulling off his mask, would bring in the Earl of Tyrone to be a moderator of all the differences with the Connaught rebels. Could not agree to a month's respite, but have given fifteen days. The borders to be well guarded, and Feagh M'Hugh and his doings well waited on, lest in this interim with the Burkes here, the state of Leinster and the English Pale may be endangered. Have warned the Lord of Delvin to be on his guard. An eye to be had on the O'Reillys, and Feagh M'Hugh to be fed with hopes of grace out of England. Desires leave to return, being spent out with these barbarous and chargeable journeys in the field.—The Camp at Cong,* 1596, *June* 28. *Copy. pp.* 2.

15. IV. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Captain Bingham. Sends letters to be forwarded to the Lord Deputy and the Lord of Delvin. The rebels have broken the cessation, and Bingham is to act accordingly.—The Camp,* 1596, *June* 27. *Copy. p.* ½.

15. V. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. Have agreed to the month's respite. Will be ready thereafter to take the field, if garrans for carriage and other necessities of the army are furnished. Have placed a garrison in Cong, and taken a castle midway between Lough Curbe* [*Corrib*] *and Lough Mask. As the Spaniards are expected about August, have placed* 300 *soldiers in Galway, a place specially shot at by them, and* 100 *in Aghynare, a castle of the O'Flaherties upon Lough Curbe. Have divided other companies*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*to Athenry and other places, meet to defend the subject and offend the enemy, upon the borders of Clanrickarde and the O'Kellys' country. Mean to furnish garrisons for Roscommon and the Boyle, and will send some companies into the Annaly for the defence of Leinster. Will take care to keep the English Pale from burden as much as they can. Are now encamped within two miles of Ballinasloe. Three hundred beeves required at Athlone for the army. Great need of munition. Have but two barrels of powder in the whole army; none to be had at Galway or Limerick. Think that a general hosting should be published, and men answer personally with arms and horses, according to their tenures. For, inasmuch as they brag of the access of Spaniards, it is meet all means be used that may be by Her Majesty to put the realm in strength. Have lately received a letter from the Earl of Tyrone, full of conformity and good shew by speeches of persisting therein, for he writes* that he has discharged the Scots, and will now repair to the Commissioners. Wish therefore to be returned to the borders to meet him. At Galway, they arranged with the Mayor and brethren for the diet of 300 men and their officers, at 40l. a week, for a month. In this sum are included some extraordinaries for the garrison of Cong, as carpenters, masons, boat-hire, and other things. Munitions required for Limerick and Galway.—The Camp near Ballinasloe,* 1596, *July* 3. *Copy. pp.* 3.

15. VI. *Sir Thomas Colclogh to the Lord Deputy. Feagh M'Hugh has a special quarrel with him for his trusty servant Donogh Reogh and his wife. Desires instructions. Thinks Gerald M'Brian and John Masterson should be put upon bonds, both being dangerous men. None a greater disturber of the common quiet of those parts than Feagh M'Hugh, aided by his kinsmen and friends, verier rebels than himself. It will be an honour to the Lord Deputy to overthrow him.—Tintern,* 1596, *June* 25. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

15. VII. *Feagh M'Hugh [O'Byrne] to Sir Thomas Colclogh. Hears that Sir Thomas speaks hard of him in divers places. Complains of certain molestations of his people by the officers, and asks for restitution of the goods taken.—Sleynattin,* 1596, *June* 21. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. VIII. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy. Incloses a letter from Feagh M'Hugh, who seems to be grieved that the Earl committed his man to Her Majesty's gaol, as the Lord Deputy advised. Would be glad to know upon what terms Feagh stands with his Lordship. Is credibly informed that he combineth with the Kavanaghs, and as many other loose people as he may, to strengthen himself. Believes he will make a foul work ere long, if he be not prevented. Desires to know the Lord Deputy's pleasure touching Feagh's mother, who has been pardoned of long time. His nephew, James Butler, pursued into Ely the prey lately taken from*

* *Burghley writes on the margin* :—"This letter nor any copy thereof is sent."

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*the Earl's manor of Neanagh by Mulrony M'Teig O'Carroll. Seized some of it at the castle of Leame: Mulrony slain.—Carrick,* 1596, *June* 27. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. IX. *Feagh M'Hugh* [*O'Byrne*] *to the Earl of Ormonde. To deliver up his pledge George Fitz Dermot Oge, seeing he is clear from the challenge for which he was committed. Right of Feagh's mother to a certain farm at Coissea, on the Earl's land.—Carrack Croe,* 1596, *June* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. X. *Captain Charles Eggerton to the Lord Deputy. Shane M'Brian, Neill M'Brian Ferto, and others, would not let the garrison have any beeves for double the value of them. Got some from the Magyes, tenants of Mr. Marshall. Angus M'Connell's rent-beeves are for the most part unpaid; a distress necessary. The Scots brought over by Gillaspeck, the base son to Angus M'Connell, are entertained by O'Donnell. The Earl* [*of Tyrone*] *and James M'Sorley* [*Boy M'Donnell*] *have agreed for a month. Employed Captain Merriman's ensign three or four times to obtain beeves from Shane M'Brian, but in vain. Shane told by Tyrone not to appear yet before the Commissioners. Angus M'Connell arrived in the Route the* 21*st of June with some few Scots, who presently went to the Earl of Tyrone to Castlerow. Some say the Earl sent for them in great haste, others that Angus came over to seek help of the Earl against M'Lanna who has lately attempted his country of Ile. Neill M'Hugh M'Phellony bid them be on guard, especially regarding their horses, and openly told them that he saw no likelihood of the continuance of peace. Craves relief for himself and the wards* [*garrisons*] *under his charge, as he has received no imprest for five years past.—Knockfergus,* 1596, *June* 26. *Copy. pp.* 2.

15. XA. *Thomas Stevenson, Mayor of Carrickfergus, and Captain Rice Mansell to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Advertisements that morning by Teig O'Hagan that Tyrone, under colour of a pilgrimage to the church of Skyrrye, sixteen miles thence, was coming down to the borders of Carrickfergus, and that Con his son was coming over the ford at Belfast with the remnant force of the north, to meet him at the Brocker, some two miles from Carrickfergus. Teig assures them that treachery is meant. One of Brian M'Art's horsemen told him that the Earl had had of late advertisements out of Spain from one of M'Conn's sons, a dealer for him there, and in great reckoning with himself, that by the middle of July next there should land the promised aid of forces out of Spain. Cormack M'Baron is gone with all his forces of Tyrone into Connaught, and the Lord of Kentier* [*Cantire*] *his son with the Scots that were in those parts, giving very earnest warning that the garrison* [*at Carrickfergus*] *be well on its guard. That morning word came out of the Glynns that the Lord of Kentree* [*Cantire*], *otherwise Angus M'Connell, had already landed the day before with some* 600 *Scots, and that Tyrone had sent forty horse to safe-conduct him to the place where*

1596.

*he was. This was true, and he came as one sent for by Tyrone, and had the rest of his forces in readiness, to answer any call of the Earl's.—Carrickfergus,* 1596, *June* 26. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. XI. *Fergus O'Fearaill, Sheriff* [*of Longford*] *to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Spoil and prey of Clynawly by Ross O'Farrell. Treachery of the O'Farrells. James M'Donnell Waghery, with Maguire's brother, and others, has broken over the bridge of Ballenalaka in Westmeath, and burned and spoiled divers towns and villages thereabouts. Had not sufficient force to engage him.—Tennelit,* 1596, *June* 30. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. XII. *The Bishop of Meath to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *To send Captain Street to his charge at Kells, which is likely very shortly to be distressed by Philip O'Reilly and some of the O'Reillys and M'Mahons. Some of Captain Street's soldiers have been drawn into their confederacy, especially his drummer, and one Robert Powell. Has sent for the Lieutenant and those two men, and, if he gets them, will stay them. Captain Street has only fifty soldiers at Kells, of whom but ten are English, the rest being but the "reversions of horse boys in this ticklish time." Does not see how mischiefs are to be prevented. Will likewise send straight charge to the Sovereign of that town, who is but a simple man, to have a careful regard thereof. Philip O'Reilly and Edmund O'Reilly are secretly agreed. The former sent eight masons to break down his castle of Ballenecarge.—Arbrachan,* 1596, *July* 4. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

15. XIII. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The deferring of time by the Earl and the woodmen depends upon the good conclusion of the Connaught actions. If these be not presently perfected, he sees no likelihood but of a firm combination of them all in general. The Scots who were with the Earl are departed.—Mellifant,* 1596, *July* 4. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. XIV. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy. The bearer, the Serjeant-Major, will advertise the state of the army. He has something also to deliver about Sir Richard Bingham. Recommends the bearer. Asks that Captain Pettit's company, garrisoned in a castle near Cong, be reinforced to* 100.—*Athlone,* 1596, *July* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. XV. *Captain Warham Sentleger to Sir Anthony Sentleger. Sir,—How we have spent this Connaught journey were too long for me to write in particular; but in substance these traitors have broken off from any appearance of peace, which in my opinion is a happy turn for all that shall dwell in Ireland, for now the Queen shall know what to expect. Whereas, if we had patched up a peace, no doubt in an instant we should have had all our throats cut. They do exceedingly brag of the expectation of Spaniards, and that the Earl of Tyrone is joined with them. My Lord General cannot be drawn from a good opinion of the Earl, and that he will stand fast, which I assure you I am desperate of, notwithstanding the great trouble now imminent to Leix, and that I have showed Robin*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*Piggott's letter,* yet he will needs employ me down to the Earl of Tyrone. I have never in my life endured greater peril than I had in my late conference with O'Donnell, having my bridle laid hold on at my departure, and Anthony Brabazon stayed at their discretion. In regard whereof, and that I do not expect any goodness from any of them, I never in my life went any journey more unwillingly.*

*Assure yourself the Queen must either resolve to now conquer Ireland, or be conquered out of it, and so you may write to your good friend. I doubt not but Robin Piggott hath signified to you in what case Leix standeth, yet I send you here inclosed his letter to me. My Lord meaneth to direct warrant to the Sheriff and Robin Piggott to temporise with them till my return. In the mean I pray you further this bearer, my clerk, for the getting of my diet money, both for May past and this month of July; as for June, I am doubtful that we shall have any, in regard of some ten days' bread that we have received in this journey.† I am hastened away, and therefore will end with my best commendations to you and my Lady; and the Lord keep and defend us from his and our enemies. I pray you, Sir, take your house at Dublin as soon as you may, and have care in your coming and going betwixt your house and Dublin.—Athlone,* 1596, *July* 6. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. XVI. *Advertisements from Sir Robert Dillon. On Tuesday, 6th July* 1596, *Thomas Allen of Kilheele, in the county of Kildare, being in Sir Robert's chamber, said it was true that the stud of Sir Robert, and that of Mr. Fleming his father-in-law, had lately been stolen from the mountain of Kilheele by one of Feagh M'Hugh's sons. After this theft, Allen sent one M'Keogh, who was a very special friend of Feagh M'Hugh, as a messenger to the latter, under pretence of seeing him, but in truth to learn what was become of the stud. M'Keogh stayed there three nights, and whilst there saw two messengers, one from the Earl of Tyrone and the other from M'Mahon, who had brought letters to the said Feagh. M'Keogh inquired what was the import of the letters, and Feagh then told him in great secret that the Earl had written that Feagh should look well to himself, and conclude all things to his best liking, "for although, said the Earl in his letter to Feagh, I have concluded a peace with the State, yet, said he, I may break it when I list, for if I receive aid out of Spain by the beginning of August next (as I expect), whereof I was assured by the King of Spain his own letter, and also by the Spaniards that were with me there of late, who brought to me and O'Donnell store of munition, powder, and shot, I will then hold no longer peace, unless I and the rest have such a peace as shall be to our liking with them." M'Keogh thereupon left the next day, Monday, the 5th of July, leaving both the*

* *In the margin is a note:*—"This Piggott is a gentleman of Leix, that married Sentleger's sister."

† *In the margin is a note:*—"And 30*l.* in money besides their beef."

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*messengers at Feagh's house. Endorsed*:—1596, *July* 6. *Copy. p.* 1.

July 9. Kilmainham. 16. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. The cause of Tyrone's forbearing to take his pardon is that the Spaniards may know that he refused it.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 9. *p.* 1.

July 10. 17. Certificate by the Lord Deputy and Council of the departure into England of Captain Henry Malbie, for fear of being confronted with John Martin and his boy, touching certain accusations against Sir Richard Bingham. *Endorsed*:—1596, *July* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

July 10. Newry. 18. John Morgan to [the Lord Deputy]. His meeting and private talk with Art M'Baron, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, who professed great loyalty to Her Majesty. He stated that there was nothing said or done at the Council table, but the Earl had intelligence thereof, and of all that the nobility in the Pale knew. He told Morgan Sir Richard Bingham must be removed, and other dishonourable demands granted in Connaught, before they would yield to any conformity there. No English Governor would be accepted but one of the Lord President's brothers. As Art said, whatsoever peace they made would be broken when Spaniards came. If Morgan would be at the parley between the Earl and the Commissioners, Art would tell him more news. James M'Sorley [Boy] was agreed with the Earl, and had taken his son to foster. The Earl's men were gone into Connaught for the most part.—Newry, 1596, July 10. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

July 10. Newry. 19. Captain Francis Stafford to [the Lord Deputy]. James M'Connell, *alias* Sorley, is agreed with the Earl of Tyrone, and has taken upon agreement his son, Henry O'Reilly, to foster. In the time of their discontent the Earl countenanced the Macgwillens and Rory Oge Macgwillen, who took a fort wherein there was a ward of James M'Connell's men, whom he killed. The Earl maintained him in the place, but since this agreement has taken the fort from Rory and re-delivered it to James. Angus M'James, also the Lord of Cantire, has been with the Earl, and he and the Earl are upon one word. Con, the Earl's son, is removed out of Magennis's country, and lies at this instant at the ten miles church in the highway between Newry and Armagh. Critical position of affairs.—Newry, 1596, July 10. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

July 13. Dublin. 20. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Particulars regarding a book of accounts herewith enclosed. Has at no time been able to make full payments. Scarcity of victual. Thinks some merchants should be dealt with to bring in rye from Dantzic, because corn is likely to be scarcer in Ireland this year than last. As yet corn and beeves can be had better and cheaper in Munster than in England, if only money be sent. Will send at the end of July a ledger book of his account as Treasurer at Wars for four years ended September 30, 1595. The bearer, Geffrey Johnson, to bring back Her Majesty's

1596. VOL. CXCI.

warrant for the sending of this book.—Dublin, 1596, July 13. *pp.* 4. *Incloses,*

20. I. *A book of the issuing of such treasure as has been sent into Ireland, from* 1 *October* 1595 *to* 30 *June* 1596, *under the hand of Sir H. Wallop.*—1596, *July* 3. *pp.* 87.

20. II. *A brief declaration of the monthly charge growing due to Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, under the hand of Sir Ralph Lane.* —1596, *June* 6. *pp.* 18.

20. III. *A brief collection of all the payments made out of* 12,000*l. sent into Ireland by Privy Seal of* 27 *May* 1596, *under the hand of Sir H. Wallop.*—1596, *July* 12. *pp.* 15.

July 14. 21. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. For a supply of 20 lasts of powder to be sent over by John Allen, Clerk of the Ordnance in Ireland.—1596, July 14. *p.* 1.

July 15. Mellifant. 22. Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Deputy. Is presently to go down to the place appointed for meeting with the Earl of Tyrone. —Mellifont, 1596, July 15. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

July 16. Dublin. 23. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Now that Sir Geffrey Fenton, one of the Commissioners, is returned from Connaught, and that the purpose of pacification there is quite frustrated, it is not meet for them to put off any longer signifying in what dangerous case the realm stands in all parts, so that the remedies may be thoroughly and speedily considered. As in Ulster was planted and laid the first foundation of all these dangerous alterations in Ireland, so from thence, as from the main head and fountain, has ensued from time to time matter of infection to all the other parts within the realm, and means to call in the foreign enemy to the further hazarding thereof. For, although at the conclusion made with Ulster in April last, Tyrone, the M'Mahons, Maguire, the O'Reillys, and the residue of that province, undertook to send in their pledges immediately, and to employ agents authorised severally to sue out their pardons, yet none except Tyrone have sent in their pledges, and none have made means to solicit their pardons, which were always ready to be perfected, as largely as the Commissioners had accorded.

Tyrone himself has not received his pardon as yet, though it was sent to him by Sir Edward Moore more than eight weeks past. Whether he will accept of it at all or not they know not, though by experience of his former "delatories" used therein, they have reason to think the contrary; for the pardon being carried up to the borders, where Tyrone was to meet the Lord of Louth, Sir Edward Moore, and other Commissioners appointed to treat with the woodmen, and to deal in matters of restitution, and after the Commissioners had attended a long time for him there, they returned without doing anything, Tyrone not having come, and entertaining them with the evasion that he was troubled to rid his country of certain

1596. VOL. CXCI.

companies of Scots lately arrived. If he had meant well he would have preferred the receiving of Her Majesty's pardon, by which he was restored to the state of a subject, before all other business. The access of the Scots is usual and ordinary into those parts every year, and it is no great difficulty for Tyrone to be despatched of them. His dealing with the Scots was, not unlikely, rather to combine with them than otherwise. Besides the M'Mahons and the O'Reillys, bordering upon the English Pale, have had a free scope since the conclusion, and by colour thereof ravage up and down, and spoil the good subjects of their meat, drink, and goods at their pleasure; and now Philip O'Reilly, contrary to his submission and the articles of agreement signed by him, has taken upon him the name of O'Reilly since the death of his brother, who has left sons to succeed him in his lands, and writes proudly to the State that he will have the country of the Brenny brought back to the tanist law, and will allow of none other.

Tyrone is not ignorant of all this, both of himself and from the Council, yet nothing has ensued from him but delays and excuses, such as savour more of further aspiring pretences to the troubling of the realm, than of a mind humbled to the ways of a subject seeking to repair his former faults. Likewise his running to the Spaniards so soon after he was received to mercy, and his private conference with them without acquainting the State of any matters handled therein, although pressed thereto, and the manner of his sending the King of Spain's letter to the Council, considering the charge he gave to the bearer to carry it back again, and not to suffer so much as a copy to remain with them, and, lastly, the pride whereunto both he and the rest are grown, being careless, since they spoke with the Spaniards, of their duty to Her Majesty, and insolent to all other purposes, especially in the point of suing out their pardons and putting in their pledges, which it seems they regard not at all; all these are arguments that Tyrone and the residue of Ulster are not removed from their first unsoundness, notwithstanding their submissions, but rather increase in stomach and disloyalty, insomuch that the treason first planted in Ulster has now taken deeper root than before, and the hopes of continuing it are great, through the promises of the Spaniards, whose coming is assuredly looked for by the middle of August.

Connaught is made a firm party with Ulster, and has the same expectation of the Spaniards. Tyrone and O'Donnell have got so strong a dependency there, that no course is assented to by the rebels save by their direction. The Commissioners have found that those two hold the people there so fast engaged and enthralled, that they would assent to no pacification but such as Tyrone and O'Donnell liked, and desired all differences to be referred to the former. Impossibility of allowing this. Sir Geffrey Fenton's report. Disloyalty of O'Donnell and Tyrone. Henry Hovenden, the Earl's servant, "a person most secret and of greatest trust with him."

1596. VOL. CXCI.

From Ulster and Connaught the treason is distilled into Leinster, where a new dangerous fire is lately kindled by the O'Mores to the hazard of Leix and Offaly; and, towards the borders of the Pale, Feagh M'Hugh is working to set up a strong party there with the O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, and Kavanaghs, and some of the Butlers. This is not done without intelligence with Tyrone, whose messengers cease not to pass to and fro between him and Feagh. Besides, Omalaughlin, a principal man of name in Westmeath, with all his sons, is started out within these four days. Cannot think that Munster is free, for, as Sir Geffrey Fenton has affirmed, there were with the Burkes now in Connaught many fugitives of that Province all the time of the treaty, soliciting a force to be sent with them into Munster, to begin a stir there, where they undertook to have many friends. The Council think they have too many. As for the English Pale, it is probable that many of the better sort have been practised withal, of whose soundness the Council are rather doubtful than otherwise, especially if the foreign enemy come. Mountford, a supposed Jesuit remaining with Tyrone, is now in the Pale, secretly seeking whom he may seduce; so that, by the working of Tyrone and O'Donnell, the first conspirators of all this treason, the infection is not only run into all other parts of the realm, but also Her Majesty's great enemy abroad, the King of Spain, is called in and made a party. He will not lose so fair an opportunity to endanger this kingdom, which he so long has shot at, and now has so good an entrance by the greatness of his side almost in all the provinces of the realm, but especially in Ulster and Connaught, which are in effect wholly devoted to him. The home rebels are increased in strength and faction above expectation, and the foreign adversary is looked for to come out of hand. These, being joined together, may strike the greater blow at one time in sundry parts of the realm: and, although the foreign enemy should not come, yet the danger is very great on all sides, through the home rebels serving in numbers, and being worse affected than ever.

All the parts of the kingdom must be put in defence, particularly the English Pale, which is the heart, and therefore specially shot at, but which is sound in itself. Asks for 3,000 foot and 300 horse to be sent to Ireland out of hand; 2,500 foot to land at Carlingford, and all the rest at the port of Dublin. These to be trained men, and put under captains of worship and dwellers in the countries where the companies are levied; for the sending heretofore of raw men, under the rule of captains either strangers to them or wanting the due reputation of captains, has been a great hindrance of much good service in this realm in these later years, and will rather still increase than be diminished, if it be not foreseen and prevented now. If the Spaniards come, a further force of horse and foot will be necessary. Victuals, especially corn, butter, and cheese, to be sent with the forces, and ready money for the purchase of beeves. Cannot borrow money in Ireland. The 1,200*l.* sent by the last Privy Seal has been spent, and 200*l.* more; the occasions for disbursing money daily increase in all parts. If the Privy Council have any

1596. VOL. CXCI.

certain advertisement of the coming of Spaniards, some ships should be employed on the Irish coasts to distress them in their coming, and to impeach their landing. Have long since sent the Popinjay to occupy the Northern Seas, to attend the doings of the Scots, and to cross their coming as much as she may.—Dublin, 1596, July 16. *pp.* 6.

July 16. Dublin. 24. The Lord Deputy and Council at Wars in Ireland to the Privy Council. The time grows more and more troublesome by access of greater dangers. Expediency of the rest of the Council joining with them in martial causes.—Dublin, 1596, July 16. *p.* 1.

July 16. Dublin. 25. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Stayed Sir Richard Bingham in Dublin since the 8th of May last, nearly a month before receiving Her Majesty's commandment to that effect, so that no exception might be taken to him as giving impediment to the negotiations and the coming in of the rebels in Connaught. Similarly they had stayed him at Athlone before, when some of the Council were at Galway about the same pacification. Now the pretence of staying him from his charge cannot hold any longer, for the Connaught rebels have broken off, as they did before at Galway, from all dutiful submission, and, as notable traitors, are entered into an open action of rebellion. Therefore they cannot proceed in the matter of the complaints against Sir Richard, who continually seeks to justify himself, and to answer all accusations. His accusers, though sent for, have not appeared. Send Sir Richard's answers to the complaints against him. Cannot directly say that the complaints were framed by the rebels, or ever seen by them, but rather by one Lonnan and others, who secretly preferred them against Sir Richard. He seems much grieved at his long lying here upon these pretences of crimes by rebels against him their Governor, and has instantly besought to be returned to his charge, or to have license to repair over to their Lordships to justify himself, he being in no default that all these causes were not heard long ago.—Dublin, 1596, July 16. *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

25. I. *A note of divers things wherewith Sir Richard Bingham is charged by certain articles presented to the Lord Deputy at Galway, ultimo Novembris,* 1596 [*this should be* 1595], *with the proofs and answers thereto. pp.* 9.

25. II. *Charges against John Bingley, William Fildew, and others depending upon Sir Richard Bingham. pp.* 3.

July 16. Kilmainham. 26. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Sir Geffrey Fenton reports that the Lord President Sir John Norreys intends to take the field the beginning of next month. More forces necessary. Critical position of affairs. The Earl [of Tyrone] now makes show to take his pardon, and is coming to the border for that purpose; yet his messengers are with Feagh M'Hugh and others in the Pale, drawing them to combine in this conspiracy. The priest Mountford labouring most busily.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 16. *pp.* 1½.

VOL. CXCI.

1596.

July 16. Kilmainham. 27. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir,—Your Honour may perceive by our joint letter, now that Sir Geffrey Fenton is returned out of Connaught, that we are enforced to resolve upon a war, as the only mean to keep this kingdom, after that all other means have been tried, to Her Majesty's exceeding great charge and disadvantage. We have now written for 3,000 foot and 300 horse, which I beseech your Honour help to send us speedily, and a large proportion of victual and treasure, that we may be able to take the field quickly; for otherwise I do assure your Honour, though the Spaniard should not come as is expected, it is now the opinion of others as well as mine, that the rebels themselves will hazard this kingdom.

During all the time of the cessations and treaties of peace, which with this hath been fully now ten months, the rebels have had means to provide their victuals, and to furnish themselves of armour and munition. They have likewise had the opportunity to send their messengers as well into the Pale, as into other parts, to sound how every man stood affected towards them; and such as by that means they could not work, they have most cunningly found another way to entice, which is by the persuasion of Mountford the priest, a very pestilent and crafty seducer, who for certain is at this present in the Pale, and hath been since the sealing of the Earl's pardon; so as, whensoever the Earl shall again declare himself to be in action, as in all likelihood he will shortly, though now he make show to take his pardon, and will pretend the ground thereof to be for freedom of religion and conscience, a matter which he hath heretofore stood upon, it may well be doubted his party will be so great, as will give a strong push to endanger the whole realm, inasmuch as it is certainly thought the greatest part of the Pale are combined with him, and are deeply interested in this conspiracy. Your Honour knows that myself have of long time mistrusted that this would be the sequel, but seeing I have found little credit given to anything that I have hitherto delivered, I should take it a special argument of your love, that you would be a mean of my revocation, who find nothing here but cause of discomfort, through Her Majesty's distaste of my endeavours.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 16. *pp.* 2.

July 16. Dublin. 28. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In the time of Sir William Fitzwilliams' government, there was put over to his eldest son, Dudley Loftus, twenty horse of the old garrison, which he holds yet. The first journey he made with them was that wherein the overthrow was given at Belleek, in which service his horse was slain under him, and he acquitted himself so well that upon his return he was knighted. Since that time he has ever been employed in all journeys, and has taken as much, or more, toil and travail as those who have had far greater entertainment. Now that fresh forces have been asked for by the Lord Deputy and Council, the writer prays that his son (who has wholly bent his course to the wars) may have warrant to make up his

1596. VOL. CXCI.

horse to the number of fifty, which will be a great ease to the country there. Undertakes, upon his credit, that the company shall be all English, or Englishmen's sons (most fit for this service), as tall men and as well furnished as any in Ireland. Relies on Sir Robert, having resolved not to trouble the Lord Deputy with any such suit. Himself and his son will be most thankful for the favour requested.—Dublin, 1596, July 16. *p.* 1.

July 18. Dublin. 29. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Deputy and Council have certified over the state of his causes, with his answers to the supposed complaints of the rebels. Desires some good course towards the relief of his grief and long-endured disgrace, through malicious pretences on the behalf of notable traitors. Has been very hardly dealt with by the accepting and sending over of these slanderous libels, without making him once privy thereunto, or calling him to his answer, although he has daily urged it these seven or eight months. The Council have also suffered [Captain] Henry Malbie to pass over, without hearing his most false accusation against Sir Richard, that he would stop the rebels from going in to the Lord Deputy at Galway. Hopes that the framers of the complaints may be compelled to come in and justify whatsoever they can against him, and, if he shall sufficiently clear himself and disprove them, craves both reparation for himself and punishment of the contrivers, as shall be thought meet. The general state of things in Ireland is, he knows, daily advertised to Sir Robert by others who can do it better than he. In all appearance the realm is in great peril, especially if any foreign enemy should arrive: "albeit the Irish themselves may put it in hazard, such is their general combination, and our slow proceeding against them, through which they have exceedingly prevailed in these ten months."—Dublin, 1596, July 18. *p.* 1.

July [18]. Dublin. 30. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. His bad treatment in the matter of the complaints against him. Falsely accused by [Captain] Henry Malbie. Has done nothing but as very justice led him, to the great avail of Her Majesty's service, and general benefit of these ungrateful people. Is ready to justify himself against all men. His enemies endeavouring to "bring him in mislike," and to get him displaced and condemned unheard. Has long continued discountenanced upon malicious pretences, and has been refused hearing. If things have gone amiss there by evil success, he is not to be charged therewith, but rather those who have had rule and command over the whole; for, in the beginning of this war, he was denied a small supply, although he offered great service, and then gave advice, on the refusal of which by the Council he foretold the loss of Connaught. Has since been restrained through these courses of peace and cessations, so that for ten months he has had no exercise of his charge in a manner; and all to get away his place, in which they desire to settle some friend of their own. Desires Burghley's favourable consideration for some present

1596. VOL. CXCI.

ease of his grief and disgrace, this being a time in which he might do Her Majesty service.

Perilous state of Ireland, owing to the combination of the Irishry. Their strength daily increases. The sept of the Omalaughlins in Westmeath has lately revolted to them. Although the Lord President purposes to be in the field with his forces next month, doubts whether he will be able to hold out meanwhile, in number and otherwise, through his wants and small relief, all places in those parts now being no better than camps. Wishes the Lord President had spent his time of treating with the rebels in building Sligo, his companies being strong, and it being the height of summer. When the year is spent, things must needs grow "more harder," and, the longer they linger, the more swords shall they have against them. Until Connaught is divided from Ulster, neither will the people be reformed, nor any good conquest made of Ulster, whereas Sligo being garrisoned, divers, both Burkes and others, have offered many good services for Her Majesty, when they shall see a way for their defence from O'Donnell; being at difference amongst themselves about their new-made Captains of Counties, because O'Donnell, contrary to their wish, law, and custom, has elected the youngest and unworthiest, as they hold it, namely, the M'William, whose head Sir Richard was promised by his own kinsmen, on their own offer, if the M'William had not been strengthened by some Scots from O'Donnell. "They do exceedingly brag of their hope of Spaniards, and their devilish pretence of religion, [it] may be doubted, will do hurt in the borders of the Pale." Beseeches God to send some good reformation amongst them; matters have passed so far that he fears, without the sword, all treaties will be unprofitable.—Dublin, 1596, July [18]. *pp.* 2½.

*Endorsed by Burghley*:—"With his answers to the complaints of the rebels in Connaught."

[July 19.] 31. Minute from the Privy Council to the Lord Chancellor [Loftus], directing that a decree given by him in a cause of Sir Patrick Barnewell against the Lord of Howth be examined into by the Lord Deputy and Council. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

*Endorsed*:—"Letter for Sir Patrick Barnewell to the Lord Chancellor."

July 20. Dublin. 32. Dionise Campbell, Dean of Limerick, to Sir Robert Cecil. Has lately returned into Ireland. The success of his course held with the Earl of Argyle. Is informed that one Pont, who has compassed the whole of Scotland, purposes to set forth a perfect description of that land. Has ordered a copy for Sir Robert upon the first edition. Thanks of the Earl of Argyle for the favours received by the Dean at Court. Left the Earl very well affected to Her Majesty's service, without prejudice of his loyalty and honour.—Dublin, 1596, July 20. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCI.

1596.
July 20. 33. Payments for the forces in Ireland from 29 July 1595 to 27 May 1596, amounting to 68,000*l.* *p.* ½.

July 21. Dublin. 34. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Tyrone received Her Majesty's pardon most dutifully, and, as a public token of his rejoicing, caused a great volley of shot to be discharged in his camp. His protestations of loyalty; seems to continue still in his good mind, for he desires another meeting with the Commissioners, to be attended by himself and those of Connaught. Has signified this to Sir John Norreys, advising acceptance of the offer. Sir Edward Moore and others looked for within two days. If by any means, not savouring too much of dishonour and disprofit to Her Majesty, they might "stay the raging troubles of this realm," thinks it would be no mean service. Her Majesty's purpose for a thorough pacification. Doubts not that many things will be written rather to "inculpe" the Earl of unsoundness, because of his delays touching his pardon. Arguments and collections will not be wanting to condemn him, if his actions and demeanour after the receipt of his pardon will not give matter to justify him. Sees not any safe way to judge him but by the sequel of his behaviour. Wishes that Tyrone may be cherished and borne up in his well doings, and not altogether dejected and thrown down by slight opinions, not well grounded in matter. He stands now a late offender, fearful and distrustful, and will be secured by time and good usage. Encloses letter from Captain Warren, of which he sent copy to Sir John Norreys. As further matters shall ensue, both for Connaught and Ulster, Burghley shall be imparted therewith. Dares not give any advice to retard the sending of the forces lately written for, nor to have the numbers diminished. Wishes Connaught might be furnished with a Governor meet to reduce that country, without putting Her Majesty to the charges of a long and bloody war. "Touching Improvido, under whom the province was lost, when it was so well furnished with Englishmen seated in strong castles, I see not how he can be made fit to recover it, either by force or otherwise, the country being mastered by a strong rebel, O'Donnell, and the people's hearts alienated from Improvido without hope of recovery." Tyrone, sitting at supper at Castle Roe, rent Henry Hovenden's letter, which laboured to prepare the Earl to new troubles, and threw it under the table, saying in Irish, "This shall never be seen more." A few days after he took his pardon. Feagh M'Hugh becometh more doubtful. It were good that Her Majesty's pleasure were signified out of hand for him, on the following conditions: That he surrender his country, and receive it again from Her Majesty, at such rent, and other reservations for services, as the State shall lay down; and that the fort of Ballinacor may be reserved in Her Majesty's hands for a time, till it may be seen what Feagh's loyalty will be; that he shall obey the Sheriff and all other Her Majesty's officers, book his men every year, and put in good pledges. Howsoever matters shall "sort" in Connaught and Ulster, either to peace or war, it

1596. VOL. CXCI.

is meet Feagh be staid, and not left loose, for the hurt he may do in Leinster and the Pale may be greater than that which Tyrone can do in Ulster.—Dublin, 1596, July 21. *pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

34. I. *Captain William Warren to Sir Geffrey Fenton. The Earl of Tyrone likes well of the offers that were made to the Connaught rebels. He is unwilling to make any conclusion for them till he have spoken with them. For this they have given him until the 4th of August. The Earl has sent for O'Donnell to meet him with all the Burkes, O'Rourke, M'Mahon, Maguire, and all the rest of the rebels; he means to take all their pledges, and to deliver them presently upon the agreement made with them in Connaught, and has sworn he will overrule them in this, or else take part against them. Further he has vowed, if O'Donnell has combined with the Spaniard, he will never give him any aid, but be a mortal enemy to him. Earnest protestations of his loyalty. The Earl has written to the Lord President. He has received his pardon, and gave a volley of shot at the receiving of it. He has promised restitution of anything taken. There was no remedy but to give the Earl time, and the time given was as short as possible. There was a knavish letter written by Henry Hovenden, whereof a copy was sent to the Lord General. The writer's brother, Garrett Moore, brought up Hovenden's letter to the Lord Deputy. Is so lame that he can neither ride nor go afoot without deadly pain. When he sees Fenton, he will give him a better testimony of the Earl's good meaning.—Drumconraugh,* 1596, *July* 20. *pp.* 2.

34. II. *Henry Hovenden to Tyrone. All delays possible have been used for prolonging the causes in Connaught. All will not serve, for the Lord General pretends to war, because O'Donnell will not put in his pledge. Thinks a new war will not be immediately. Tyrone showed more haste than was convenient in writing to O'Donnell, M'William, and the rest. Advises him to be provided for the wars.*—1596. *Copy. p.* 1.

July 21. Dundalk. 35. The Commissioners [the Lord of Louth, Sir Edward Moore, and Baron Eliot,] to the Lord Deputy and Council. Tyrone, at his meeting with them, desired to have his pardon delivered, conditionally, that if the men of Connaught could not be brought in, then the Commissioners should receive the same back again. This denied. His humble acceptance of the pardon. They met him again on the 19th, and treated with him on the points of their commission. The Earl's sudden departure to O'Donnell and the Connaught men prevented any other good being done there. Will proceed with their commission on the Earl's return. Send copy of letter received from him (*inclosure wanting*). The Earl has made proclamation that none of his people shall enter into any place within the Pale to take meat, drink, &c.; if they did, that he would cause them to make double restitution. Notwithstanding all these plausible proceedings, they may not in duty conceal the common report muttered in the Earl's camp, and elsewhere, that

1596. VOL. CXCI.

the coming of the Spaniards is surely expected very shortly.—Dundalk, 1596, July 21. *pp.* 2.

July 21. Inshioleghan. 36. Gerrott Comerford to [? the Lord Deputy]. Is desirous of holding sessions in the county of Clare. The good and faithful subject will be deciphered from the bad in Thomond by their appearance thereat. It is thought that Connor O'Brian of Ballicorigg, Teig Keogh M'Mahon, and others of Thomond, will enter into rebellion. The cause of their revolt is not known, unless they be infected and desirous of stirs, as all the Province is, with the exception of the nobility and a few more, chiefly seduced thereunto by O'Donnell and the Munster and Ulster rebels.—Inshioleghan, 1596, July 21. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

July 23. Kilmainham. 37. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. It may please your Lordship. It appeareth by letters from Sir Edward Moore and Baron Eliot, that the Earl of Tyrone hath at the last taken his pardon, and now how hard an opinion Sir Edward hath thereof himself, will likewise appear by the copies of his said letters, having grounded the same both upon the speeches which passed between the Earl and him, and upon the two letters written by Henry Hovenden in his own hand, and he known to be a man most inward with the Earl. Which letters Sir Edward having by accident gotten into his hands, it seemeth they do very far persuade him to think no sound meaning is intended, but very notable treachery to the endangering of the kingdom; and yet cannot Sir Edward well be thought either ill affected to the Earl, but for dutiful respect only, or any way desirous of a war which is like to prove his undoing.

By the former letter, written in March last, Hovenden taketh upon him to counsel the Earl, upon the coming to him of one out of Spain, as by conjecture I do gather, that he should not yield to a peace, according to the articles delivered by Mr. Henry Warren (who was employed by myself), for that he affirmeth it could not stand with his good. By the later, of the 27th, which I take to be of June, for that it appeareth that upon that day the Lord President and Mr. Secretary were broken off with the rebels of Connaught, as having then discovered that they meant nothing else but dalliance, he showeth plainly that what was done by those rebels was altogether by direction from the Earl, and that they had omitted no delays that could possibly be used for prolonging the causes there.

Seeing therefore it doth further appear by Sir Edward Moore's letter that the Earl had told him that, before fourteen days passed, there would be one thousand men out in Leinster, and that an advertisement from the Sheriff of Waterford doth already concur therewithal, affirming that many of the Butlers are in readiness to put themselves into arms, as by the same may appear, and that, as is thought, upon discontentment that they are not restored in their blood, I cannot but very earnestly entreat your Lordship that, of the numbers of horse and foot last desired, one thousand

1596.

foot and 150 horse, may (if it be possible) be landed here at Dublin by the fourth of the next month, lest upon the arrival of the Spaniard at that time so certainly expected, or upon confidence and pride of their own strength and that expectation, the whole kingdom should generally revolt and fall away, as your Lordship may remember I have long doubted, and now am of opinion that it will, unless this number be sent us hither presently. The rest I could wish might by the 15th be at Carlingford, for that against that day we have appointed the general hosting to be in readiness, which is doubted will not stand fast without a good force of English, and that we shall be enforced to leave the greatest part of the forces here already still in Connaught, seeing the Lord President is of opinion the Spaniards will land at Galway or at Limerick. But, howsoever, the first would be a good stay, and a comfort to think the rest to be coming.

I humbly beseech your Lordship, likewise, that we may be supplied with victuals and treasure, whereof our wants are well known to your Lordship, being often laid down of late both by myself and the Council, and without which it cannot be looked that this kingdom can be kept; and therefore I hope still your Lordship will consider thereof, as the danger and necessity requireth, the greatest part of this people having takein their oath to join with the King of Spain upon the landing of his forces. In my opinion it were fit that these were trained bands and sent with the gentlemen of credit that might have the command of them.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 23. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

37. I. *The Lord of Louth, Sir Edward Moore, and Baron Eliot, Commissioners, to the Lord Deputy and Council. Captains Sentleger and Warren treat with Tyrone concerning the causes of Connaught. Meeting of the Commissioners with the Earl. Tyrone required liberty for fifteen days to meet O'Donnell, M'William, and the men of Connaught, before receiving his pardon. Tyrone receives Her Majesty's pardon, protesting that it was more acceptable to him than the patent of his creation at the first. Further meeting of the Commissioners and the Earl on July 19th. Sudden departure of the Earl to Connaught. Will see him again on his return, unless commanded to the contrary. Send copy of the Earl's letter. Proclamation by him. The Spaniards very shortly expected.—Dundalk,* 1596, *July* 21. *Copy. pp.* 3.

37. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir Richard Moore. Will meet him either at the Glynns' side towards the Newry, or at Aghneskeagh towards the borders of Dundalk, on Saturday the 17th of July. Is not to blame for the woodmen not coming in from time to time.*—1596, *July* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

37. III. *Note of certain points in the instructions and commission of the Lord of Louth, Sir Edward Moore, and Baron Eliot, to be agreed on with the Earl of Tyrone at his return out of Connaught.*—1596, *July* 19. *Copy. pp.* 2.

1596. VOL. CXCI.

37. IV. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Commissioners. Thanks for the delivery of Her Majesty's pardon. Will from henceforth remain her obedient and loyal subject. At his return from Connaught he will endeavour to pacify the woodmen and others.—The Fues,* 1596, *July* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

37. V. *Henry Hovenden to the Earl of Tyrone. See second inclosure to letter of July* 21. *Copy. p.* 1.

37. VI. *Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Deputy. His opinion of the Earl of Tyrone. Learns that the Earl, notwithstanding his protestations of loyalty, has combined wholly with the Spaniards, whose landing is daily expected. Is assured the Earl will break his promises when time serves his turn, although he declares the Spaniards had not his hand for their coming. If O'Donnell asked them, the Earl knew nothing about it. He would not swear to Sir Edward which side he would take, if any foreign forces landed. Some speeches passing between them concerning Her Majesty's Patentees, as the Earl of Essex, Arthur Magennis, Mulmore O'Reilly, and others, the Earl's answer was, that it was a great wrong now to give away the customs and lands which they had had so long in possession; by which Sir Edward supposes he would have the country "in state as before." Upon the Earl speaking to some of his "shot" about spending their powder in a voluntary skirmish, Sir Edward told him his care need be little about that, having received so much powder from the Spaniard. This the Earl utterly denied, and said that none was taken but what M'William and Maguire had, which was sixteen barrels. He further said he had bestowed a thousand pounds for powder. Sir Edward wished him to make his money thereof again, but the Earl answered he would not, for he thought now he should need it. Feagh M'Hugh's messenger was there, whom he has carried with him into Connaught. The messenger said Feagh M'Hugh would do no harm till he heard from the Earl. Tyrone said to Sir Edward that some thousand or more would be out in Leinster before fourteen days were expired, and willed him to be careful of his good, for if any harm came to him, it would be by some of Sir Edward's neighbours. Sir Edward's land on the border subject to the mercy of the enemy. Would rather beg his bread than have a peace not honourable to Her Majesty taken with those whose pride and dislike seek the commanding of their necks. Does not think Tyrone wants to settle the Connaught affairs himself, in order to confirm an assured confidence of his loyalty.—Mellifont,* 1596, *July* 22. *Copy. pp.* 3.

37. VII. *John Eliot, Baron of the Exchequer, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The Earl of Tyrone's protestation that he knew not what O'Donnell had done for the bringing in of Spaniards. If any were coming, very few were privy to it. They could never get Tyrone's hand to the matter. Reports of M'Donnell, Neill M'Hugh M'Phelim, and Thomas Walshe that the Earl is deceiving, and does*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*expect the Spaniards very shortly. James M'Sorley [Boy M'Donnell] and the Earl made friends by Angus M'Connell, who has promised to come to the Earl with 500 Scots when he wishes. Tyrone's desire to have the castle of Belfast. Neill M'Hugh says, if the Earl had it, he would raze it to the ground. The Earl said there were too many castles in Ulster. Without speedy prevention all will be naught. Mora trahit periculum.*—1596, *July* 21. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

37. VIII. *Advertisement from the Sheriff of Waterford County that the Butlers now in arms will not be scattered without rebellion. They are three or four hundred horse and foot, daily exercising in the borders and near O'Carroll's country. Is credibly informed that there are nearly* 3,000 *men in daily exercise and practise of arms within the several baronies of the County Palatine, in readiness to do no good. Advises against raising a general hosting, which will rather do hurt than help the army. Endorsed:—Received* 23 *July* 1596. [*Extract.*] *p.* 1.

July 23. Kilmainham. 38. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Departure of the Earl of Tyrone for Connaught after receiving his pardon. Sir Edward Moore, formerly affected to the Earl, is now doubtful of him. The Spaniards certainly expected the beginning of August. Prays to have 1,000 foot and a 100 horse by the 4th of that month, the rest of the forces asked for to be landed by the 15th. The army in Connaught may not be drawn thence. The Butlers are ready to put themselves in arms through discontent that they are not restored in blood. Trained bands to be sent over, and gentlemen of the country of good credit to command them.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 23. *pp.* 2.

July 23. 39. Memorandum of the letters in the packet into Ireland.—1596, July 23. *p.* ½.

July 24. Dublin. 40. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. May it please your Honour. Where, upon my planting at Enniscorthy, amongst other English artificers I drew over a number of timbermen, in regard the country adjacent is full of woods, and of them many cask-board makers; and within short time after, upon information given of great quantities of ship-plank and pipe staves transported by Henry Pyne and his partners into the territories of the King of Spain, a restraint was made of felling any timber trees to those uses, or transporting any such beyond the seas; whereupon Mr. Pyne became a suitor to my Lords for a license in that behalf, which he obtained; and myself, seeing a license granted unto him, sued for the like, and through your Honour's favour obtained the same, which is dated the 21st of January 1593, for transporting of pipe staves and hogshead board only to the Isles of the Madeiras, Canaries, Bordeaux, Rochelle, and those parts; through which occasion I have, to my great charge, planted and settled at Enniscorthy and thereabouts a number of Englishmen, and drawn some

1596. VOL. CXCI.

trade that way, by which they purchase their livings, to the good example and help otherways of the Irish subjects, their neighbours:

Now it may further please your Honour, I understand Mr. Pyne giveth out he shall have license that himself only shall use the trade of cask-board through all this realm, and that all others shall be restrained, a thing in my simple opinion not meet to be granted to any one man, and with myself never intended to go about to procure in my own behalf, although I was the first beginner of that trade in this kingdom, and that, in regard of my place and service, as also of the great charge I have been at in planting at Enniscorthy amongst so wild and barbarous a people, I presume I have deserved favour in greater measure than Mr. Pyne hath or can. My humble suit unto your Honour, therefore, is that it will please you, if any such suit be, or shall be, made in this behalf, that the license already granted me by your Lordships as before may continue without further restraint, and to be excepted in his general grant if any such shall be made him. Which I do not so much desire in regard of my own profit as the good of the country, for that such English people as I have drawn thither, and do maintain at Enniscorthy upon my own charge, have these ten years past, without charge to Her Majesty, not only defended themselves but also the inner English parts of the county of Wexford against their ill neighbours, Feagh M'Hugh, Walter Reogh, the Kavanaghs, and others. Wherein I dare so far flatter myself, as none of my sort in Ireland hath (without help of the Prince's purse) done the like: and, although I have the command of a footband, yet have they not been at Enniscorthy in any times of trouble, but been drawn to the further parts of the realm upon all occasions of service. And if now my timbermen should be put off from work by means of such restraint, having no other trade to live by, they must be forced to leave waste their dwellings and return into England, which I should be sorry for, considering how much it would discourage other English that intend to settle here, and give way to the Irish to enlarge their bounds: besides that, upon a direction from my Lords there that I should prepare certain quantities of cask-board for Her Majesty's ships, I caused greater store to be made this year than formerly hath been, since which I understand there will be no use of them for the shipping; and therefore, by virtue of the license, I have already bargained for some good quantities with certain Dutchmen, to whom I am bound for delivery of them between this and Michaelmas; wherein if I shall be restrained the same will turn to my hindrance and great discredit, which considered (as I have heretofore many ways tasted of your honourable favours), so I humbly beseech your Honour I may do in this.—Dublin, 1596, July 24. *Seal, with arms.* *pp.* 2.

July 25. [In England.] 41. Sir Henry Harrington to the Privy Council. States the conditions which Feagh M'Hugh desired to have of the Queen on the proferred surrender of his country, to be granted him again by

1596. VOL. CXCI.

patent from Her Majesty.—1596, July 25. *p.* 1. *With certain notes by Sir Robert Cecil, to make it the groundwork of certain instructions.*

**July 26.** 42. Sir Henry Harrington to the Privy Council. The conditions desired by Feagh M'Hugh. His proffers to surrender his country, and to receive it again by patent.—1596, July 26. *p.* 1.

**July 26.** Dublin. 43. Warrant of the Lord Deputy and Council for the appearance of the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, the Baron of Athenry, and many others, before them at Dublin, to be further dealt with in the matters touching Sir Richard Bingham and others. *Copy endorsed by Sir John Norreys "to be delivered to Sir Robert Cecil."*—Dublin, 1596, July 26. *p.* 1.

**July 26.** Athlone. 44. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Right Honourable my very good Lord, having understood from Sir Geffrey Fenton that he hath dispatched to your Lordship as well the report of Sir Edward Moore and the rest of the Commissioners, touching the manner of the Earl's receiving his pardon, as what passed between the two captains and him about the matters of Connaught, I shall not need to trouble your Lordship any more therewith. Since which time I have only received a letter from the Earl signifying his meeting with O'Donnell the 27 of this present, after which we shall re-enter again into treaty with them, and I make no doubt but we shall make such a conclusion with them as Her Majesty shall like of. For I have already so interlarded them with garrisons as they are much fallen from their pride, and demand assistance from us to have their pledges from O'Donnell, offering then to conform themselves to Her Majesty's will.

I doubt not but your Lordship will find in the Earl such manner of proceeding as is not fit for a subject to use, that hath been so graciously favoured; and no doubt but what these barbarous rebels have contracted with the Spaniards, he knows it and is like enough to serve his turn of them; but it is most certain that there hath been extraordinary means used to continue him in his jealousy, and such as give the greatest advertisement of his dealing with the Spaniards, sought to win credit with him by nourishing him in that humour. But in this hollow dealing of his in my opinion, under all humble correction, it is not fit to make him desperate, and by countenancing of those whom he doth both hate and fear, to drive him again into action of rebellion, for, as long as he is no actor on his side, although the arriving of Spaniards do continue these Connaught men in their vile purpose, yet, the towns being guarded, a smaller force will keep them from doing any hurt, neither will the English Pale be terrified, wherein are many that would be apt upon small occasion to stir up the people to disobedience. It will please your Lordship that I may refer you to such instructions as I have given my brother for the state of matters here, and that we both may recommend to your Lordship the redress of our contemptuous usage, which maketh us here a subject

1596. VOL. CXCI.

to those that love us not of ordinary discourse.—Athlone, 1596, July 26. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

July 27. Athlone. 45. Instructions given by the Lord General Sir John Norreys to his brother Sir Henry Norreys, to advertise the Queen and Privy Council of the state of Ireland. There is such diversity of opinion, confirmed by contrary advices, as to what will be the event of the intended pacification, that he dares not take upon him to give an assured judgment in the matter. The Lord Deputy, and such as will concur in opinion with him, have ever seemed to be assured there would be no pacification, but that all the offers of submission were only delays, in view of the Spaniards' coming. This opinion, being too well known to those that were in rebellion, has given them rather occasion of jealousy than encouragement to obedience. The advertisements that the Lord Deputy received to induce him to this opinion were great, but all, or the most part of them, delivered by the Marshal's men, or such as were affected to him. As for Cawell's advertisement, it is most certain that a great part of it was delivered by device; some things he guessed at, but, being known to the Earl [of Tyrone] to have depended upon the Marshal, it was not likely he would trust him. On the other side, those that had conceived a good opinion of the Earl, before his entering into action, remain very confident that he unfeignedly purposed to be a true subject at the conclusion made with him at Dundalk, and that he would have given good testimony thereof before this time, if, by underhand practice and countenance given to such as he esteems his enemies, he had not been "contained" in his former suspicion.

They allege the following as causes that made the Earl distrust the ill correspondence between the Lord Deputy and the writer: the discountenancing and hard usage of the captains that had been employed in the treaty, the common reports that the Lord Deputy expected nothing but war, the detaining of the King of Spain's letter, and the advice of the Marshal's return, with the increase of his company of horse.

For his own part, doubts each party is too much led to believe what they desire, and therefore will deliver what he thinks without any device or respect. Was ever of opinion, and so remains, that the jealousy and fear conceived by the Earl of his own person was irremoveable, and that he could hardly have been persuaded to believe that his fault would either be forgotten or forgiven; that, upon this conceit, he would stand upon his guard very warily, retain his own strength as great as he could, continue and confirm his confederacies with the Scots and other his neighbours, and entertain a dependency upon him from as many of the Irish as he could; and that this could not be helped in the course of the pacification but by time and discreet management. But that the Earl would break into any open action of rebellion, seek to draw in any strangers to trouble the quiet of the country, or suffer any of Her Majesty's subjects to be outraged or spoiled either in the Pale or elsewhere (unless it were for private quarrel

1596. VOL. CXCI.

and revenge), he does not believe that the Earl either did or does purpose it.

As for the coming of the Spaniards, this is as much as he can learn; that there was no other answer made to Alonzo Cobos than that which was written by the Earl and O'Donnell, saving some compliments and thanks given to the King of Spain; but, upon the coming of the other two ships, wherein was one that termed himself the King's Ambassador, there was a new consultation, after he had made his proposition to this effect: that the Kings of Spain were ever favourers of the Irish, who had their original beginning from Spain, and now had compassion of their estate, being ready to deliver them from the oppression of the English; that the Kings of England had only the protection of Ireland given them by the Pope, who now, seeing their defection from the Church, intended (with the good endeavours of the Irish) to take another course for restoring them to the Roman religion; for which purpose he would join his forces with theirs, and furnish them with treasure and munition. Objections were made that the distance of Spain from those parts was great, and therefore that it was the harder for the King to relieve them; that the English were possessed of the chief towns and havens; that England was near at hand, whence the Queen might speedily send great armies; and therefore it were dangerous for them to hazard the loss of their lives and lands in refusing such composition as now they might have, unless they had good assurance of the King's performing his promise, and with such a force as to assure bringing his purpose to good effect. Whereto it was replied that they should not want thousands of men, and those out of hand. Thereupon answer was made to "this termed" Ambassador, that, if the King of Spain would send such an army into Ireland as might overcome the English, then all the rabble of the Irishry, whereof they gave a roll of the names of the lords, "as they called them," would depend upon the King, and follow his counsel; that, in expectation of that succour, they would forbear to make any composition till mid-August, so they might have some munition to defend themselves in the mean time. Letters to that effect were written to the King, signed by O'Rourke, M'William, and divers others; whether by O'Donnell, or no, is uncertain, nor is it in any proved that the Earl did set his hand to any such letter. Doubts not but that both he and O'Donnell are acquainted with what the rest have done. With that conclusion, after the delivery of some powder, the ships returned.

This manner of proceeding by the Earl, it cannot be denied, is unfit for a subject, savours altogether of disloyalty, and is hardly to be endured. But, if Her Majesty in her well-considered determination be resolved (upon causes not known to them) to have a pacification, then it were necessary that no act were done to make the rebels suspicious, and no strict exceptions taken to their loose behaviour, so it were not prejudicial to Her Majesty's service, and all persons that they fear either removed or restrained.

1596. Vol. CXCI.

If it shall please Her Majesty to call to remembrance the examples of the late Kings of France, it will appear that, as often as they were resolved to have a pacification with their subjects in arms against them, they wrote unto them the most courteous letters that might be, they employed such persons to treat with them as were most agreeable unto them, they removed all occasions of suspicion, and in the conclusion proclaimed an oblivion of all faults past. And the King now reigning, at such time as he had resolved that it was for his good to make a composition with those of the League, took a truce with them, though in far unequal terms, and, by that means afterwards agreeing with them, was pleased to give those that had most been "opposite" to him, "commandments," honours, and rewards; and he found that thereby he prevailed. But if Her Majesty should be pleased not to tolerate such indignities, but roundly to proceed by war to the chastening of such as rebel, then he would fail of his duty, if he did not deliver his opinion that it were expedient for Her Majesty's service that all such, as shall be employed in the managing of the government and war, were of one mind; and consequently that it would greatly advance the attaining to a good end of these tumults to refer the prosecution of this war absolutely to the Lord Deputy, who, making choice of such as he should like to assist him, would so second them with all manner of provisions that they might perform the service accordingly. And, when the expectation of this treaty, which hourly receives such crosses that the writer himself now grows desperate regarding it, shall have failed (and in short time there will be discovered what will come of it), he prays that Her Majesty will permit him to attend her service where else it shall please her, protesting that, in the sort that he is seconded in Ireland, he will never be able to do Her Majesty service, but will unprofitably put her to charge, and consume himself.

Is informed that the Lord Deputy has asked for 3,000 foot and 300 horse "only to the subduing of the Irish rebels," and that these forces are to arrive at Carlingford. Thinks a smaller proportion will serve the purpose, and that Carlingford is no fit place for their arrival. It would, as he has advised, be a great ease to the charge of the country, and to the charge of transport, if, after the Earl of Essex begins to make his return, 3,000 of the best men remaining of his army were landed either in O'Donnell's country, about Donegal or Sligo, or the Moy in Tirawly; it being always understood that a month's victuals should be left with them, or, if there should be a want of victuals, that then the said 3,000 men should be sent to Galway or Limerick, or, rather than fail, if there should be any impediment of wind or weather, or incommodity for Her Majesty's ships to go so far to the northward, that they should be landed at Waterford or Cork, and the 3,000 men be thus disposed; 2,000 into bands, and 1,000 to supply the companies. Doubts not but that this will serve the turn both against the Spaniards and the Irish rebels. Thinks a smaller number of horse also will do, provided they are well armed. Prays that he may have allowance of forty of

1596. VOL. CXCI.

the horse that are to come over, and that his brother's company may be made up to 100 out of the same horse. Thinks that no more would be needed, if the rest of the companies in Her Majesty's entertainment were better looked to and better employed. There are not 100 English horsemen in all the companies in Ireland, excepting his own and his brother's; and most of the Irish such as are dwellers in the English Pale, who will follow their captains as long as they lie upon the country, or for a journey of fifteen or twenty days; but, when they are placed in any garrison to do service, where they might endure hardness, the most of them will run away. They have good experience of this now in Connaught.

The Irish are so ill horsed and armed, that they will not serve for anything but catching cows. But for such horsemen as they are to have, he will undertake that they shall be "mere English," mounted and armed in such sort that they shall be able to do service against the Spaniards, if any arrive. Trusts the Privy Council will allow this motion for the supplying of his company, as the Lord Deputy has supplied every company in the land but his. But if they think that those soldiers from the Earl of Essex's army may not be had, then he must still maintain that, against the Irish rebels 1,000 foot and 100 horse, with necessary provisions of all things, as set down in the "plot" he sent last year, should be sent to Lough Foyle, whence both Tyrone and Tyrconnell will be kept in subjection, and Her Majesty may be served by that means by the Scots without danger, where otherwise the drawing in the Scots may be more hurtful than profitable, for they encroach fast upon the country, having of late years possessed a fine country called the Route, whence they will not be easily dislodged. Lest it may be thought that a garrison in Lough Foyle may "pretend a continual charge" to Her Majesty, he dares undertake that all such garrison, as it shall be needful to place there, shall be paid by the bordering countries, after one year's settling. This he must also maintain as an assured principle, that it is not the right course to have Ireland governed in peace, that Her Majesty should entertain small forces there, but that a good force of "mere English," both horse and foot, should be continued there, and the matter so handled, that the country itself should pay the entertainment of the greatest part of them.

If there were any expectation of foreign invasion, then it would be necessary, that failing to have any soldiers from "the sea army," 2,000 foot should be sent into Munster, for there it is likest the Spaniard will make his attempt; and of those 2,000 men, 1,000 be put in bands, and 1,000 supply the wants of the companies already there. Great decay in the companies, through desertion. Divers captains state that, in pursuing those that had run away, they found them on board ship with the Lord Deputy's passport, which the writer thinks was the fault of some of his lordship's secretaries, who too commonly procured the same. The supplies need no furniture but their coats and swords. Holds it a matter assured that the Spaniard will make some attempt upon Ireland,

1596. VOL. CXCI.

if not this year (which he trusts Her Majesty's fortunate success of the navy has hindered), yet as soon as he shall be able, and whether there be a conclusion of a pacification or not. It is therefore requisite that the chief towns be somewhat fortified, so as to be able to withstand a sudden enterprise. For, if Her Majesty, upon doubt of Spanish invasion, should be forced to keep continual armies for the defence of the country, it would be an extreme charge. If some gates, or corners of some of the towns, were so provided for in the nature of citadels, that they might be guarded with few men, and give entry to greater numbers when occasion required, it would be a means to avoid all fear of revolt in the said towns, "where, though most of the inhabitants are of English race, yet are they more Spanish in heart than the country people."

Has also thought it not impertinent to urge a resolution for Feagh M'Hugh, whose pardoning or prosecuting is delayed past the writer's capacity. The general opinion is that the Lord Deputy thinks it would be a great disservice to let slip so much hold as is gotten by the fort of Mount Russell, which he took from Feagh. For clearing of that doubt Her Majesty may be assured that the fort can at all times be taken, and made better than it is, for the sum of 100*l*. The common discourse of the danger threatened to the English Pale by Feagh's sudden breaking out, and the retaining of so many horsemen idly under pretence of preventing his incursions, caused the writer to deal with the said Feagh, to stay him from doing hurt till the event of the pacification might be seen, and Her Majesty's pleasure known. Feagh agreed to abstain from doing hurt until Michaelmas, by which time it was promised he should receive Her Majesty's resolution on the return of Sir Henry Norreys; he has also charged the Moores, that although they are refused their protection, yet they shall rather go out of the country than do any hurt till Michaelmas. This agreement nearly broken by an evilly performed enterprise of Captain Lee and Sir Henry Harrington's lieutenant, who, under colour of redress for certain spoils done upon them by the Kavanaghs and others, came to a parley with Feagh, and not receiving such answer as they desired, they charged him, but in such sort that they rather took than did any hurt. Touching the Connaught rebels, has understood, since the breaking up of the conference, both by letter from the Earl and messages from themselves, that the greatest difficulties they will stand upon are, the assurance of the removal of Sir Richard Bingham, and that there may be some seignory (as they term it) over the rest of the boroughs given to the supposed M'William. Wrote to the Lord Deputy and Council for instructions, but Sir Geffrey Fenton and he are left to their own discretion. Sir Henry Norreys is to urge for directions in these two points, and with speed.

A strange and extraordinary course has been held with him and those whom he had employed for the pacification. Captain Warren had been called before the Lord Deputy and Council, and there examined, receiving reproachful speeches, and was threatened to be laid by the heels, to exact some confession from him that he

1596. VOL. CXCI.

thought it not safe for himself to make. When Captain Warren was sent into the north by the Lord Deputy and Council, upon the news of the arrival of the Spanish ships, his lordship refused to give him any instructions, so the writer drew some up. These Captain Warren was compelled on his examination to deliver up; the writer would readily have sent them to the Lord Deputy, who needed not to have suspected that he had had any other correspondence with the Earl than was fit for him.

Whereas the writer had long "patiented" the delays used in slowly, or slenderly, or not at all, answering his letters sent to the Lord Deputy and Council, importing Her Majesty's service, he wished that his letters written for such purpose might remain with Her Majesty's Secretary, whereby they might be more timely answered, and the matters recommended in them speedily despatched. The Lord Deputy neither liked nor consented to that motion, so that, if Her Majesty be not served in so good sort as may be expected, nor informed with that expedition that is convenient how matters pass, the writer humbly beseeches it may not be laid to his charge. Lastly, he protests that neither malice, nor desire to procure Her Majesty's displeasure to the Lord Deputy, nor ambition to advance himself, causes him to write anything, but the care of Her Majesty's service, and the defence of his small reputation. If there shall be any doubt of the truth of what he writes, he shall think himself happy if Her Majesty is pleased that he attend her Highness or the Privy Council to maintain what he sends.—Athlone, 1596, July 27. *Signed by Sir John Norreys. pp.* 11.

July 27. Athlone. 46. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Your Honour will be too much troubled with reading the instructions that I have given my brother to have time to read long letters, and therefore in this I will only recommend to your Honour the relieving of my unquiet state here, which is like to be every day worse and worse, for now my Lord Deputy hath given liberty to his humour to enter into extreme terms. I fear he will not be able to contain it within bonds of reason; there be occasions given every day for me to distrust the attaining to a pacification, for it is an ordinary discourse amongst my Lord Deputy's men that, if there should be a peace, his Lordship should be called home, and I remain in his place, which I know he desireth not, neither in respect of himself nor me. And if his Lordship be unwilling to have a peace, there is no man able to hinder it better than himself, and certainly the crosses used to that purpose are extraordinary.

The Earl had absolutely promised to come unto me to Dundalk, but was diverted by a jealousy put in his head that Sir Geffrey Fenton might have a secret letter for his stay unknowing to me; and knowledge was given him that he needed not to come, for that Her Majesty by instructions had dispensed with that point, which I protest I concealed both from Captain Sentleger and Captain Warren till I found that my Lord Deputy had told them of it. He

1596. VOL. CXCI.

was resolutely determined to send a gentleman with letters to my Lord your father, and my Lord of Essex, to be a means to procure him again Her Majesty's favour and license to come into England, so he might have an assurance from Her Majesty not to be detained there, and also he was minded to send his younger son to my Lord of Essex. This he hath deferred, as he sweareth, upon the detaining of the King of Spain's letter; and this I will assure your Honour that there is not the basest rogue of a rebel in Ireland that hath not ordinarily in his mouth how they may trust us with their lives, when the Earl was deceived trusting the Lord Deputy but with a letter. O'Donnell did swear that, if that letter had not been detained, either he or the Earl had been in England before Michaelmas. I leave it to your Honour to censure the truth, but surely a small occasion will breed jealousy in their distrustful minds. I send your Honour a comment upon my Lord Deputy and Council's last letter, whereby your Honour may see the ground of their discourse. I cannot conceal from your Honour that there have been strange matters begun to be practised in Munster, not much different from those that Sir Richard Bingham is charged withal: upon "eventynge" of some of them there is a secretary of my Lord Deputy's discharged.—Athlone, 1596, July 27. *Holograph. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

46. 1. "*Certain notes* [*by Sir John Norreys*] *for the better explaining of a letter written from the Lord Deputy and Council to my Lords of the Council in England, bearing date* 16 *July* 1596" (*vide supra*).

*Marvels that Sir Geffrey Fenton said the purpose of the pacification was frustrated, for he knew well enough that they meant to continue all the means they could to induce the rebels to it. The latter seemed still to desire it; the only difference was as to delaying the conclusion for a month. Thinks Sir Geffrey is now of another mind. The Earl of Tyrone never promised or undertook that Maguire and the O'Reillys and M'Mahons should put in their pledges until the conclusion was made in Connaught; on the contrary he protested that, if there were not a conclusion made with Connaught, there would be no pacification in any other part of the realm. As for the Earl's excuse regarding the Scots, "it is known to all men that they be no welcome guests, and, though they come often into the country, it is never but when they are drawn in by some faction to annoy others, or that trusting to their own force they run about the country, making no difference to spoil whom they can; and so they would have done now if the Earl and O'Donnell had not put both their forces in the head of them, and compelled them to return. It is like, nevertheless, that both of them have entertained them with some contract to employ them if they shall have cause," for neither of them is as yet so good a subject as he ought to be. It was expressly defended that no man carrying a sword, appertaining to any that had not taken out their pardons, should come into the Pale.*

*Moved the Lord Deputy that, for the better effecting of this, provost-marshals might be appointed upon the borders to execute by*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*martial law all that should be found so spoiling. For their assistance he left Lord Dunsany's and Captain Fleming's companies of horse, and the following companies of foot, Captain Street's at Kells, Captain Rice ap Hughes' at Ardee, and Captain Staunton's at Dundalk. Has heard that there has been no hurt done upon those borders by the M'Mahons. Some of the Nugents have done much hurt in the county of Westmeath whilst he was in the field; has now taken order to restrain them. If Philip O'Reilly, upon the death of his brother, be grown to prouder terms, it is no marvel for he was ever a perverse rebel; yet he writes to Norreys that in all things he will follow such order as the State shall set down. Has not heard what letters have been written to the Earl, since the conclusion, for any reformation that he has not performed; in all his letters he has used the most dutiful and "respective" terms. It is most true that, in sending of the King of Spain's letter, he took not the course that was fit for a true repentant subject, yet he protests still that he made no other answer to the Spaniards than that which he sent to the State. Philip O'Reilly desires that no extreme hostility be used against him until the matter of Connaught be ended, and that then he will deliver in his pledge.*

*Thinks Connaught and Ulster should not depend so much upon the Earl as that he should be the judge of their causes; still he might be employed as a means to a pacification. O'Donnell also is more interested in this matter than the Earl, for, fearing that the reducing of Connaught to obedience will leave him open to Her Majesty's force unless he conforms to her laws, he seeks to have the people depending upon those whom he has made heads over them, and the heads upon himself, and to this end will procure them all the liberty he can. But, if once there is a thorough pacification, the people will be weary of the burden that their usurping lords lay upon them. Sir Geffrey Fenton's purpose in leaving Connaught was to report first of all to the Lord Deputy, and then to Her Majesty. None of the Earl's forces were in Connaught. Henry Hovenden was sent thither by the Earl on Norreys's motion, but made excuse to Captain Sentleger for not coming, saying that he feared it might be alleged he had been at the receiving of the King of Spain's letter after the date of his pardon.*

*It is no new matter to see Feagh M'Hugh and the Moores traitors; and it is not long since they were of little power to do hurt, and would have accepted any conditions. For the said Feagh offered to deliver his most dangerous son to have the law, and so did; and Rory Oge his son, chief of the Moores, to be a pledge, and other pledges for his own good behaviour, so he might have his lands. But, during the imprisonment of Feagh's son, there was a counter-practice held with him for the killing of his father, but so grossly that it was "evented," and came to the knowledge of Feagh; since which time he has been more jealous of himself, and sought to combine with his neighbours. And yet he entreated for reasonable conditions, and refused to depend upon*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*the Earl of Tyrone. But (upon what ground Norreys knows not) there could be no resolution either to pardon or prosecute Feagh, and now he is suddenly made so terrible, that much force must be employed to prevent the hurt that his sudden breaking out might bring to the Pale, and he stands upon terms not to accept any conditions but as the Earl shall give him leave.*

*Omalaughlin is a very old man, not followed at the time of his going out by any man that carried a sword, except his two sons (all his dependants having been in rebellion before with a bastard of his that had been a rebel long since). Omalaughlin went out on pretence of wrong done him by taking away his lands upon an attainder of one of his younger brothers. He was pardoned and lived in obedience a good while, though ever discontented and murmuring against those that enjoyed his lands. Norreys had intelligence that Omalaughlin had a messenger with the rebels at the conference, expecting what would be the issue thereof; and resolved, as it appeared after, if there were no conclusion, to join in rebellion with the rest. On this advice, he employed Captain Mostyn, who was somewhat of kindred to Omalaughlin's sons, to bring the old man to him, that he might take a pledge for his good behaviour. Captain Mostyn lighted upon him, his eldest son, his wife, and some daughters. This rebel used many protestations and denials of any intent of rebellion, and offered all his children as pledges. Accepted his eldest son, for whose forthcoming Captain Mostyn desired that he might undertake. Within two days after, "this old villain," with two of his sons his wife and goods, offered to flee to the rebels. Having advice of this, he sent out Captain Mostyn, who that night overtook the traitors. The sons by "footmanship," and with the favour of the night, escaped; the father hid himself in the corn; the wife and his goods, in number more than a hundred cows and some horses, were taken. This is made the great matter, chiefly because they [the Lord Deputy and Council] would impute the blame of his escape to Norreys, and would "give a greater grace of importance" to the matter. They remember that this Omalaughlin is of the blood of those that were kings of Meath. Has got the old man again, and makes no doubt of hanging his sons, so that one of the alleged dangers in this commonwealth is removed.*

*One of the M'Shees, called Morrogh Oge, has been in rebellion for more than a year in Munster, after a breach that he made out of the prison at Limerick; the jailor was hanged for his escape. Some kerne followed him, and, when any pursuit was made, Morrogh fled the country, and lurked in the fastness in Ormonde and Upper Ossory. Not many months since, the gentlemen in Conelaugh, where these M'Shees dwell, made earnest suit to Sir Henry Norreys that this Morrogh might be pardoned, and that he should put in good sureties for his good behaviour, and deliver up all the arms of his men, banishing those that were strangers. This Sir Henry agreed to, as Morrogh had done no extraordinary hurts, and, upon the performing of the above conditions, protected him*

1596. Vol. CXCI.

*for some time. Norreys, and his brother Sir Henry, moved the Lord Deputy for the man's pardon, but could not obtain it, being referred to England. This Morrogh, towards the expiring of his protection, understanding that he could not have his pardon, went out again, but, without doing any hurt, fled into Connaught. There was a brother of this man, called Rory M'Morrogh, that was condemned for high treason at Kilkenny, and, for some unknown consideration, was delivered upon sureties. He repaired into Munster, where information being given that he animated his brother to re-enter into rebellion, Norreys caused him to be apprehended and sent to the jail at Cork, whence he escaped, and fled likewise into Connaught. These two were with the Connaught rebels at the time of the conference, soliciting to have some men with them into Munster; does not hear that as yet they have got any.*

*These are all that have any way troubled Munster, but it is true that in many parts of the Province there are sundry gentlemen called in question, much discontented by reason their lands are called in question by grants of concealment, especially in Kerry, where the Lord Fitzmaurice is one of them; and, in terms of religion, Norreys thinks them all as backward in the Province as the rest of the country. There were some of the "Amaloys" [? O'Malleys] likewise in religion, upon a pretence of wrong offered them by taking of lands from them as concealed, which very much troubled Offaly and Westmeath. The chief of these O'Malleys was not long since arrested by the Lord Deputy, but escaped from the provost-marshal; afterwards they were protected by Sir Edward Herbert, and now Norreys has brought them to yield to put in pledges or sureties for their good behaviour. There was also, in the county of Longford, a strong pack of the O'Farrells, who much infested Westmeath, and the fear of them would have engaged many of the gentlemen of that county to have taken their parts, but they are all killed and dispersed by the garrisons placed thereabouts. Some of the Nugents were likewise in rebellion, and spoiled both the counties of Meath and Westmeath, but being protected, and abusing the intent of their protection by oppressing the country, the Lord of Delvin very honourably apprehended two of the best of them, and will doubtless take order that they shall do no more hurt.*

*To come to the English Pale, it is known that they have always been ill-affected in religion, and never worse than now; besides the grudge and repine at the charge that falls upon them by thoroughfaring and passing of soldiers, and lodging them upon them, and the extraordinary taking up of corn, beeves, and carriages, which by the incommodity of the war cannot be otherwise, although, no doubt, there is great abuse in them all. But for all this, they would see the Spaniard in greater possession of Ireland than ever Norreys trusts he shall be, before they venture their lands and lives to take his part. Sees no cause yet to believe that Ulster will receive any Spaniard, "but for this barbarous people of Connaught, in*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*the desperate humour they are in, there is no villany that they will not commit." No great appearance of any sudden relief to be given to the rebels by the Pope or Spaniard, Her Majesty's navy being upon their coasts; and, if the Spaniards do not succour them before Michaelmas, they will every one of them shift for themselves, let O'Donnell do what he can.*

*The force asked for by the Lord Deputy is large. It is true that, the greater the forces be, the sooner the rebels will be suppressed, and, Her Majesty being disposed to enter into war, the sooner it is ended, the less will be the charge. The "plot" he sent last year for the reducing of all the rebels in Ireland would have cost much less, yet it was thought too chargeable to be allowed of. Thinks Her Majesty has been charged more since, and to little effect.*

*Can less allow the manner of choosing the captains. For all men that understand the nature of the war in Ireland know that such men of worship as they term them, bred up in ease and plenty, can never endure the penury and travail of Ireland, and, if they could, it is not to be supposed that, having any livings at home, they could be persuaded to leave them, and to follow so miserable a war as Ireland yields. And, if they could be induced to it, he does not think it fit to commit the charge of soldiers to inexperienced men. If it be meant that choice should be made of younger brothers, and men of small or no living, that can be to no purpose. Agrees that it is necessary to have better choice made both of captain and soldier. As to a further force being demanded, if strangers arrive, thinks that the numbers already asked for, if well chosen, horsed, armed, and supplied with provisions, will be able (being well directed) to break the necks of any such force as the King of Spain shall be able to send into Ireland, despite all the Irish rebels. It is very necessary that there be good store of victuals and munition, and better order for the timely providing and issuing thereof; also, that the soldier do not want his pay, the want whereof has, in this service, been the ruin both of the soldier and the country. The greatest part of the last* 12,000*l. was spent before it came, and delivered to the victualler. Inadequate supply of victuals in Connaught. It will be hard for Her Majesty to keep such shipping on the Irish coasts, as shall be able to resist a fleet coming from Spain, especially in the winter; yet it will be needful to entertain some shipping of reasonable burden for the assurance of the merchant, who must live by his traffic, and for conveying of victuals from place to place.*

These notes, written opposite to a copy of the letter of July 16, are signed by Sir John Norreys, who adds in his own hand, "*I will conclude with this argument, that it pleased Her Majesty in her letter that, if there were twice so much force sent over as is demanded, except there be a reformation in the Government, all will come to smoke, and the country nothing the better.*" *pp.* 15½.

July 27. Dublin. 47. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Send copy of a letter from the Commissioners employed on the borders

1596. VOL. CXCI.

of Ulster. The dangers of the realm are in no way diminished by Tyrone's acceptance of his pardon, but rather increased by a deeper subtlety, dissembled with a show of duty and good meaning, when he saw he could do no other. Pray that the forces asked for may be sent with all speed: also, victuals and money proportionably. Those longest in Ireland have not seen before so great a scarcity in all parts of the kingdom, nor so great a backwardness generally in the people, either to minister the ordinary helps to the army, as in other times they have done, or otherwise by personal service to be ready to make head against the rebels for their own defence. This is no mean aggravation of the danger.

Find daily reasons to stand doubtful of some, whom in other times they might assuredly trust. Few parts of Ireland free from the treason of the north, but are staggering, more ready to fall away than to stand firm to Her Majesty. Send copy of Henry Hovenden's letter to the Earl of Tyrone, despatched either from Connaught, where Hovenden was in company with O'Donnell as sent thither by the Earl, or else immediately upon the breaking up of the late treaty there. Think worse of the letter in respect of the party writing it, who is a foster-brother to the Earl, very secret and inward with him, a person very evil-affected, a great stirrer of the Earl to this rebellion, and who has continued with him in action from the beginning. Sir Edward Moore did not only discover this letter at first, but also by his industry got it to be sent them, after it was rent into many pieces by the Earl. Recommend Sir Edward for this good service.

Send copy of letter from Feagh M'Hugh, who has altered his former humble tone towards Her Majesty, and has run to Tyrone, who, he writes, will do for him as for himself. This sudden alteration in the "cunning old traitor," manifested in a time of so great expectation of the coming of strangers, makes them doubtful of some further dangerous compact in them both, to the increasing of the present troubles, if speedy prevention be not used.—Dublin, 1596, July 27. *pp.* 3. *Inclose,*

47. I. *Lord Louth, Baron Eliot, and Sir Edward Moore, Commissioners, to the Lord Deputy and Council.—Dundalk,* 1596, *July* 21. *Copy. pp.* 2. *See inclosure* I. *to letter of July* 23.

47. II. *Henry Hovenden to the Earl of Tyrone.*—1596, *June* 27 *Copy. p.* 1. *See inclosure* V. *to letter of July* 23.

47. III. *Feagh M'Hugh* [*O'Byrne*] *to the Lord Deputy. His complaint against Captain Lee. Is willing in all sorts to continue and perform his protection, so that he might be dealt withal accordingly. Was drawn to trust upon O'Neill's friendship, hoping to be furthered by him to his own right. Has now received O'Neill's letter, undertaking to do for Feagh as for himself. Is willing to bear out the time, as O'Neill commands,*

1596. VOL. CXCI.

*for fifteen days, and will be glad to receive the Lord Deputy's letters, that meanwhile he shall not need to fear Captain Lee, or any other.—Tenecylleg,* 1596, *July* 24. *Copy. p.* 1.

47. IV. *Rice ap Hugh to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Is sorry he can send no good news from those borders. Divers spoils committed since the feigned peace. On Saturday night a poor village of his was spoiled of "two plowes of garrans." Knows where they are, and can fetch them, but durst not, for fear of its being thought that he maintains war, and will have no peace. It is lawfully accepted that the Irish will never keep their promise about being at peace, whatever oaths they may take. "They will never be quiet, till they be well and soundly beaten." Though the Lord Deputy will believe him, others will not. "I would to God all those, that will not inform Her Majesty of the truth of the villanies of these Irish neighbours, were as near them as I am." Beseeches that some order may speedily be taken for the victualling of his company. Atherdee is not able to give them anything; and divers of them are come away, because they have nothing for themselves if the place be overthrown. Such a town will not be made in those borders for seven years.—Atherdee,* 1596, *July* 27. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

July 27. Dublin. 48. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Thinks Tyrone may be trusted, but still signed the letter of the council of this date, to assure all parts of the realm against all perils, foreign and domestic. Could have wished that the State had expected awhile what would come of Tyrone's endeavours to induce the Connaught men to order: this would have been seen within fifteen days, according to the Earl's own limitation. Doubts the less of a pacification with the Irish, if they be not stirred again with new rumours of the coming of Spaniards, in which case there is no expectation that they will come to obedience, or continue therein. The Earl is now drawn down to the borders of Tyrconnell, to commune with O'Donnell, and so to resolve upon a meeting with the Connaught men. Must therefore again repair to Sir John Norreys to Athlone. Assures himself the two first difficulties will still lie in their way, viz., the fear they have of living under Sir Richard Bingham's government, and, some superiority to be afforded to their supposed M'William. Must be allowed discretionary power on these two points. Henry Hovenden is brought to affect a pacification, and has given good tokens by speech that it is likely to succeed, to Her Majesty's honour and liking, if it be not crossed by sinister underhand working. It will be easier to answer objections in a personal conference with some of the heads and chieftains most in authority and credit. Will advertise if the matter shall "sort" to a meeting. Prays for Sir Robert's support, as they are employed to accomplish Her Majesty's purpose of a pacification in "this disjointed government."—Dublin, 1596, July 27. *pp.* 1½.

VOL. CXCI.

1596.
July 27. Dublin. 49. Warrant of Sir Richard Bingham, Chief Commissioner of Connaught and Thomond, to the Mayor and Sheriff of Galway, to assist the bearer Thady Nolan in bringing and warning sundry persons to repair to Dublin.—Dublin, 1596, July 27. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

July 27. Chester. 50. George Beverley to Burghley. Has embarked in the river at Chester 80 barrels of wheat-flour and 2,000 lbs. weight of Cheshire cheese, for the victualling of the soldiers in Ireland. Adverse winds for five weeks past. The month of July has been much inclined to wet and cold storms in those parts, hindering the ripening of the corn, whereby the prices of grain are something increased. Sends the prices of grain and other victual, as the same were sold in the Chester market on the 24th inst.

Wheat, the Chester bushel, containing 28 gallons wine measure, 18*s.* 6*d.*—reduced into the London quarter, 46*s.*

Barley-malt, the Chester bushel, 12*s.*—the London quarter, 30*s.*

Rye, the Chester bushel, 14*s.* 6*d.*—the London quarter, 36*s.*

Oats, the Chester bushel, 6*s.*—the London quarter, 15*s.*

Beans, the Chester bushel, 13*s.* 4*d.*—the London quarter, 33*s.* 4*d.*

"The Londoners have this year sent into Cheshire, and, by themselves and their agents, have bought very great quantities of Cheshire cheese, to be brought up to London by wains and packs."—Chester, 1596, July 27. *p.* 1.

July 28. Kilmainham. 51. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Has made up to full hundreds such Irish bands as were reduced to sixties. At his first journey against the Earl [of Tyrone], it seemed most necessary to hearken to his offer, as it manifestly appeared they were not able to perform the service intended against him. Had very great hope that in the second journey, which was immediately after undertaken by the Lord President, they would have pierced further into the Earl's country, having been then better supplied and reinforced, and, in confidence thereof, a boat was made ready and workmen appointed for making a bridge at the Blackwater. At Michaelmas next after, he intercepted the letters of the Earl and O'Donnell to the King of Spain, with the priest Piers O'Cullan at Drogheda. Always doubted from that time that Ireland was to be kept in no other way but by force, but was ready to act as directed.

Believes the Earl expects forces out of Spain, unless Her Majesty's army and navy now upon the Spanish coast prevent their coming. No sound peace to be expected with the Irish rebels, though in show they may yield until another time fitter for their purpose. This in all likelihood they will pick out, and that quickly. The great alteration in Feagh M'Hugh's offer is thought to grow from the general combination with Ulster, which was agreed upon between them before his prosecution, and would have continued, though he had been pardoned and restored to his country, as he desired. As for Cawell's coming thither, seeing Burghley finds it to no purpose,

1596. VOL. CXCI.

he is now to have license to return to the Earl, who requires him by virtue of the cessation. Thinks the Earl is not ignorant of Cawell's dealing. Prays for speedy and comfortable answer from Burghley. —Kilmainham, 1596, July 28. *pp.* 3½.

July 28. Kilmainham. 52. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir,—By your Honour's late letters of the 10th, which by my servant Marvilliac the 24th I received, it appeareth Her Majesty was not then pleased to resolve to send us any greater forces for her service in this kingdom, inasmuch as her Highness did not certainly understand that her most merciful course of peace was neglected, and is therefore determined to attend the issue thereof, and of her army now in Spain, which had his foundation (as your Honour affirmeth) only out of counsel of diversion of his purposes to invade this realm. Where your Honour signifieth that for the present it will be fit for me to consider, first, if Connaught may be well compounded, and so Ulster thereby more assured, it were not better so to temporise than to be driven to the charge of new armies; I may not deny but, in such a case, a temporising course might with good reason be preferred; but, with your favour, our case is far different: for neither will the rebellion in Connaught be well compounded, what shews soever they have made, nor Ulster thereby any whit the better assured (though the Earl hath now received his pardon), as was made known by our last despatch, and by such others sent thither since the date of your said letter, as I do assure myself will fully satisfy your Honour therein.

For the point of cessations of arms and treaties of peace, which, because I noted to have prejudiced the service, your Honour I perceive doth insist upon, to justify the counsels from thence to have had their foundation upon our own grounds in this kingdom, I am still to maintain, without purpose to be offensive unto any, but only for the clearing of myself, who have been deeply charged with the expense of Her Majesty's treasure without any service performed, that it could not in reason be expected, that any service could be performed during those cessations and treaties, and yet the treasure in that time spent hath amounted to no small sum, which I would not in that sort have repeated if I had not been blamed for the same, having, as I said before, never any liking thereof, especially since Michaelmas last, at what time, with the priest Piers O'Cullan, I intercepted at Drogheda the Earl's and O'Donnell's letters to the King of Spain, and from that time have been always of opinion, that this Kingdom could not be kept up but by force. If at any time I thought a cessation necessary, it was only at that time when Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardener went to Dundalk to treat with the Earl and O'Donnell, we having then neither victuals nor yet money, and our forces at that time at the weakest, so as the hundreds were reduced unto sixties.

Where Her Majesty noteth it as an error that we be only advertisers and not advisers, in that I must lay the fault upon the Council here, who have been unwilling to join with me therein, for

1596. VOL. CXCI.

myself have been most ready to shew my opinion, but have found so little credit given thereto, as I rather wish to be removed from this charge, than continued with so small countenance and comfort, as this people can easily discern, and take all advantages thereupon. What your Honour writes touching the suitors of this country, who pester both Her Majesty and your Honours, we had resolved of ourselves to see redressed, before I received that your letter, having addressed our letters to the Council there, to return such hither very speedily, as already are gone thither about their private suits. For Captain Lee, I will be mindful to deal with him to such effect and in such manner, as Her Majesty's pleasure by your Honour hath been signified; and for that purpose I have already sent for him, though under pretence of other business; and yet in the meantime I am of opinion that he will be very unwilling to deal therein now, as desperate to work him to any good, seeing their hopes of Spanish aids are so undoubted. It greatly contents me that your Honour doth so well approve the postscript of my letter to my sister of Warwick, whereby I desired her to give you thanks on my behalf, and, seeing it pleaseth you thereupon, to promise as much as you may the improving of the effects of your goodwill towards me, I do for the same and other your honourable favours in dispatching my servants Marvilliac and others, whereof I retain a very thankful remembrance, think myself so much bound unto your Honour, as I rest very ready to do you service, and am not a little glad, that Her Majesty hath been pleased to call you to that place, wherein you shall be so well able to pleasure your friends, and give dispatch to these affairs, when I shall have occasion to employ any of mine to attend you. And so, for your further satisfaction, referring your Honour to our joint letter, whereof I beseech you to procure us a speedy and comfortable answer, I do for the present recommend your Honour to the Almighty's best protection.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 28. *pp.* 3½.

July 28. Dublin. 53. Sir Henry Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. His stay on account of despatches received. Concerning the troops asked for by the Lord Deputy; the opinion of Sir John Norreys that 3,000 men from the Earl of Essex's army might serve the purpose, both against any Spaniards that might arrive and the Irish rebels.—Dublin, July 28. *Endorsed*:—1596. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

July 29. Kilmainham. 54. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. His want of power to help Sir Henry Norreys to more horse than he had. An allowance of 30*s. per diem* as Lieutenant-Colonel granted to Sir Henry by his brother, not to be accorded.—Kilmainham, 1596, July 29. *pp.* 1¼.

July 31. Athlone. 55. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Your Honour shall please to understand that there is come hither a man of Sir Richard Bingham's, with a letter from the Lord Deputy, prohibiting us to deal any farther in his causes than to receive

1596. VOL. CXCI.

the complaints of such as will bring any; requiring me farther to make out warrant for the appearance, not only of such as had preferred matter against Sir Richard Bingham, but also of such [as] are supposed to have informed against him or his ministers or servants; and this he hath proclaimed in such sort as I look for no better effect thereof than the subversion of all our purpose; he further promiseth the return of Sir Richard very shortly, with greater credit and authority than ever he had. After him cometh a pursuivant with warrant from the Lord Deputy and Council to bring to Dublin, barons, captains, gentlemen, merchants, and all the chief men that are in rebellion, in no better sort than if they were malefactors; which seemeth to me a very strange course, especially that the rebels were put in amongst the rest; which can serve to no other purpose but to terrify them, and make them know that, if they had come in, they should have been sent for, with pursuivants, to answer to Sir Richard Bingham; which course will not hasten them to any agreement. I do not weigh my own disgrace therein, for I have been used to those blows, but I know not how we shall excuse the breach of Her Majesty's word, which we have engaged to them, that we would hear and examine their complaints, and see them relieved.

I may not keep from your Honour the speech of one of the rebels to me at the last conference, which I find too true, being spoken in answer to me, when I promised they should have redress of their wrongs; that he doubted not but I had an intention to do them good, and that all such as were oppressed in this realm had that opinion of me, but he feared that Sir Richard Bingham would overcome me, as he had done all the Deputies, yet I will bear with this incommodity, hoping it will bring one commodity with it, for by his employment I trust I shall have license to retire myself, for he is incompatible with any body.

Whereas your Honour, by your last letter, desireth to know the cause of the delays in this proceeding, one chief occasion is, that we cannot conclude of ourselves, but must depend upon the will of the rebels; the next is, that we have no absolute directions, receiving none from England, and my Lord and the Council will give us neither direction nor advice; and, if they dare not help us with their advice, it is no marvel though we make scruple to conclude anything of ourselves: and this countermand must make us more wary how hastily we engage ourselves to promise anything. For Sir Richard's challenge to me, if I were Her Majesty's Attorney, I could allege more cause to challenge most of the others for Her Majesty, but I am very glad I am rid of the matter, and will take heed how I meddle any more in the like. I had well hoped that I should have had advice from your Honour of some good to be done me ere this, but I fear I may resolve myself that no man's absence or presence shall be able to do me good. I beseech your Honour to acquaint my Lord your father with this letter, for I am in too impatient an humour to write unto his Lordship. And thus reposing my chief trust in

1596. VOL. CXCI.

your Honour, I will continue most ready to do your Honour service. —Athlone, 1596, July 31. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

July. 56. Note by Mr. Napper of the causes moving him in his suit for the office of alienations. That Her Majesty has but 41*l.* 8*s.* 0*d.* for it, as appears by the auditor's certificate, although the writer has a far greater loss of his former entertainment. Yet he will be content to pay that certain rent. It is not within the Commission of Wards, Liveries, Intrusions, and Primer Seisins as all the Commissioners have agreed, and is now very confusedly dealt withal, viz., sometimes in the Chancery, sometimes in the Exchequer, and sometimes by warrant from the Council there, many times given away, as concealed; so that if it were reduced into an office, it would by the care of a diligent officer grow hereafter more profitable to Her Majesty.

Also, causes moving his suit for land of the value of 100*l.* in fee farm, for the Master of the Rolls and himself. That the writer and the two other officers sent over were to have lands of Her Majesty of the value of 100*l.* a year, during continuance in their offices lying in the Pale, as signified by letters of the Council of 6 May 1593, and 11 August 1594, the latter being sent because the former was only to Sir Wm. Fitzwilliams then removed, and not to the Lord Deputy for the time being. Her Majesty also signified that upon the death of Sir Wm. Weston, the Master of the Rolls and the writer should have the 100*l.* in hand during the time aforesaid in any part of the realm as appeared by letters of the Council of 26 February 1594. They have no benefit of this grant, which was meant for a special part of their entertainment, as is certified by the letters of the Lord Deputy and Council of 1 July 1596, which gave as reasons; the troubles of the time beginning before the coming of these officers, the want of immediate warrant from Her Majesty, and that these officers in their discretion did not think it meet to remove any subjects' possessions in those times, to advance any private benefit to themselves, and therefore the writer desires that some recompence either in land or otherwise, as may please Her Majesty, may be made. *Endorsed:* —"Mr. Napper." *p.* 1.

[July.] 57. "The names of such captains of horse and foot as have charge in Ireland":—Horse, 25; Foot, 40; Irish Foot, 7; Pensioners, 11; together with the names of "gentlemen of desert," some of whom have no charge as yet, and some fit for better charge. *Endorsed:*—1596. *One large sheet.*

[July.] 58. Clauses to be inserted in Her Majesty's letter to the Lord Deputy, with a charge not to acquaint any person, except Sir John Norreys, therewith, until the Earl [of Tyrone] shall have refused the first offer. The clauses are three in number, and relate to the delivery of the Earl's pardon, "rather than to continue him unreconciled." *p.* 1.

## Vol. CXCII. 1596. August.

1596.

Aug. 1. Dublin. 1. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Recommends Mr. Francis Shane as a meet instrument to serve Her Majesty in the pacification. Prays that he may be speedily despatched, and also comforted with some consideration towards the repairing of his ruined estate.—Dublin, 1596, August 1. *p.* 1.

Aug. 2. Dublin. 2. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Is suddenly directed to go again to Connaught to treat with the rebels. Is to be at Athlone by the 4th of August, the time appointed by the Earl of Tyrone to know the resolute answer of the Connaught men, either to peace or war. Has no hope of a good conclusion with them, unless through the Earl. Thinks the late intelligences of the happy victory of Her Majesty's forces by sea, upon the Spanish King, will do much to bend them to pacification; hears it has wrought already a good impression in the best of them. Those intelligences, one coming from the west of Cornwall, and another out of France, concur in saying that 24 Spanish galleys are perished and taken; the huge ship, the glory of Spain, called *San Phillippo*, burned; Cadiz taken; and St. Lucar sacked and burned. Many particulars of the intelligence give credit to its verity. Thinks it were not amiss if, on the return of the fleet from the coasts of Spain, some of the soldiers in it were appointed to land about Galway, Sligo, and Lough Foyle. O'Connor Sligo goes with him into Connaught, and will serve Her Majesty's turn, if he be not terrified by underhand working.—Dublin, 1596, August 2. *pp.* 1½.

Aug. 4. 3. A brief of the debt in Ireland to June 30, 1596, taken by Burghley out of the book of the Treasurer for Ireland. Among the items are:—Allowances to Sir Ralph Lane and others, 276*l.* 9*s.* 9*d.*; extraordinary payments, 780*l.* 18*s.* 2½*d.*; freights and transport, 106*l.* 8*s.* 2½*d.*; carriage of letters into England. 40*l.*; diets of prisoners, 126*l.*; the Lord Deputy for prerogative money, 500*l.* The total of the debt to June 30, 1596, was 26,768*l.* 16*s.* 8¼*d.* *Endorsed:*—1596, August 4. *pp.* 3.

Aug. 7. 4. Sir Henry Harrington to Sir Robert Cecil. Importunes pardons for Dermott M'Phelym Reogh O'Toole, and his four brothers, Art, Roan, Tibbott, and Gerrott. By their means he was drawn to the taking of the notable traitor Walter Reogh, in respect whereof the Lord Deputy and Council promised them their pardons, but this has not been performed. By their service they have purchased the hatred and malice of all the Irish, and of necessity must rely altogether upon the State.—1596, August 7. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCII.

1596.

Aug. 8. Dublin. 5. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Has come to no end of his causes, although he has attended in Dublin three months. His enemies do not cease to send into England slanderous reports against him, so that he might, unheard, be unjustly condemned. Trusts nothing shall be done against him, till it be heard what he can justly allege for himself, "these being the wonted practices of Ireland, which either proceed from rebels or a few other malicious persons, whose regards intend nothing for the general good, but wholly to serve their private turns." His obligations to Burghley and Sir Robert. Asks for suspension of judgment on the supposed crimes laid to his charge. Doubts not to clear himself, as becomes Her Majesty's true and dutiful subject. Is sorry to see the general evil success of late, and much fears lest things grow worse. Has been restrained for ten months, and before was slenderly supplied, so more could not be expected at his hands than was performed. Sir John Norreys stays at Athlone, and hopes for a pacification, although Sir Richard sees no likelihood how any peace can continue, "for this people are become so exceeding proud as hardly or never to be reclaimed but by the sword, and the rather because of their hope of Spaniards, which they do very much brag."—Dublin, 1596, August 8. *pp.* 2.

Aug. 13. Dublin. 6. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Sir John Norreys has written to them to send over such complaints against Sir Richard Bingham as he supposes were proved at Galway before the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor. But none were proved, nor did they further examine than to take the informations delivered in by Leman and others. The rebels came not in to exhibit grievances, or to justify what the others had done, otherwise than was formerly advertised to the Privy Council, but most undutifully stood off, as hitherto they have done with Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Sent the complaints and Sir Richard's answers to the Privy Council. [*See inclosure* 1 *to letter of July* 16, *No.* 25.] There has been no default on Sir Richard's part that his causes were not heard long ago, but rather they have been protracted by Sir John Norreys, who kept back the witnesses sent for, and seemed to take the examination of them upon himself and Sir Geffrey Fenton, as Commissioners for that purpose, contrary to their Lordships' last letters in Sir Richard's behalf. Therefore Sir Richard vehemently excepts against Sir John Norreys, alleging that he seeks his place for himself or his brother. Will proceed to hear him at the Council Board, as he earnestly craves, upon the coming of his accusers, whom they have again sent for. In the letter of Sir John Norreys there is a further point, viz., that one of the rebels, called now O'Connor Roe, who should be upon coming in, will stand upon assurance of Sir Richard's removal. This they have not seen in all the demands of the other rebels of Connaught, for the articles proponed unto the Burkes, with their answers, contained no such thing, so far as has been made known to them. Thought it meet to advertise the Privy Council thereof, lest Sir

1596. VOL. CXCII.

John Norreys should have written of it in his letters.—Dublin, 1596, August 13. *pp.* 2.

Aug. 13. Dublin Castle. 7. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Much time has been spent, to Her Majesty's great charge, in these cessations and treaties of peace, and very little service has been performed. There is no more appearance of a conclusion than at the beginning, the Commissioners having now been above two months in Connaught, and yet no one man has come in to them. Further journey of Mr. Secretary [Sir Geffrey Fenton] into the province, expecting that Tyrone might have persuaded the rebels to a pacification, but in vain. The Connaught men came not to the place of meeting appointed, fearing, as he alleges, to be absent from their countries, the army lying so near them. Matters again delayed until O'Donnell's coming into the province, for which no time is yet set down. The worst feared from these protractions.

During this time of treaty, too, the Abbey of Boyle is being besieged, as is advertised by a letter from the Constable, named Reynolds, and for lack of victuals is in very great danger of being lost, together with some other holds in Connaught. From the Constable of Carrickfergus and some others it is advertised that, since James MacConnell's agreement with the Earl, he has put himself into possession of the Glynns, which Angus MacConnell holds of Her Majesty, and that Angus his son, being thereupon gone into Scotland, intends from thence to bring such forces as may defend him against James; and yet, as some think, only with this end on both sides by the Earl's direction or practice, to have their forces in readiness for other purposes.

It is further advertised from that place that Shane M'Brian has made proclamation throughout his country that none of his followers, upon a pain, shall bring any kind of victuals to that town. And by Neill M'Hugh M'Phelemy, of the North Clandeboy, who of late has been inward with the Earl, so many particulars are noted as to give very great cause of credit, showing an intention in the Earl to make a winter war, the Earl telling the chief gentlemen of the country that they are given over wholly to his rule and government, that he has increased his bonnaughts upon them since the receipt of his pardon, that he expects the arrival of Spaniards about the fifteenth of August, and, if they fail to arrive, that he intends to speak fair, and take the benefit of his pardon for a month longer, by which time long nights will be well entered, and then he will not care for English forces, and, lastly, that he has used some scornful and most unreverend speeches of the highest, which, being truly informed by this Neill do most of all manifest the Earl's most cankered and disloyal intentions.

From Atherdee the provost-marshal Ryce ap Hugh advertises three preys to have been very lately taken from Dundalk and other places further within the Pale, upon very slight and easy occasions, which he thinks is a very bad calendar, and therefore fears that the peace will not hold. From the Lord of Delvin, on Westmeath side,

1596. VOL. CXCII.

it appears that some of his kinsmen and servants, to the number of sixteen as he alleges, have been slain very lately by the O'Farrells, and that he begins to doubt greatly concerning himself. Out of the Brenny it is learned that for certain the Earl has taken pledges to his own use, both of Philip, Edmund, and Mulmorey O'Reilly, the three competitors for the "chiefery" of that country, and so he does daily of any others whom he has any cause to suspect. Some say he does this under colour to deliver them over to the State, which is merely a pretence, though it were not meet he should take them for that purpose. The Lord of Meath further reported, at the Council meeting on Tuesday last, that 200 rebels of the Brenny were, the day before about six in the morning, spoiling in East-meath, within five or six miles of his house of Ardbraccan.

From the parts near adjoining unto Feagh M'Hugh it will be found from what Lieutenant Greames writes that the agreement between the Butlers, Kavanaghs, Byrnes, Tooles, and Feagh M'Hugh, and the match between James Butler, younger son to Sir Edmund Butler, and Rory Oge's daughter, sister to Onie M'Rory, now a chief leader of the Moores in actual rebellion, are more than presages of greater stirs than of long time have been seen in those parts, especially if they begin to set up a Baltinglas, upon assurance to recover the Viscount's lands, as it seems some of them do not now omit to give out. Lastly, from Captain Sentleger, out of the Queen's county, it appears what we may look for from the Moores and Connors, which is the utter waste of that and the King's county, if some course of prosecution be not used. For if they be kept longer upon protection, as without present prosecution they must needs be, it may not reasonably be expected but [that] those two counties will soon be hazarded, which were gotten, with long time and very great expense, unto the Crown of England.

These things arise from the advertisements daily sent in, which are forwarded herewith in full, for their Lordships' satisfaction. For the reasons alleged in this and former letters, they have small hope of any safe or sound peace, and are very much afraid that the whole of Ireland will by this rebellion be endangered. Considering the delays practised by the rebels, their furnishing themselves during the same with better means for the war, their endeavours to get into their hands by treachery such castles as stood fittest for their purpose, or else to cut off such English servitors as they thought would most annoy or hinder them, their having by these means so much increased their own strength, and so strongly combined themselves throughout the realm, that they are now able of themselves to endanger Ireland, albeit the Spaniard do not come at all as is expected, their having in the meantime driven Her Majesty to as great a charge in effect as if a war had been continued; considering further that the Earl would never take his pardon until such time as Hovenden, by his letters out of Connaught, had assured him that all other delays had been used, and would not any longer serve the turn, they hope the Privy Council will conceive that there is very great reason for their opinion that Ireland is now in more danger

1596. VOL. CXCII.

than before the Earl accepted his pardon, if by that means he get, as it may be feared he will, a longer time of treaty for the rest. When one month more shall have been spent therein, the last year's experience teaches that the decay of Her Majesty's forces will be so great, and passage both for treasure and victuals so uncertain, that the rebels will soon begin to stand upon other terms, and the soldier growing generally discontented by feeding upon the subject (as he must when there are no other means to relieve him) will so far burden and oppress that, considering the people's former backwardness to further the service and their aptness to disobedience and rebellion, it may be doubted that the greatest part of the whole realm will out into open action with the rest to the very gates of Dublin. All the Council are of this opinion; if any others write the contrary, they pray the Privy Council will yet favourably judge the reasons for the above opinions, and give such approbation thereof as they find meetest for Her Majesty's service. Prays that 1,000 of the foot asked for, and the remainder of the horse formerly appointed to go to Chester, may be sent over very speedily, and also a liberal supply of treasure and victuals, the want of both being very great. Otherwise, it cannot be expected that the service can be performed as it ought to be, or those parts which remain in Her Majesty's hands be kept from falling to the rebels.—Dublin Castle, 1596, August 13. *pp.* 7. *Inclose,*

7. I. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The Earl of Tyrone has written to excuse himself that he could not work the Connaught men to a pacification, but he has dealt with O'Donnell to try and effect the same. No time fixed for the latter to come. Doubts the worst from these delays. Prays his Lordship to hasten away O'Connor Sligo with all speed, as his absence is a great impediment to all their proceedings, and especially for the managing of Roscommon and Sligo, which are much affected to him. No mason, carpenter, or pioneer has come yet, and there is not one beef to be divided to all the companies. The victualling officers cannot defend their negligence.—Athlone,* 1596, *August* 6. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

7. II. *Thomas Reynolds, Constable of the Boyle, to Sir Richard Bingham. Besieged by a thousand of the Irish, whose leaders he specifies. They have killed nearly all the cows which were sent for the Lord General's provision. Great want of victuals and munition. Henry Smythes took their salt from them by the way. Prays for speedy relief, as they are in great danger. They have sworn never to yield, so long as one man is left alive.—The Boyle,* 1596, *July* 26. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

7. III. *Captain Charles Eggerton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *James M'Sorley* [*Boy*] *has taken possession of the Glynns, which Angus M'Connell holds of Her Majesty. The latter escaped into Scotland. Hears he is collecting forces against James M'Sorley. Proclamation by Shane M'Brian. Neill M'Hugh M'Phelemy is a very fit member*

VOL. CXCII.

1596.

*to be employed in the wars; his suit to the Lord Deputy commended. Building of a corner "flanckar" with the town with lime and stone to be called Mount Russell.—Knockfergus,* 1596, *July* 31. *Copy. p.* 1.

7. IV. *Captain Rice Mansell to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Skirmish between Shane M'Brian and O'Hagan, Captain of the Earl of Tyrone's shot. Oppressive courses of the Earl in the North parts. Certain Spaniards thought to be landed. Policy of the Earl in fomenting a jar between Angus M'Connell and James M'Sorley* [*Boy*]. *The Earl's intrigues.—Carrickfergus,* 1596, *July* 31. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

7. V. *Neill M'Hugh M'Phelemy O'Neill to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *That better regard may be had of him than of Shane M'Brian, who follows in the steps of his father, who was executed for treason and rebellion, and bears a most hateful and malicious heart in his breast. Favours granted to Shane. His suit to have the Castle of Belfast with the half of Clandeboy next adjoining to Knockfergus. Strong reasons for expecting wars by the rebels. The rebels of Ulster are deceiving the Lord Deputy and Council with fair speeches to gain time.—Knockfergus,* 1596, *July* 28. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

7. VI. *Captain Rice ap Hugh to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Preys taken from Mr. Taaffe of Cookstown by the M'Mahons of Monaghan, from Dundalk by Art O'Hagan's sons, and from Dromchane by Collo M'Brian's sons. Asks for munition.— Atherdee,* 1596, *August* 4. *Copy. p.* 1.

7. VII. *The Lord of Delvin to the Lord Deputy and Council. His cousins Edmund Nugent of Carrollanston, Sir Thomas Nugent's heir, and Christopher Nugent Fitz Oliver, entrapped by the rebels. Sixteen of his kinsmen and household slain in attempting to relieve them. Threatened coming of O'Donnell, with great forces to Delvin. Has very weak forces to resist. A good company of foot to be sent to Fowre, and a company of horse to Athboy and Mullingar. The country thereabout to be placed in a better state of defence. Stays the two brethren of the Nugents in prison. Is informed that Tyrone has taken pledges from O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Mayuire, the Reillys, and others.— Clonin,* 1596, *August* 7. *Copy. pp.* 2.

7. VIII. *T——— M——— to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Dispute between Mulmorey M'Shane O'Reilly, Edmund O'Reilly, and Philip O'Reilly, at Dungannon, before the Earl of Tyrone, for the O'Reillyship. Tyrone's judgment. Captain Street sent for to apprehend Shane M'Philip, who doth mightily range up and down these borders.—*1596, *August* 3. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

7. IX. *Lieutenant Richard Greame to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Feagh M'Hugh, on the* 3*rd August, agreed with James Butler, Sir*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*Edmund Butler's son, to join in rebellion. James desired to have Rory Oge's daughter to wife. Piers Butler has preyed the whole town of Knockloagh. Walter O'Byrne's advice to David Eustace of Bolibegg. Asks for a band of foot. Greame confined to his bed: his company gone into Connaught.—Gallmorston, 1596, August 8. Copy. pp. 1½.*

7. x. *Captain Warham Sentleger to the Lord Deputy. Has not given any further protection to the Moores since the 30th of July, on which day their last protection ended, albeit they craved to be protected for a month or six weeks longer, reporting abroad that they desired peace and not the waste of the country, except they were driven to it for the safety of their lives. Looked to hear first what conclusion the Lord President would make in Connaught, and "lingered the time" a little with the Moores, meantime placing the soldiers in the fittest places to defend the country and offend the enemy.*

*On August 5, message was brought to him that Onie M'Rory desired protection so as to make further means for a thorough peace. His chief demands were; to have land for reasonable rent at "Gallyun," where his predecessors and himself were born, to which it was answered that Her Majesty had already disposed thereof, and that it was unfit that he, who had killed the owner of the land, should now be tenant in the same; and that it would please Her Majesty to give him some entertainment to live upon, and to depend on the State, to which it was answered that Her Majesty used not to bind any man to make a subject of [him]. In the end he brake off, and sent word to Onie that he [Sentleger] went but to attend the defence of the country, and not much to seek after them, except they did force and hurt the country.*

*On August 6, he received the commission of the Lord Deputy and Council, when he was ready to ride abroad to meet with the freeholders, to take order for keeping the country and victualling the soldiers. Agreed to follow the freeholders, without further delay. Received warning from the Lord President that the companies of Sir John Dowdall, himself, and Captain Marshall, should be ready to march into Connaught. Humbly craves that the Lord Deputy and Council would be pleased directly to set down what course he is to take with "these kerne," the Moores, and he will accomplish whatsoever they command. Is of opinion that Onie M'Rory might have Gallin for some convenient rent, inasmuch as the land is now merely waste, and not like to be quickly again inhabited. This opinion may seem strange, but he beseeches the Lord Deputy to weigh his reasons with the troubles of this time. Has observed that the Moores ever in times past did trouble and keep stir in this country, till they had some place in the same to set down upon, except in these late times, in which the offspring of those that are dead were but children. Refers to the experience of such of the Council as have been long time in Ireland. Would have the Moores set down and plant themselves in some certain place, where*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*they would not only seek to get, but would stay to keep and defend, the things they had; by which means they would know where to find them, whereas now they keep in no place.*

*Doubt of forces to continue a thorough prosecution. Touching the state of these parts and borders, thinks good to assure the Lord Deputy that there is not one sound place about them; every borderer has either a cousin or follower afoot in present action, ready to increase to a dangerous head. If the forces be wholly withdrawn, it will be the utter ruin and overthrow of this poor country within short time after; for, if they miss to bring their corn home safe, he knows not any castle within the country almost able to be kept long after. Has made all means for leave to stay where he is. Report that Mr. Bowen is exercising martial law. Some have assured him that the doubt of this martial law being used for revenge has already done some hurt, and is like to do more. Does not speak through any dislike of Mr. Bowen, nor does he desire the like authority (although it be some touch to his reputation, when he has the principal charge of the country, that Mr. Bowen should have the authority, and he want it). Prays that Mr. Bowen may be restrained: little assistance given by him. Truce with Onie M'Rory for eight days. William M'Rory swears he is weary of this kind of life, and would leave the rebels if means were given him: has granted protection to him for eight days. Finds they are all easy to be dealt with, till they see what shall become of Feagh, and then no doubt they will do as he does. William M'Rory offered to go with him to the Lord Deputy, but he has stayed him, till he hears again from his lordship. Has much more to impart by word of mouth.—Maryborough, 1596, August 7. Copy. pp. 4.*

7. XI. *Advertisements delivered by Captain James FitzGarrett of Lecale, before Captain Francis Stafford and Mr. Morgan, the 12th August 1596, at the Newry. On the 10th August FitzGarrett and the High Sheriff of Lecale went from Newry towards Dungannon to seek the release of two men, one the Constable of Down, the other Patrick Bedlow, both of Lecale, who were taken prisoners by the M'Cartanes. They were referred to the meeting of the Commissioners.*

*FitzGarrett says that the Earl of Tyrone used him very kindly, and on the 11th, after they had dined, the Earl walking abroad took him aside, nobody being present but they both, and desired FitzGarrett to tell him truly whether the Earl of Kildare were certainly dead as reported, and requested him to deal plainly with him; he answered the last news which he heard of him was that his lordship was alive. Then the Earl of Tyrone told him that he would utter a thing unto him, but first he would have FitzGarrett sworn that he should not reveal it again, and as FitzGarrett says, because he would discover the Earl's meaning, he condescended to his desire. The Earl then told him that, if he would do anything which he should demand at his hands, and which he might well do,*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*he would grant FitzGarrett the leading of as many men as he should desire, and would reward him besides with one hundred pounds ready money. FitzGarrett answered that he would do for him as he might do, so it touched him not in life nor his Lord in reputation.*

*Then the Earl asked him what harbour the river of Strangford was, and whether any great shipping might come into it. FitzGarrett answered there might. The Earl asked him also whether the Castle of Strangford was of any strength, and how near it stood to the sea, and how near shipping might come to the Castle. FitzGarrett replied that great shipping could not come very near, but small shipping might, and that the Castle was of no great strength.*

*The Earl then dealt plainly with him, and said, if he would deliver over into his hands the Castle of Strangford and the Castle of Dundrum (which is and might be made a castle of great strength), he would not only keep promise with him for the entertainment and money which he had assured him, but would make him able to live in as good sort as he should seek or demand. The Earl also delivered unto him that Her Majesty and the English Government sought to suppress the nobility and gentlemen of Ireland, and that for his part he would not be used so.*

*Nott, the Earl's secretary, being a near kinsman to FitzGarrett, told him in great secret that the Earl had been at Donogaurle [? Donegal], and there met O'Donnell, "the Earl," Henry Hovenden, and all the Bishops and chief clergymen in the country. A consultation was held for two or three days, and there were many letters written in Latin, but unto whom Nott knows not. As he judges they were sent into Spain, and a Frenchman was at that instant ready to hoist sail for Spain. The Secretary also made known to FitzGarrett that Henry Hovenden had twenty cows given him by the Earl, and twenty more by O'Donnell, for a reward to attend O'Donnell into Connaught, and since his being in Connaught Hovenden wrote a letter to the Earl that according to his direction all matters were delayed and the time prolonged. Nott showed this letter to FitzGarrett, unto whom it was certainly affirmed that the Earl had 2,000l. worth of powder and munition, and he saw at Dungannon Scottishmen making culivers and fowling pieces. FitzGarrett, upon his return from Dungannon, which was the 12th of this month, did very dutifully unto Her Majesty and the State, and like a good and faithful subject revealed this before Captain Francis Stafford and Mr. Morgan, and desired the Captain's advice what course he should take for the safe keeping of the places, for the country was very poor and daily spoiled, and not able to maintain any men for the defence of the same.*

*The Castle of Dundrum is strong and of good receipt, and may be made very strong if it should be possessed by the Earl of Tyrone, and so delivered unto the Spaniard or any other foreign nation; and stands very conveniently to be relieved by shipping of reasonable good burden, and in a very good place for service upon the*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*woodmen, to annoy Magennis, if he should join with the Earl, and specially for the defence of Lecale and all the countries adjoining. The harbour of Strangford is well able to contain all the Queen of England's shipping, and the King of Spain's likewise, with safety. pp.* 3.

*Signed by Captain Francis Stafford. Endorsed:—"This came after the letters were sealed, and therefore not mentioned."*

August 14. Kilmainham. 8. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Small hope of any good conclusion to the treaty of peace. Prays his furtherance for the supplying of their wants.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 14. *p.* 1.

August 14. Dublin. 9. Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardener to Burghley. Extremity of Mr. Francis Shane's cause. Commend him to Burghley's consideration. His service in discovering the great deceits of the substitute-escheator Boyle, the deputy-surveyor Capstock, and others their confederates.—Dublin, 1596, August 14. *p.* 1.

August 14. Dublin. 10. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. It may please your most honourable good Lordship. The strangeness of the course held with me for the hearing of my causes, contrary to your Lordship's direction, is such and so extreme, that I am enforced eftsoones to appeal to your Honour, as the only defence of my innocency, most humbly craving to be shielded by your Lordship in my just and true causes, and no further. For (right honourable) my adversaries so much malign me, that they cease not to urge matter against me without any good cause or ground, throwing them over into England to my disgrace, and do what in them lieth to protract the time for my justification, and to stop me from that indifferent trial, which your Lordship of your accustomed goodness hath procured for me; for which, and all other your Honour's great favours extended to me, I will acknowledge myself both in life and goods to rest at your Lordship's devotion, most humbly craving the continuance of your Honour's favours to me, during my not deserving the contrary.

For (my most honourable good Lord) I have in all truth and sincerity served Her Majesty, and have not done anything reprovable, what slanders soever my adversaries shall throw over against me to the contrary, as the end I doubt not (God assisting me), will plainly demonstrate. But it is notorious to all the world, that the rebels rose not upon any dislike they had to me more than to the rest of the English magistracy, for they endeavour themselves to their uttermost to throw off the yoke of civil government, and all obedience to Her Majesty, more countries being lately revolted from their duties, as namely, Omalaughlin's in the county of Westmeath and others, where neither myself nor none of mine did ever set foot, or had any dealings in. And now O'Donnell is devising to cast off some loose men into Thomond with one Teig

1596. VOL. CXCII.

M'Tirlough O'Brien, and Morrogh Backlawe M'Shee, that lately murdered Mr. Bleeke in the county of Limerick, to stir the people there to a rebellion; so that it is all "a height" seen they rose not upon any dislike to me, as some of the traitors themselves have lately confessed. But yet my adversaries (the more to please the rebels as they make show) would seem to inculp me therewith; consuming more time to devise matter against myself, than they spend to do Her Majesty any acceptable service, this summer being most unprofitably spent, and nothing done, but the traitors left in greater height of pride than ever they were, and ourselves so pulled down, that all the late supplies for want of provident relief and common necessaries, are either dead or altogether unserviceable, and the companies not in state to carry scarce 50 men apiece into the field. So that I fear me, and my experience teacheth me, that things will yet be much more worse than bettered, unless some better course of prosecution be taken than hither unto, since the beginning of this action, hath been. For all these treaties of peace are nothing else but devices of the rebels to protract time in hope of the arrival of Spaniards, and till the nights be longer, and the waters rise; and then they will not only be able to defend their own, but spoil that which the subjects shall have left, although the Spaniards come not.

Such is the misery of the time, which my malicious adversaries will not see, although they very well know it, but labour still my overthrow, thinking thereby to do a thing grateful and pleasing unto the rebels, who make their benefit of the time, as men well acquainted with such practices. But if my remove would bring peace, it would do well to call me away; but in all appearance the people will not be the better for it; and it appeareth they stand not upon that point, for they make wars generally against the English government. Howbeit it may be some special offenders do require my remove, and yet if all of them did it, I may be thought in all good constructions to have served Her Majesty so much the better. But (right honourable) my only trust (next under God) is in your Lordship, that I shall not be condemned unheard, greatly desiring my trial, and after my honest purgation (which I nothing doubt of) do refer myself to be disposed of, either here or in England, as shall seem best to your good Lordship, being much aggrieved that these perverse crosses of my adversaries do thus protract time, and constrain me to be troublesome and tedious to your Honour.

For, notwithstanding the said late direction which your Lordship procured for me, and sent by my servant Bingley, for the speedy hearing and ending of my causes, and the Lord Deputy and Council directing letters accordingly to Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton, and sending a messenger with commandment to my accusers to appear before his Lordship and the rest, for accomplishing of your Lordship's pleasure, Sir John Norreys not only took the commandment from the said messenger, but also returned him to Dublin, so as nothing is done in them, Sir John

1596. VOL. CXCII.

resuming all into his own hands, contrary to your Honour's meaning in the said letters; and myself attending here these fourteen weeks past from my charge, where I might have done Her Majesty better service, in regard of my knowledge and experience in that province, than many others. But after I have purged myself and manifested my innocency, as is befitting to a gentleman of my place and standing (which God pleased I nothing doubt of), I desire not to continue here, if it be thought good that another can do Her Majesty better service in the place than myself. But in the mean time do most humbly crave your Honour's accustomed favour and patronage, that I be not overborne by those that malign me, and removed in disgrace, not deserving the same; having nothing for my long, true, and painful services, for my maintenance, but this place, which Her Majesty by your Honour's good means hath vouchsafed me, and which (God is my witness) I never abused or misdemeaned myself in to the harm of any good subject, but held myself contented with Her Majesty's entertainment, without either bribing, exacting, or extorting; anything whatsoever to the contrary hath most maliciously and slanderously been reported of me. For, unless your Honour stand my good Lord, and procure a new direction for me from Her Majesty for my causes to be heard at the Council board here, according your Lordship's former direction, Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton (who are neither indifferent nor competent), will proceed against me; which letter I most humbly beseech your good Lordship to procure for me, and I will not fail to acknowledge the same in all faithfulness to the uttermost of my life and goods.

My adversaries make show to inculp me with three great matters, of which (I praise the Lord therefore) I can sufficiently clear myself, they being rather worthy commendation than reprehension, howsoever it please them to deem of them. The first is the office of Sligo, which they say was indirect. Sure I am there was nothing done in a corner, but in public before the judges, namely, Sir Robert Gardener, Justice Walsh, Justice Dillon, and Her Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor, myself not meddling anything therein, but only gave the law his free passage, as all the judges can bear me witness. The second is concerning one Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, in which they allege that the course held with him hath lost Her Majesty the county of Mayo, but (my good Lord) I will directly prove that the sessions at Clonacashell were ended before the said Tibbott was apprehended, and the pardon granted him void; and he purposed to enter into action against Her Majesty immediately upon his return into the country. But if I had prosecuted his death (as my adversaries would and do surmise I did), he could not have escaped; for, after his condemnation, I wrote to Sir William Fitzwilliams, then Lord Deputy, for a new pardon for him, which was accordingly granted, and more favour was showed him than ever he will be worthy of; but he most wickedly conspired with other traitors then in prison, he having more liberty than they, and broke away, not taking the benefit

1596. VOL. CXCII.

of either the two pardons, although he had notice of them both; such was his bad disposition, as all men here can testify, but such as will not understand the truth. The third matter is about the killing of some rebels, lately tenants to one George Goodman, as though the act were reproveable; but it is well known to Mr. Justice Dillon, Captain Anthony Brabazon, and others, that the soldiers had no direction from me to kill any of them, but were sent to Theobald Dillon upon his earnest request, offering to do some especial service, and, coming to those villages, and finding Donnell O'Kelly and other traitors there, killed one with another in their fury, as may appear by these enclosed copies, which I presume to present to your Lordship. But this is nothing (right honourable) to provoke the people to enter into rebellion, for it was done in the action, *in furore milite* (*sic*) and very good service, for, immediately after, that whole country, called the Barony of Athlone, was abandoned of all the rebels, and none of them returned so long as I was in the country; and the men slain were such (as Mr. Goodman confessed very often) as had been the only spoilers of him, and the means his house was burned, and some of his ward slain, and said it was good service in cutting them off.—Dublin, 1596, August 14. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

10. I. *George Goodman to Sir Richard Bingham. His examination by Sir Geffrey Fenton concerning the killing of certain tenants. Thinks they were slain by Theobald Dillon's means. Matter sought against Sir Richard. Commanded to set down in writing an account of the killing, but his note was not liked. Sir Geffrey said it was "a shipman's hose." The Lord General bad him look what he did, for he might bring himself in danger of being accessory to his tenants' deaths. Sends copy of his statement. "That notable traitor and murderer," Donnell Omalaughlin O'Kelly, and twenty-three other rebels, escaped over the lough, in the view of Goodman, Theobald Dillon, and the soldiers, who could not prevent the same.—Athlone,* 1596, *July* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

10. II. *Complaint delivered by George Goodman to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton concerning the burning of his towns and the slaughter of his tenants. Noted:—"Not signed by Mr. Goodman." Endorsed:*—1596, *July* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

10. III. *Captain Charles Montague to Sir Richard Bingham. Where he is desired to call to remembrance what speeches Mr. Goodman used concerning his tenants, says it was an ordinary speech with Mr. Brabazon, Mr. Crofton, and Mr. Goodman that all their churls were become rebels, and that none of the kerne were busier to spoil and prey them than their own churls were, "with clubs, &c.," and said there could not be better service than to kill them all. Remembers very well also Mr. Goodman saying that his own people and churls were at the burning and spoiling of his*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*house, and had his goods divided amongst them. After entering the country [Connaught], saw none, except at Liscallon, but such as bare arms against them.*—1596, *August* 9. *Copy. p.* ½.

Aug. 15. Kilmainham. 11. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Sends copies of letters from Sir Geffrey Fenton and Captain Tutcher, the latter of whom has charge of the fort of Ballinacor. The Butlers are working that they may be restored in their blood, which is a matter they have for a good while aimed at. With the Butlers no small number will fall away.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 15. *pp.* 1½.

11. I. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to [the Lord Deputy]. Has just received his letter of the 10th [August], together with the Spanish news confirmed from Waterford by an eye witness; a matter happening in good time to secure Ireland against the designs of Spain, for the which they have all cause to honour God in his goodness. The messenger sent to O'Donnell has not yet returned. Cannot therefore advertise further of the affairs of Connaught, until he sees what that proud Scot intends. Is still of opinion that the rebels will hold out the time with evasions and delays as long as they can, and, if at length they do make a pacification, it will be but to win time, and to be rid of the army, which now lies upon their necks; and yet, howsoever those wilful beggars may stand out to the uttermost, he is of mind that the Earl will not directly decline again to disobedience, though underhand he may give support and countenance to the rest.—Athlone,* 1596, *August* 11. *Copy. p.* 1.

11. II. *Captain Tutcher Parkins to [the Lord Deputy.] Neglect of the Sheriff of Carlow to supply him with beeves and muttons. James Butler has very treacherously hanged six of Parkins's company. Desires a warrant for apprehending William Baie, who had a share in that matter; also, a warrant to take some beeves and cows from Feagh M'Hugh's country, who it is greatly to be suspected was consenting to the killing of the aforesaid soldiers. James Butler to marry Rory Oge's sister. On August* 12, *there came to Feagh, Butler with all his forces, and the Moores and Kavanaghs with all their forces. Reinforcements for Feagh. To have a new warrant for the beeves and muttons, and for the taking up of garrans in the Byrnes' country for carriage of the provisions for Ballinacor. Want of men, victuals, and munition. —Ballinacor,* 1596, *August* 13. *Copy. pp.* 3½.

Aug. 15. Kilmainham. 12. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy of a letter from Sir Geffrey Fenton [*see inclosure to last*], also copy of a letter from Captain Tutcher. Has dealt with Captain Lee according to Her Majesty's pleasure, and found him at first very unwilling, but afterwards, upon better consideration, he was contented to write unto the Earl [of Tyrone], and, having received answer, he is now gone down with good hope to work him to more

1596. VOL. CXCII.

than any other, or at the least fully to discover him. Is of opinion that the Earl is so far gone with pride of his own strength, and confidence of foreign assistance, that he is past all hope of being reclaimed, otherwise than by force.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 15. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

12. I. *Captain Tutcher Parkins to [the Lord Deputy]. Failure of the Sheriff of Carlow to supply the beeves and muttons as directed. Certain of his company treacherously hanged by James Butler.—Ballinacor,* 1596, *August* 13. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Monday [? Aug. 16]. Racroghan. 13. Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor, Connor Oge M'Dermot, and others, to Captain Green. Have consulted on the letter of the Lord Deputy and Council. Are willing that the provision and victual of the Commissioners shall be safe to Curraghboy. Have observed hitherto the peace between the Queen and O'Neill, O'Donnell, and the rest of the Irishry in Ulster and Connaught. Object to the Commissioners repairing any further down than the upper part of O'Kelly's country. If they do, will flee with their goods and chattels to O'Rourke's country until such time as the Commissioners return.—Racroghan, 1596, "this present Monday." *Copy. pp.* 2.

Aug. 17. Ardbraccan. 14. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to [the Lord Deputy]. Must in duty advertise him of such accidents as happen in those parts. Is right sorry that his advertisements are still uncomfortable by reason of the bad and traitorous disposition of the bordering neighbours, who cease not to take their opportunity to commit all manner of mischief. The evening before, about an hour before the fall of the night, a number of traitors (he cannot learn the certain number) of the Reillys and Duffs came to Dunmow, a village seated upon the Boyne side, took from it 100 cows, or thereabouts, unyoked the garrans out of the ploughs, and carried them with them. Thence they went to the Grages, a village adjoining, and belonging to Nicholas Birford, and, in revenge of his late good service, have taken all the cattle and goods he had, killed one of his men, dangerously injured another, and burned his house. All this was done within two miles of the Navan, before the setting of the sun. Every night some spoil is committed, and, unless present order be taken for guarding that border, does not think that any man dwelling on that side of the Boyne, who is not of Philip's confederacy, will possess any goods. His intelligencer came to him the day before, and assures him there is no hope of any good meaning in those traitors, but that they seek delays until the nights grow longer to do mischief.—Ardbraccan, 1596, August 17. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Aug. 17. Ardbraccan. 15. Duplicate of the preceding. *pp.* 1½.

Aug. 17. Ranelagh. 16. Feagh M'Hugh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Has received his letter concerning Captain Lee, by which he doubts the Earl has not

1596. VOL. CXCII.

yet received his complaint of the abuse that was offered unto him by the said Captain. Is now to let the Earl understand how the matter came to pass. The gentlemen that committed spoil upon Captain Lee were such as he had banished out of their own lands and living, and, thereafter, they did what they could. But Captain Lee would not but charge Feagh as a means of his spoil. Finding himself "unguilty" of the same, and being ready to clear himself according to any sufficient manner, Feagh was contented to answer Captain Lee a meeting, to prove that this was true, and for performance of the peace between them. They were sworn on either side not to offer any kind of violence or harm, one to another, during all that day. Feagh, and all his sons and kinsmen, did swear and discharge themselves that they gave neither help nor consent to do Captain Lee or any of his any hurt. Besides that Feagh offered to be sworn to get Captain Lee as much of his goods as he might possibly obtain of those that took them. With this offer Captain Lee would not be contented, unless Feagh made him whole satisfaction of the spoil. Contrary to promise, he charged Feagh, and pursued him with all his shot, to Feagh's great danger; and, when he escaped his hands, he took from a follower of his all his goods and cattle, although the man was not in Feagh's country, but under Sir Henry Harrington. Beseeches the Earl duly to consider the matter, and to take such order therein as he shall think good, causing Captain Lee to yield such favour and restitution unto him as the Earl shall command Feagh to yield unto Captain Lee. Will observe and fulfil whatsoever the Earl shall require of him, to the uttermost of his power.

Craves his full advice in all haste. Is still bearing himself as before, till he shall know the Earl's pleasure. So are all such as will take Feagh's part in Leinster, through the Earl's good furtherance towards them. Is bidden oftentimes by the English to do for himself, and not to trust the Earl; but, by the grace of God, during his life, he will never slack from that which he has depended upon, and that of which he has assured the State. Therefore, if the Earl wills that they should trouble them, Feagh will cause O'Donnell, as he has written unto him, to send him out of Connaught a company of good shot, for the guard of his body wheresoever he shall go. Hopes that what they shall do will be no small help to the Earl. Desires his advice speedily.—Ranelagh, 1596, August 17. *Copy. pp.* 2.

[Aug. 17?] 17. [Meyler Magrath,] Archbishop of Cashel, to [? Burghley]. With great grief he declares the miserable state wherein he sees all Ireland like to be very shortly. The same is like to a broken hedge, and in a sort as if there were neither Deputy nor Council in the land to reform spiritual or temporal defects, all things being almost out of order. Sees no great difference betwixt them thereabouts and the rebels. There is no small cantred without private woodkern, preparing themselves against the next winter. In the meantime there is no night without robberies, stealths, or murders,

1596. VOL. CXCII.

and, in the day, everywhere, meetings like open wars; the rebels cannot shew worse tokens against Her Majesty than are daily seen there. Prays Burghley to hearken to this: knows that Her Majesty will believe Sir Henry Wallop's information.

If such disorders be not in time looked to, they will see very shortly more dangerous attempts in Munster than they have yet seen in Ulster. And, where the last number did lack divers necessary things to further and maintain their wars, as great riches, strongholds, fair havens, skill, practice, learning, many travellers, daily news, and resorts from Spain and from the Pope, the same number of Munster lacketh none of the premises; and besides, they have so many seminaries to instruct and seduce all sorts of people to wars against Her Majesty. Still there are no means sought to prevent or resist them; and therefore they have so much prevailed amongst Irishmen, that very few are to be found true to take Her Majesty's part against the Pope and the Spaniard, whereby no doubt, whensoever any invasion shall come for Ireland, there will be a general insurrection amongst the most part of Irishmen, and specially in Munster. God send that it may be prevented. The Earl of Ormonde says that one of the Council of Ireland wrote to him that the Archbishop of Cashel had accused the said Earl of matters of high nature, which is most untrue: yet means are sought to destroy the poor Archbishop. His conscience and duty cannot suffer him to hold his peace as others do. [*See also inclosure* ix. *to letter of August* 28.]

*Endorsed:*—"Archbishop of Cashel in cipher. Received 18 August 1596." *Copy. p.* 1.

Aug. 20. 18. Confession of Mahon M'Donogh, one of the rebels who was in the county of Mayo, in the company of Teig M'Tirlogh O'Brien, and came with the said Teig from thence about three weeks past into this county of Clare, taken before Donogh, Earl of Thomond, the 20th of August 1596. The said Mahon confessed and affirmed that there arrived four Spanish ships in the bay or haven of the Moine, in the county of Mayo, about six weeks past, laden with munition and weapons, having in them only certain Spaniards that brought them safe thither, who told the country people that came to see them, that they with eleven other ships came together from the King of Spain to the Irish rebels of this realm, with furniture, munition, and treasure, sufficient to uphold the wars against Her Majesty; promising, moreover, that a great fleet of Spaniards would arrive in this land at Michaelmas next. In the meantime, they made profer to entertain as many men as would receive pay at the King of Spain's charges, and that they had money and furniture to be presently delivered unto any, that would take entertainment for the aid of O'Neill, O'Donnell, M'William, and the rest, and made the same publicly known to the multitude that came to see them thither. He also confessed that M'William sent them 100 beeves to victual those four ships; the Spaniards would not take those beeves, but with condition to pay ready money for them, for that

1596. VOL. CXCII.

the King gave them charge not to receive anything but such as they would pay money for.

Within a few days after, the said Teig O'Brien, with the Clanshies, this examinate and others, to the number of thirty and above, took their way from those ships, after that they had refreshed themselves with wine, which they had in good quantity out of the ships, liberally bestowed upon them by the Spaniards, and came to the island of Aron, and from thence hither. The Clanshies determined to go over the river of Shannon, and so to Munster, to draw to them as many as they might, to put rebellion afoot there to the uttermost of their power, wherein they promised to use all diligence, not doubting but that a great number would join presently with them in that action, and that they would soon murder and banish all the Englishmen that dwelt in Munster; and so reduce that country to a full rebellion. This examinate, with others his brethren and friends, being men born under the Earl of Thomond, and desirous to live hereafter in quietness, departed from the said Teig O'Brien and the Clanshies in Burren, after the murdering of Captain Bangor, Roger Lawrence, the merchants of Galway, and two soldiers, and so keeping themselves in mountains and woods, until they found means to the said Earl of Thomond for their protection, which his Lordship thought good to grant unto them accordingly, upon promise of their loyalty hereafter. The said examinate saith further, that he heard it reported, that James Blage, with 400 Scots, would go by sea to Munster, to the aid of the Clanshies and such as would join with them: and further he confessed that Teig O'Brien told him that Connor M'Teig O'Brien would join in action with the Clanshies, to maintain rebellion both in Munster and in Thomond, and thereupon is gone over the Shannon lately for that purpose. Moreover, he confessed that some of the Malleys in the county of Mayo told him that Teig Keogh M'Mahon would join in this action with the rest of the rebels. What is become of those eleven ships, which were said to have been in company with the other four he knoweth not.

*Endorsed*:—"20 August 1596. The examination of Mahon M'Donogh, one of the rebels in the county of Mayo, and lately, upon his submission, received into Her Majesty's protection by the Earl of Thomond." *Copy. pp.* 2½.

Aug. 21. Dublin. 19. The Lord Deputy and Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. To send corn for 1,000 men, for three months, to the Newry and Carrickfergus.—Dublin, 1596, August 21. *p.* 1.

Aug. 21. Kilmainham. 20. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Incloses letter from Sir Edward Moore. Strength of the rebels. They are generally in open action or conspiracy, and spoils are done daily in all parts. Wishes Her Majesty would set out some shipping towards Brittany, whence the Spanish forces are expected. Because he has often given warning of these dangers, and, for aught he sees, could never be believed, wishes likewise that Her Majesty would remove him

1596. VOL. CXCII.

from his charge, and bestow the same upon some other, who has a better conceit of the sound meaning of the rebels. Continues resolute in opinion that Ireland cannot be maintained without great forces. Begs that the horse and foot asked for may be sent, and also a better supply of treasure and victuals, or else he can conceive nothing but confusion.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 21. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

20. I. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Their former treaties have yielded nothing but delays. Does not look for better upon the next motion. As their often meetings will require great travel, and as he knows he is not able to endure it, whereby the good intended thereof might be neglected, desires that he may be exempted therefrom. Nightly stealths and daily incursions, wherewith the poor country is afflicted. Without some speedy remedy, before the harvest grows, the borders will be wholly ruined. So many idle men are "intermeddled" with the country people, that the good hardly travel without spoiling.—Mellifont,* 1596, *August* 19. *Copy. p.* 1.

20. II. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Received intelligence that a man of Brittany, sent from the Spanish forces there to the Earl, landed at Dublin; has been with the Earl, and is returned, with intention to ship for Brittany, either at Dublin or at Drogheda. The cause of his coming was to excuse the breach of the promise made to the Irish for landing of aid in Ireland by a* [*certain*] *day. Don John de Avala, general of the forces, received a sum of money for them, but had departed with the treasure. Delay was made till the King's pleasure were known who should supply his government. The soldiers growing mutinous for want of pay, left the voyage unperformed for that present; but, as the wessenger assured the Earl, a new general is appointed, and the forces are to come presently, so that he thinks they will land with this wind within four or five days. The number appointed to come is* 5,000 *; the place for their landing is Bloicke. Wishes the Lord Deputy would stay such shipping as is bound thither, as well at Dublin as at Drogheda, where there is one ready for those parts with the first wind. Captain Warren is sent for by the Lord President, and is gone towards him this morning, and will advertise thereof. He presently came from the Earl, and has received good promises; what the Earl's practice are, he knows not.—Mellifont,* 1596, *August* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

Aug. 21. Kilmainham. 21. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the letter of this date to Burghley.*]—Kilmainham, 1596, August 21. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

21. I. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*], 1596, *August* 19, *and,* II. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*], 1596, *August* 20; *being duplicates of inclosures in the previous letter.*

VOL. CXCII.

1596.

Aug. 22. Kilmainham. 22. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl has deferred his answer to Captain Lee till the return of Hovenden out of Connaught. The Earl has two thousand pounds' worth of powder, and makes both pistols and culivers in his house. Spaniards expected by him. The place set down for their landing, called Bloyck is about a mile from Dalkey, and not past five miles from Dublin. This agrees with the secret advertisement, which in the previous January he [the Lord Deputy] sent over, of Tyrrell's being foster brother to one commonly called in Spain Don Carolo. Begs that shipping may be set out towards Brittany, and that men, treasure, and victuals may be supplied speedily. In these most dangerous times has only 60 horsemen, for the guarding both of the Pale and himself; yet Sir John Norreys thinks them too many, whereat he [the Lord Deputy] is aggrieved.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 22. *pp.* 1½.

Aug. 22. Athlone. 23. Conditions signified by the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor, for his submission. *Signed with the said Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe's mark.*—Athlone, 1596, August 22. *pp.* 2.

Aug. 22. Athlone. 24. Submission of Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor, for himself, his kinsfolk, and followers. *Signed with the said Hugh's mark.*—1596, August 22. *Endorsed:*—Athlone. *p.* 1.

Aug. 22. Athlone. 25. Submission of Fergenanan O'Hanley, for himself, his kinsfolk, and followers. *Unsigned.*—1596, August 22. *Endorsed:*—Athlone. *p.* 1.

Aug. 23. Dublin. 26. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. My most humble duty remembered to your Honour. The employment of my service to the Earl of Tyrone, the 10th of this month of August, by direction and at this instant returned, giveth me occasion to write these lines to acquaint your Honour with some [of] my proceedings, and how I found him in his duty towards Her Majesty. The noble man doth hold himself in a most miserable estate in respect of Her Majesty's great displeasure towards him, besides these two honourable gentlemen now here, my Lord Deputy and my Lord General, so that he knoweth not how to behave himself to please them both; besides he looked still for my coming unto him to be satisfied of many things, which were betwixt him and me in private, before he would be tractable to any assurance whatsoever for his safe coming in. There hath been as much offered him for his safety as now I have acquainted him with by those my Lord General hath used as his messengers, which assurance he utterly rejected for the cause afore. Yet notwithstanding, he being a man far gone, and directed whether he will or no by that damnable crew who now direct him, contrary to his duty towards Her Majesty and his performance of that is expected since he hath received his pardon, will give his enemies good matter to make him more odious to Her Majesty than ever he was; and, because your Honour may the better judge of the state of

1596. VOL. CXCII.

this honourable man, there are none so forward in giving bad counsel as those whose sons lie in for his pledges, and specially his brother Cormack, whose son is now in, and himself good for nothing but for the galleys, he is "most egreste [eagerest]" of all to do villainy.

After long debating of many matters betwixt him and me, I so satisfied him in many things he stood most afraid of, that in the end he assured me he would be wholly advised by me, and that there was not any he durst acquaint this determination unto, but unto two, whose counsellors are O'Donnell and Henry Hovenden, who is his foster brother, whose counsel he relies most of. These two were now far from him and in Connaught, so that he could not give me that contentment that he otherwise would, but referred it till my next coming, which he hath appointed a month hence, at which time (if not afore) I will attend him, in hope to effect my business in such sort that it shall please Her Majesty for his coming in to the State here, and so to Her Highness when he hath done great service here. O'Donnell's consent in this course of his he doth not much care for, which giveth me the more hope; yet, in respect of his oath, he must acquaint him with his determination (and, as I find by him, O'Donnell and the Connaught rebels have joined themselves as far as they can with Spain, and do expect the coming of the Spaniards). The Earl hath assured me he hath not so far joined with them, but he may with his credit give them over, and so meaneth when he is assured of Her Majesty's favour, and vows he will not forego her for all the Kings of the world. All his damnable counsellors are stirring of themselves up in arms to go into Connaught to assist the traitors there against the General, and urging him to go with them, which at my coming he refused. But I am afraid he must yield to their wild desire.

What show soever these Connaught men made of peace to my Lord General it was only to spend time. I pray God bless him, for as I understand his army is but weak, by reason only of many sick men, even to the one half of every company, and his enemies are very strong, and grown to such a pride that they make no reckoning what force come against them. For my better countenance in this business with the Earl I beseech your Honour to write a few words unto me with speed, and that you understand by me how willing the Earl is to perform his duty to Her Majesty, he being secured, which he shall not fail of, not only by Her Majesty but by your honourable father with the rest of the Council, and that your Honour will be his friend most assured when he hath performed these things. Your Honour's great secrecy in this matter concerneth both the service and my life also very much, and to be kept from my Lord General (although I know he will not hinder so great a service to be effected), yet, if it should come to Captain Warren and Captain Sentleger, and so by degrees to his damnable counsellors, and they understanding the Earl hearkening unto me, I should never come to see him, but sure to lose my life if it lay in them. For, when I was now with the Earl, he told me that they

1596. VOL. CXCII.

were jealous of my coming, and, if they did but once think he hearkened unto me, he could not save my life; with these words more, that for 5,000*l.* he would not have me come to Dungannon; but, when I came next, he would meet me upon the borders of the Pale, about Dundalk. By this your Honour may judge the poor estate of this noble gentleman. In this employment of mine there is no long time to be spent, for, at my next going unto him, I hope to bring that assurance that Her Majesty and the State here shall be very well satisfied. And, if it shall fall out otherwise, I will do my best endeavours to cut him and the rest off, if my service be employed upon him; and then the world shall see, and specially Her Majesty, what manner of love mine is towards him, and that I value him in no respect if he confirm not now his duty. Prays the bearer may be speedily returned.—Dublin, 1596, August 23. *pp.* 4.

[*It appears by the endorsement that this letter was not received at Greenwich until the* 17*th of September.*]

August 23. 27. Answer of Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor to the articles of Her Majesty's pleasure signified to him by the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. The answer closes with the said Hugh's desire "not to be thought the worse of for not coming before Sir Richard Bingham, or any of his that have been in authority heretofore in the province, protesting before God that he and his will sooner forego their land and living than dwell under his [or] their government," and "that all the province of Connaught is of this mind." *Signed with the said Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe's mark.*—1596, August 23. *pp.* 3.

August 25. 28. Numbers of soldiers levied out of several counties for the service of Ireland, with the names of the captains that have charge of them. *Endorsed:*—1596, August 25. *p.* 1.

August 27. Dublin. 29. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. It may please your good Lordship, such occurrents as I receive out of the province of Connaught worthy your Lordship's advertising I thought meet (according my bounden duty to your honour) to make known to the same. The 17th of this instant I received a letter, from the Lieutenant of my foot company, of some service done by some of Her Majesty's forces, wherein he mentioneth a hurt that Captain Audlie received in the head by the throw of a dart, and how that he was not likely to recover the same, as by the extract of the said letter which here inclosed I have sent to your Lordship, the same shall be more particularly informed; of which hurt the said Captain Audlie deceased the 18th; by whose loss we received more detriment than the rebels: as also by the extract of a letter which I received from my brother, Captain John Bingham, of the 21st, which likewise I do herewithal send to your Lordship; by which your Honor shall be more particularly acquainted with the devices and undutiful dealings of the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell; which is credible, for indeed they intend nothing less than to be obedient subjects to Her Majesty, but protract time thereby to be the better

1596. VOL. CXCII.

enabled to commit the greater disloyalties and traitorous acts, as this winter (I greatly fear) will too plainly demonstrate. And yet Sir John Norreys conceiveth a vain hope that they will demean themselves as subjects, although his associate Sir Geffrey hath no hope thereof. But doubtless (right honorable) they will never be subjects or any way show themselves loyal, till they be pulled down by Her Majesty's strong arm and enforced thereunto; for they have attained unto so great height of pride and insolence by the cessations and temporizing course that hath been run with them, that there is no hope to reduce them (to due terms of obedience) but by force; their numbers daily increasing, and almost never a corner in the kingdom free from rebellion, but either more or less in every county (in a manner) in action against Her Majesty, such is the iniquity of the time. And yet my adversaries cease not to prosecute me most maliciously, thinking to do very acceptable service in overthrowing me; Sir John Norreys having given entertainments to some, and promoted others to offices, to fortify his proceedings against me; still spending time to aggravate matter against myself, which (God pleased) no man shall justly inculp me withal.

But (my most honorable good Lord) my only trust (next under God) is in your Lordship, that I shall not be indirectly dealt withal now in my latter days, having done Her Majesty many acceptable services, and lost my blood in myself and kinsmen. And yet I desire that the same be not once remembered, if I have done anything reprovable; but still most humbly crave that my adversaries, namely Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton, may not be my judges (for they jointly oppose themselves against me, myself never deserving the same, as all men here very well know, and greatly wonder that I am so dealt withal), but that I may receive my trial before the Lord Deputy and Council, before whom, if I any way appear guilty, I desire no favour, but, after my honest purgation, as is befitting to a gentleman of my place and standing (which, with God's favour, I nothing doubt of), I desire not to continue the place, if it be thought that another can do Her Majesty better service in it than myself. For Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton have been in my charge near four months, and yet not one rebel come in to them, neither any hope they will submit themselves, they are so traitorously supported by Tyrone and O'Donnell, who make their benefit of the time, greatly to the diminution of Her Majesty's treasure and subjects, Sir John himself confessing that the foot companies can scarce carry 40 men apiece into the field, or the horse 20, saving the garrison companies, who hold out well; and yet, when he carried them into the field in the beginning of his journey into Connaught, they were the fullest and strongest companies that were these many years in this kingdom, and very royal service might have been done with them, if the time had not been trifled out in hope of a peace; but now the most part of them are consumed and spent, such is the misery of the time present, and I fear me will be much more worse this winter.

1596. Vol. CXCII.

If things had been handled as I advised and foresaw, or the means delivered me that others lately had, I would (with God's assistance) have done Her Majesty very acceptable service, and brought Connaught to good terms of obedience by Michaelmas day next, or sooner, or else I would have left my old body in the field; and yet I may not offer so great service, being so mightily disgraced as I have been. But some are of opinion that myself might have performed better service in the province of Connaught, both in regard of my experience in the country and knowledge of every man's quality and disposition, than this summer hath brought forth under the charge of a stranger in that place. And if there be a purpose to prosecute the rebels (for, unless they be pulled down by Her Majesty's strong arm, there is no hope they will be reclaimed) I nothing doubt (the Lord favouring me) to manifest the same, so I may be countenanced in the place as is befitting, and will not desire so great means as others have had, but (with the Lord's leave and the justness of Her Majesty's cause) will bring them under (maugre their heads) with less charges to Her Majesty and least loss of her subjects, whereby Her Majesty shall be more honoured and the province more assured than ever. But unless Connaught be re-settled and divided from Ulster (which must be by planting a garrison of English at Ballyshannon), there is no assurance to be looked for that any obedience shall be showed to Her Majesty, [n]or assurance that the safety of the kingdom will continue; for I do in all humbleness assure your Lordship that the same is infallible, and do deliver it to your Honor by the judgment of experience that I have attained unto in the time I have spent here in Her Majesty's service, and do humbly hope that your Lordship do repute me for a gentleman both faithful, loyal, and just in all my actions to Her Majesty and her good subjects, myself not desiring to live longer than I shall be accompanied with these virtues, and in all truth do humbly assure your Honor that I will never be found otherwise, whatsoever my adversaries shall surmise, or slanderously report of me, to the contrary.

One of my chiefest comforts is that your Lordship, in your great wisdom and experience, can most sufficiently judge of the clamors of the Irish, who care not to swear and forswear anything that may benefit them for the present time, especially when they are countenanced and cited thereunto. But of all these articles that have been devised to inculp me withal, the rebels have not framed any, but practised by two or three repining base subjects, that had not any living in the province at my coming to the government of the same; only one Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor (by the persuasion of young Malbie) hath exhibited some 20 articles, which are not worthy the viewing, they are so manifest untruths; but I thank God I have sufficiently answered them, and so all the rest. And now Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe is an enemy to Malbie, for he challengeth the castle and lands of Roscommon as his own inheritance, and had like to have killed Malbie in service since he devised these articles, wherein he abused the young gentleman very mightily. Now the

1596. VOL. CXCII.

rebels have added to their old note (that they would never come in to peace so long as any Bingham were in Connaught) that they will not be subjects so long as either Brabazon, Sheane, Dillon, Nugent, Greive, or any Englishmen* are in the country, and so, consequently, any that will do Her Majesty any service, they having lately, in Thomond, murdered Captain Roger Bangor and three or four English more, and, when we are gone, they will say as much to the Norreyses or any other servitor, and when they shall have their desire (as, God pleased, they shall never have), it may be well said, that the wolf may play when the wolf greyhound is away; for indeed the Irishman, in his kind, is no better than a ravening wolf, but when he is kept within his bounds and the sheep defended from his paws. The course held against me, now almost twelve months, hath been most strange, for first the Lord Deputy, and the Commissioners with him, at Galway in November and December last, laboured all they might against me, and now Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton (who still opposeth himself against me), and both undeservedly. But, as they (*sic*) first are resolved that I am wronged and unjustly prosecuted, so, I doubt not, but the two last will, ere long, acknowledge the same (if any true Christianity be in them), for (God is my witness) I had not done anything reprovable, but endeavoured myself (from the beginning) to advance Her Majesty's service to my uttermost in all truth and sincerity.—Dublin, 1596, August 27. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

29. I. *Lieutenant William Martin to Sir Richard Bingham. How they took a prey of* 700 *cows in the vicinity of Bealagarr Notable resistance of Teig O'Kelly and* 80 *kern. Teig O'Kelly slain. Capt. Audlie hurt in the head; died next day. Capt. Greive wounded. The cows taken to Roscommon, "but there was such stealing that we had not* 300 *the next morning."*—1596, *August* 17. *Extract. p.* 1.

29. II. *Captain John Bingham to Sir Richard Bingham. Connor Oge, Chief of the M'Dermots, dares not come in for fear of O'Donnell. O'Donnell is at Bealasadarra, in the county of Sligo, and has broken down the castles of Laraske, Skardan, the Grange, and all the other castles that he can get. "He hath not left a piece of wood or timber about Sligo so big as my arm, fearing it should be built up again." Matthew Oge O'Multully was in Tyrconnell with O'Donnell, and he says the Earl means not to continue his duty to Her Majesty, for he entertains all bad men that come to him, and sends them to O'Donnell to be employed. O'Donnell has taken many pledges in the county of Sligo, and much of their goods,*

* *Opposite these names, the following is added in the margin of the letter :*—"To these men the rebels might take better exceptions than to any Bingham, for they have got (by my labour to reduce the country to English tenure) great scopes of land from them, and no Bingham any, but content ourselves to sit in some small things of Her Majesty's, for which we pay rent every half year to Her Majesty's Treasurer; but, when the country was not in English tenure, no English subject durst to dwell amongst them."

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*doubting they would submit themselves. Henry Hovenden, the Earl's chief counsellor, is with him there, and ever sees that nothing is done contrary to the Earl's instructions to him. "They have plashed the greate pase on the Curlewes," and make account that Ballymote shall never be relieved by Her Majesty's forces. James Ocrean and Thomas Burke (this Burke is a brother to the murderers) are gone into Spain about some wicked practice. Matthew Oge saw them embarked, and they will bring Spaniards, as is said.*—1596, *August* 21. *Extract. p.* 1.

Aug. 28. Dublin Castle. 30. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. "The substance of our letters of a long time hath been for the most part so uncomfortable, expressing our manifold dangers, and the daily spoils and outrages committed, to the great loss and waste of sundry parts of this miserable and most distressed kingdom, as we have reason to conceive the same to be to your Lordships' unpleasing, and therefore are very much unwilling thus often to be troublesome in this kind, if public respect did not urge it, and discharge of our duties to Her Majesty in great measure did not enforce it." Spanish forces still certainly expected, and pacification not so much as intended. Twelve months have been spent therein, three of them in Connaught, with as great charge as would well have maintained a war there. Captain FitzGarrett and the Earl of Tyrone. Sir Edward Moore's intelligence in his letter of the 20th August.

Sir Thomas Norreys has sent advertisements out of Munster that two or three ships, supposed to be Spaniards, have been seen about Smerwick going northwards, which is out of all trade for other shipping. The last shipping, which came in May, was in that sort and at that place first discovered. The Commissioners have less hope than heretofore of a pacification with the rebels. Sir Geffrey Fenton writes in a private letter of the 18th August, that O'Donnell has at last written to them, but that the letter is worth neither reading nor sending The Commissioners had also written to the supposed M'William, O'Rourke, and O'Kelly, but think they will answer with the same delays as O'Donnell. Trifling of the latter. The Lord President [Sir John Norreys] writes that O'Donnell is purposed to set up his rest to have the Abbey of Boyle (which he has long besieged), having already conceived an opinion that O'Connor Sligo shall be placed there till there be commodity to build up Sligo again, and that therefore he will fortify himself to this enterprise with all the forces he can procure. Divers have lately gone out in Thomond who hitherto have continued in good quiet. The M'Sheehys are out in Munster with 100 swords to execute their treacherous actions in that province, where the Vice-President [Sir Thomas Norreys] certifies it will not be easy to do service on them, they being well friended and allied in that country. Meetings of rebels in Munster. Some of the Butlers and Kavanaghs joined with Feagh M'Hugh. The latter writes daily to the Earl, O'Donnell, and other northern rebels, and has lately undertaken to trouble the State well. The inhabitants of the northern borders

1596. VOL. CXCII.

daily spoiled, especially such as are best affected to the State. The inhabitants of Lecale have been preyed, to the end they should no more relieve Her Majesty's army. Henry Hovenden has been sent down again into Connaught to lie there with O'Donnell, and the Earl himself has gone thither with all his forces to impeach the Lord President for bringing of succours to the Boyle, which by that means may be lost, and the ward therein put to the sword, whereof the rebels will assuredly grow much the more insolent, in regard it has held out so long, and that Captain Audlie was of late slain in relieving it.

"We think it now more than high time, under your Lordships' reformation, that we may speak it, that these courses of pacifications and cessations were broken off, and a course of force roundly undertaken, or at the least the forces now in Connaught drawn hitherward, being of so small use there, for defence against all occasions that may happen, for surely we are otherwise in great doubt that on the sudden the kingdom will be endangered, and God grant that every way it be not hazarded, being by these means grown to this extremity." Lack of treasure and victuals. Decayed state of the bands. Unless supplies are sent the whole kingdom will into action even to the gates of Dublin, if not within it. Have good reasons to be of opinion that the Irish are already generally in rebellion or conspiracy. If Dublin should be put to by the Spaniards, whilst Her Majesty's forces are in Connaught, it could not be defended three days, though for that cause they have kept two companies of foot there, which otherwise would have gone down into Connaught. Beseech their Lordships to consider of the better stay of Dublin.—Dublin Castle, 1596, August 28. *pp.* 8. *Inclose,*

30. I. *Advertisements delivered by Captain James FitzGarrett.—Newry,* 1596, *August* 12. [*See inclosure* XI. *to letter of August* 13.] *Copy. pp.* 3½.

30. II. *Christopher Russell to Captain Walter FitzGerald. Brian M'Art and others with all their forces preyed all the savages and tenants of Strangford, and killed two or three; then they came back to Down, which they threatened to assault. They cut down all Captain FitzGerald's wheat to his utter undoing, and left never a cow from Down to Strangford. All the country desires Captain FitzGerald's return presently to O'Neill to see what can be done. Russell's offer to Brian M'Art rejected. "The way is all set for you every day since you went; look for no goodness of this country."*—[1596], *August* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. III. *Sir Thomas Norreys to* [*the Lord Deputy.*] *Raid of the M'Sheehys and O'Briens into Munster. Their passage of the Shannon. Has sent his own company and other men to pursue them. Desires leave to employ* 100 *kern. The wood-kern are well friended and allied in the country.—Mallow,* 1596, *August* 17. *Also,*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*Sir Thomas Norreys to [the Lord Deputy]. Sends two letters. Sixteen of the enemy slain by the pursuers. — Mallow,* 1596, *August* 18. *Copies. pp.* 1½.

30. IV. *John Champion to Thomas Spring. The previous afternoon a ship of three or four score tons entered the [Bay of] Smerwick. Above four score men were seen on board. The ship, which was of a great length and of a Spanish build, had gone northwards towards Galway. In all likelihood they are Spaniards.—Dinglecush,* 1596, *August* 13. *Also,*

*Thomas Spring to Sir Thomas Norreys. Besides the ship mentioned in Champion's letter three other ships of good burthen were seen making for the [Bay of] Smerwick, which, discovering the departure of the first ship, followed the same course directly northward. Gerald Liston reports that about* 150 *rebels from Connaught had gathered in the county of Limerick, and that they had plotted many ways to grieve the English inhabitants, and, the better to enable themselves thereunto, had divers well appointed pinnaces, with strong companies, ready to come about by sea and join them in their pretended practices. Many accidents may befal this wicked season, but doubts not that they direct their malice chiefly towards the English nation. Desires authority to gather together divers Englishmen dispersed thereabouts, and other servitors, to make of them a company for the defence of the country, at the charge of the same, for it is now well able to endure it. "Timely foresights are commonly good remedies." — Ballinkillegoe,* 1596, *August* 17. *Copies. pp.* 2.

30. V. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. O'Donnell does but trifle, having no meaning that the pacification should go forward: he has been six or seven days in the county of Sligo. Have sent Captain Theobald Dillon and William Taaff with O'Connor Sligo to O'Donnell, to charge him to give no interruption to O'Connor, and to withdraw himself into his own country, as had been agreed upon in the conclusion at Dundalk.—Athlone,* 1596, *August* 18. *Copy. pp.* 2.

30. VI. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to [the Lord Deputy]. O'Donnell has written at last. Worthlessness of his letter. Have written to the supposed M'William, O'Rourke, and O'Kelly to meet them. Less hope than before of good success in the present business. Will impart more on Captain Dillon's return.—Athlone,* 1596, *August* 18. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. VII. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to [the Lord Deputy]. Has sent* 20 *horse and* 50 *foot with some provisions to reinforce the Boyle. O'Donnell will make every attempt to seize it with all the forces he can procure from O'Rourke, the O'Farrells, the O'Reillys, and the rest. Weak state of the companies, horse and foot.—Athlone,* 1596, *August* 18. *Copy. p.* 1. *Inclosing,*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

30. VIIIa. *Thomas Reinolds to* [*Sir John Norreys*]. *Is informed for certain that O'Donnell will set upon them on the morrow. Prays Norreys to come to them. Want of munition. O'Donnell's great force.—Boyle,* 1596, *Sunday* [*August* 15]. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. VIIIb. *The Baron of Inchiquin to* [*? the Lord Deputy*]. *Names many rebels who have joined Connor O'Brian.—Inchiquin,* 1596, *August* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. IX. [*Meyler Magrath*], *Archbishop of Cashel, to* [*? Burghley*]. [*See this letter under date August* 17.] *Decipher. pp.* 1½.

30. X. *Captain Tutcher Parkins to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The Fort set upon at midnight on Monday the* 16*th, by* 60 *of the enemy on one side, and* 40 *on the other, but they were repelled. Feagh M'Hugh says they were not his men, but strangers. Thinks both were there. Was well prepared to receive them.—Ballinacor,* 1596, *August* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. XI. *Feagh M'Hugh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.* [*See the writer's letter given above under August* 17. *This is a copy of the last paragraph*].—*Ranelagh,* 1596, *August* 17. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. XII. [*Captain*] *Francis Stafford to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Mr. Morgan making his repair unto Dublin, refers all occurrents to his report, but thought good to acquaint his Lordship that the Earl is drawing towards Connaught with all the forces he can, both horse and foot. The report goes that he carries with him two months' victuals. The Earl repines much at the rumour that the Castle of Sligo is to be re-edified. Does not know what is to be thought of the course now held; there is both a show and a speech of peace, and yet the end is continual robbing and spoiling in the pace between the Newry and Dundalk and about the Newry. Dares not use any revenge for fear of infringing his Lordship's pleasure and command. "James M'Conell alias Sorle"* [*James M'Sorley Boy M'Donnell*] *has been in Lecale, and has taken with him thence all the savages and their goods, and carried them to the Route. Lecale is all wasted and spoiled, and not left worth anything, but the enemy possesses all the Island at his pleasure. O'Hanlon will not deliver Mr. Morgan's brother except in exchange for his own son. The Earl is a principal actor in this.—Newry,* 1596, *August* 24. *Copy. p.* 1.

30. XIII. "*Extract of a letter of the* 10*th of August* 1596, *received the* 12*th, from Athlone.*" *The Earl of Tyrone is returned from Donegal into Tyrone, and has taken no pledges of the Connaught rebels. Examination of the Earl's messenger. The O'Farrells and O'Reillys signify they will not come into peace, unless they have their old laws again. Reinforcements for the Boyle could not proceed there owing to the strength of the enemy. The place will probably be lost. The Lord President has sent the great ordnance to Ballinasloe, to make the rebels afraid in those parts. Some* 1,000

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*footmen can be brought into the field in all their [the English] bands; the soldiers die apace. The Lord President means to stay a good while in Athlone. pp.* 1½.

30. XIV. *Patrick Gernon to the Lord of Slane. Captain Warren is ridden unto my Lord General with the Earl's messenger and his letters upon certain points that were to be performed upon their first agreement here, that I could not well learn. Also the Earl himself with all the forces that ever he may is to sequence O'Donnell towards those parts, as far as Balhasteney, or further, and has proclaimed victuals for two months with every man. His intention is not to permit the building of Sligo Castle, as he himself did give forth. All their drifts are but delays, as it is supposed, looking out daily for foreign forces, whom God prevent and confound. The Earl sets forward this day.—Dundalk,* 1596, *August* 23. *Copy. p.* 1.

Aug. 28. Kilmainham. 31. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. The rebels have no intent to embrace the mercy Her Majesty hath offered to them. Twelve months have been thus spent to Her Majesty's great charge, and there is no hope of any conclusion.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 28. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

31. I. *Mr. Justice Nicholas Walsh to [the Lord Deputy]. Relates what the Earl of Ormonde revealed to him concerning his nephew Piers, Sir Edmund Butler's eldest son, who has an intention of making the Earl of Tyrone the means to procure his restitution in blood. Consultation with the Earl how to capture the said Piers. The Earl agrees to do it himself. The capture of very great consequence. The rebellion in Leinster might be much suppressed thereby. Piers's brother, James, should also be looked to.—Clonemore,* 1596, *August* 23. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

Aug. 28. Kilmainham. 32. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. That Mr. Justice Walsh may not be discovered as the author of the letter touching Ormonde's kinsmen.—Kilmainham, 1596, August 28. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

32. I. *Mr. Justice Nicholas Walsh to [the Lord Deputy]. See inclosure to preceding letter.*—1596, *August* 23. *Copy. pp.* 2.

32. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to [the Lord Deputy]. Thanks for sending Captain Thomas Lee to him. Hears that his friends, who were obscured through his troubles, are harkened unto by Her Majesty. Will send a resolute answer before the end of the month, on the return of some friends from Connaught. Craves his Lordship's good opinion, whatever shall be said to the contrary.—Dungannon,* 1596, *August* 19. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. III. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to [the Lord Deputy]. His intentions in drawing into Connaught. Likes not of the intended course meant by the army to be holden against them of Connaught.*

1596. VOL. CXCII.

*Nevertheless will go onward with his journey.—Dungannon*, 1596, *August* 25. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. IV. *The message and offers that Hugh Roe O'Donnell sent to Donogh O'Connor Sligo if he would forsake his prince and join in the rebellion. Threatens to put another of the Connors in his place, and call him O'Connor Sligo. Says that Sligo shall never be built without his consent.*—1596, *August* 9. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

32. V. *The Baron of Inchiquin to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. [*See inclosure* VIIIb. *to No.* 30.]—*Inchiquin*, 1596, *August* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. VI. *Feagh M'Hugh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. See Feagh's letter of the* 17*th August, of the last paragraph of which this is a copy.—Ranelagh*, 1596, *August* 17. *p.* 1.

32. VII. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *See inclosure* VI. *to No.* 30. *This copy has the following additional paragraph: "For that O'Donnell is to come on this side the Curlews as appeareth by this letter, the Lord President hath given order to supply the ward of the Boyle with more men, but without a good garrison laid there the service will be little advanced."—Athlone*, 1596, *August* 18. *p.* 1.

32. VIII. *Christopher Russell to Captain Walter FitzGerald. See inclosure* II. *to No.* 30.—[1596], *August* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

Aug. 28. 33. "A Memorial for Ireland." Reinforcements of horse. Earl of Essex mentioned. *Endorsed:*—1596, August 28. *pp.* 1½.

Aug. 28. 34. Note of the imprest for coat and conduct money for 1,000 soldiers for Ireland. The following are the rates of pay *per diem* for a band of 100:—Captain, 4*s.*, lieutenant, 2*s.*, ensign, serjeant, drummer, and fife, 12*d.* each, private, 8*d. Endorsed:*—1596, August 28. *p.* 1½.

Aug. 28. 35. Estimate of the pay of 1,000 soldiers. *Endorsed:*—1596, August 28. *p.* 1.

August. 36. Names of the Captains that are to go into Ireland, and the numbers to be levied in the several counties of England. *Endorsed:*—1596, August. *p.* 1.

[August.] 37. "A motyfe concerning Strangford River and the Loughe Coane" [Cuan, the old name of Lough Strangford]. It is given out among the Irishry by their priests that O'Donnell has undertaken to the Spanish King to entertain into his service, out of his mother's alliance in Cantire (maugre the King of Scots), 3,000 redshanks with their galleys, with which he will possess him of such a port in Ulster, as, being put into the possession of 1,000 Spaniards, may by them alone be held irrecoverably against all the forces by land or

1596. VOL. CXCII.

sea that can be brought against them; that shall give him entry into Dublin when he will, and footing for garrisons both in England and Scotland as he will. This port is Lough Cuan in Ulster. Its numerous advantages as a basis of naval and military operations. Great importance of fortifying, and that speedily, the entrance to the lough.—[1596, August.] *pp.* 2½.

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## VOL. CXCIII. 1596. SEPTEMBER.

1596.

Sept. 1. Ardbraccan. 1. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to the Lord Chancellor [Loftus]. One Caddell, a merchant, newly come from the Brenny, advertises him that there are four ships out of Spain newly arrived at Killibeggs and Donegal in O'Donnell's country, whereof three are great ships. Between 1,000 and 1,500 men are landed, who have brought with them great store of treasure and munition. Caddell was informed thus much by Patrick Bradie of Tonemore, who lately wrote to the Lord Deputy for a protection. Caddell says also that he himself spoke with a messenger of a friar who arrived in the company of the said Spaniards, and was sent with a letter and a little book from that friar to Bishop Bradie, who haunts the Brenny. Further, that the intention of these Spaniards, as the messenger told him, was to have arrived at Galway, but understanding that that town was kept with a garrison, they went northwards to Killibeggs. The messenger also made report that another navy out of Spain will very shortly arrive either at Waterford, "or by west that city." Thus much being at this present delivered to him, he thought it his duty to send in post to his Lordship, to be sent to the Lord Deputy. "From Ardbreckan this Tuesday, almost at the setting of the sun, September 1, 1596." *p.* 1.

*Endorsed:*—"Received at Nonsuch, the 5th of October, 1596."

Sept. 2. 2. Captain Thomas Lee to Burghley. Hopes to bring the Earl of Tyrone to Dublin the next time he goes to him, and also to induce him to repair to Her Majesty, when he has done some great service. Tyrone's great doubt of the Lord Deputy, because he has so highly offended him. Has written more at large to Sir Robert Cecil. Wishes Burghley had employed him six months before; things had been otherwise than now they are. Many hindrances of messengers. Desires Burghley's speedy letter to the Lord Deputy to encourage Tyrone's coming in. Is to go to the Earl, by appointment, on September 30, and then he hopes to make no more journeys to him, unless it be to bring him at any time to Dublin, or otherwise to do his best endeavour to cut the Earl off.

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

Her Majesty must needs undertake this (howsoever chargeable it is), if he does not show a good conformity of his duty. Finds none so full of villany about Tyrone, as they whose sons lie for his pledges. Desires Burghley may have health and life to see the settling once again in quietness of this miserable distressed kingdom.—1596, September 2. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 2. Chester. 3. George Beverley to Burghley. According to his directions, has reserved 1,000*l.* out of the treasure come to Chester, for the provision of grain. Has written thereof to Sir Henry Wallop, to whom he has also specified the prices of grain and other victuals in those parts for the present, accounted after London measure, viz., wheat, 46*s.* 8*d.* the quarter; rye, 40*s.* the quarter; barley malt, 35*s.* the quarter; oats, 33*s.* the quarter; Cheshire cheese, 2*d.* ob. the pound; butter, 3*d.* q. the pound. There is good hope these prices of grain will shortly abate. Nevertheless, if Her Majesty's garrisons shall stand in need to be relieved with grain or victuals from those parts, it will require some time, and the same is to be dealt in with much secrecy and silence, to prevent the rising of prices.—Chester, 1596, September 2. *p.* ½.

Sept. 6. Dublin. 4. Sir Henry Wallop to his servants, Geoffrey Johnson and Richard Crosse. For Crosse to repair back to the Court to solicit more money. Henry Wallop and Charles Huet will assist him. To buy ten good morions, and in any wise, ten culivers, with straight stocks, and flasks, and touchboxes to them.—Dublin, 1596, September 6. *p.* ½.

Sept. 6. Dublin. 5. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Against Chief Justice Saxey of Munster obtaining a special commission from England for the trial before him of John Fitz Edmonds, charged with high treason. His partiality manifested in his own letter to the Lord Deputy and Council. Sir Robert Gardener, Sir Anthony Sentleger, and Justice Walsh, had been appointed Special Commissioners to try FitzEdmonds. Illness of Sir Ralph. — Dublin, 1596, September 6. *pp.* 2.

*Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 24th of the same."

Sept. 6. Chester. 6. George Beverley to Sir Robert Cecil. Prices of grain, &c. at Chester. Much wet and storms of wind in the last seed time, and now in this harvest, are the cause of the high prices. Between 1 April, 1595, and 30 April 1596, be transported into Ireland twenty-eight barks laden with provisions, yet was much blamed by the Lord Deputy and Council for being very slow. Omitted neither care, skill, nor industry. Several barks of victual twice beaten back from the coast of Ireland, by extreme weather. Some supplies of corn and victual to be provided from England.—Chester, 1596, September 6. *p.* 1.

Sept. 8. 7. The estimate of 82 horses for Ireland, with a note touching such as were wanting in May, 1596. *Endorsed by Burghley*:—"1596, September 8." *pp.* 2.

Vol. CXCIII.

1596.
[Sept. 8.] 8. Estimate for 82 light horse for Ireland, with a note of the Bishoprics that were appointed to furnish light horses and petronels for the service of Ireland, and the monies paid by those clergymen, whose horses were found defective and were returned. *p.* 1.

Sept. 9. Dublin Castle. 9. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Refer to their letters of August 28. Sir Edward Moore, by his letter of August 31, assures the Earl of Tyrone's departure into Connaught, with as great a force as he can make, and so well appointed and furnished of victual and munition as the like has not there been seen. He sets down the Earl's intent for two ends; the one to hinder the building up of Sligo, if the Lord President should, as he purposed, attempt the same; the other to meet and aid certain forces out of Spain, who have sent word to the Earl to be in those parts by "Hollwood day" [Holy Rood day, September 14] at the furthest. The countries in his absence he has left to several Governors, to attend and keep the English garrisons from doing any hurt upon his people, which shews that he intends some good stay there, and has some notable purpose in hand, the depth whereof is not yet discovered.

The Lord of Delvin, by his letter of September 4, also affirms the Earl's departure, and that a spy of his has had speech with one who heard the Earl say that he would never put his body in the power of any Englishman, but would feed them with fair words and promises until foreign forces were landed. The general opinion as to the arrival of these is now grown so common that no man holds it longer worth the writing. Presume the Privy Council have more certain advertisements what the Spaniard intends, and is able to do, for supply of these rebels, and doubt not but their Lordships have a care to set forth shipping to meet them. Are of opinion that the Earl has no purpose at all to further the peace, as he pretends, but to hinder the building at Sligo. Peace he might long ere this have had, with any conditions that himself in any reason could have wished. It must needs be somewhat else that he aims at, and that for some special end, which he has proposed to himself, and others can but only guess at.

If but a small force out of Spain or from Brittany should betwixt this and Michaelmas arrive anywhere in Ireland, those of best judgment and experience account that the realm would be so exceedingly endangered, that they would not be able to defend it: "for if the best towns stood much better affected than we have any reason to think them, they could not defend themselves three days, and the country straight would fall away with them." If the Spaniard does not come, they can in some good sort defend themselves, and keep as much as now they have, if they are duly supplied out of England with treasure, munition, and victuals: "but if we be still kept in want, as we now are, and have been of long time, so as we cannot any longer relieve the army which is on foot in Connaught, and the garrisons and wards placed elsewhere, it may not then reasonably be expected that we shall be

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

sufficiently able to defend the Pale, much less to make any prosecution in the winter." Trifling of the Earl, in expectation of the Spaniards.

Time lost by the Lord President and Mr. Secretary [Sir J. Norreys and Sir G. Fenton]. Too late for the advance to Sligo, owing to the lack of means, and the impassable state of the country through the abundance of rain. Hence O'Connor Sligo will be induced to join O'Donnell and the other rebels of Connaught; this will be the crown of their doings and the best fruit of all their travail. The Earl also, being well provided, will take his time to do mischief when he sees their forces at the weakest. Have learned the danger thereof by last year's experience, which much troubles them. Feagh M'Hugh, who is of far greater ability than the Earl, is ready to stir when the Earl shall direct him, as appears by his own letter. The Moores, Connors, Kavanaghs, and Tooles, if not the Byrnes, are joined in conspiracy with them, to spoil and make havoc of the Pale. And with the Moores now it is most certain that the Butlers have joined themselves by oath, but may not yet enter with them into action, until they have committed some notable murder or other act, whereby the Moores may be assured of them. This they will speedily perform, as by divers advertisements may appear. Piers Butler told a friend of his that, seeing his uncle the Earl of Ormonde has had no care to procure the restitution of his blood, he intends to make the Earl of Tyrone the means thereof.

It may the more easily be conceived that, upon the breaking off from the treaty in Connaught, wherein this is the fourth month that has been spent, these matters will soon grow to some extremity. For, during this time, Lecale has been four or five times preyed, and that since August 12, to the end it might yield no relief to Her Majesty's garrisons. There is further an intent to besiege all the castles in that country, if the same be not speedily looked unto; besides, the country is ransacked within the Pale, a matter not heretofore heard of, not past four miles from Drogheda, as appears by Rice ap Hughes' letter, whilst the forces are employed still in Connaught. But especially, the subjects are so generally burdened and overcharged (because of the great dearth and scarcity), that when the soldier shall be laid upon them, as through want of money and victuals he must needs be, they will with the rest all in action, finding no means to continue in subjection, but that they must do as the rest do: and so the misery will still increase to the apparent hazarding of Ireland. Pray for timely supplies of treasure, victuals, and munition.—Dublin Castle, 1596, September 9. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich, the 17th." *Inclose,*

9. 1. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Had sent certain letters from Sir John Norreys to the Earl of Tyrone. Departure of the Earl into Connaught with a great host, well provided. Names of the Irish captains left by him, to watch the several English garrisons during his absence. Hears further that*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*Omalaughlin's sons are promised forces by the Earl, and it is thought they will shortly be in Offaly to do what hurt they may.—Mellifont,* 1596, *August* 31. *Copy. pp.* 2.

9. II. *The Lord of Delvin to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *News brought to Tyrone, when at Maguire's house in Enniskillen, that some slaughter had been made of O'Donnell's troops. His immediate posting forwards towards Connaught. The Burkes and O'Donnell at variance. The Earl will not put his body in the power of any Englishmen. Tirlogh M'Henry, Ever M'Collo, and Philip O'Reilly appointed by Tyrone to guard the borders of Ulster next the Pale.—Clonin,* 1596, *September* 4. *Copy. p.* 1.

9. III. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *O'Donnell is desirous to have O'Connor Sligo come to him, to conclude in person touching all differences for Sligo; and for his safety the Earl offers to give his word together with O'Donnell's. Captain Warren wrote this yesterday to the Lord President, urging by his letter that O'Connor might come. Thinks it will not be safe for him to do so; for if they, having Tibbot Ne Longe already in their hands, could also grip O'Connor Sligo, then they would have as much as they can desire for command over Mayo, Sligo, and Roscommon, without resistance. Fears that the coming up of the Earl at this time was to draw in O'Connor Sligo to be of the faction with the rest of the Irishry, to stand against Her Majesty, and to keep the state of Connaught still in broil. They have written to O'Connor not to go, but rather to withdraw himself again to Roscommon or Athlone. The garrison intended for the Boyle went no farther than Tulsk, having intelligence that O'Donnell's forces were between them and the place, in greater strength than was meet for them to pass. The Lord President much discontented that they did not proceed as directed. Almost all the combined Irishry in Ulster and Connaught are with the rebels, in so much that he has not heard of so great an assembly before. Makes him doubt that there is some greater compact amongst them than is yet discerned, and if they could get in O'Connor Sligo, "either by hook or crook," it would be the crown of their doings and the best fruit of all their travail.—Athlone,* 1596, *September* 5. *Copy. pp.* 2.

9. IV. ——— *to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Piers and James, sons of Sir Edmund Butler, have of late joined the Moores in rebellion, and have thereupon taken their oath. Owen M'Rory O'Moore advised them to seek the murder of some special man, whereby the Moores might have better cause to trust them. This the Butlers have sworn to perform. Prays that this intelligence may be kept secret, or it will grow to his utter undoing. Already he dares not go out of doors without a convoy. Begs for some means to do service.* 1596, *August* 31. *Endorsed:—"An Advertisement from a gentleman out of the Queen's County." Copy. p.* 1.

9. V. *Captain Warham Sentleger to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The Butlers have gathered certain horse and foot, and have been taking*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*cattle nightly. Necessity of putting them down at the first. Their combination with the Moores.—Laughlen*, 1596, *September* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

9. VIa. *Morgan Kavanagh to Lady Wallop. Sir Edmund Butler's sons are to enter into action of rebellion with as many as will be of their faction. Her Ladyship to be upon her keeping.* —1596, *September* 2. *Copy. p.* ½.

9. VIb. *Stephen Synnott to Lady Wallop. The Lord Mountgarrett's two sons came to the Butlers yesterday with a few in company.*—1596, *September* 3. *Copy. p.* ½.

9. VII. *Christopher Russell, Sheriff, and Walter FitzGerald, to [the Lord Deputy]. Lecale often overrun of late; first by Brian M'Art M'Baron, about August* 12; *then, within five days after, by Nyce Oultagh, son to Sorley Boy [M'Donnell], who took the savages with their goods, and also made Simon Jordan, Constable of Ardglass, and Rowland Bethell, prisoners. Within three days after, the prey of Down taken by M'Cartan and Glenseny M'Angholy. Two days after another town was spoiled, and that day Owen M'Hugh M'Neill Oge, and others, entered into the country to take what spoil is left. Are credibly informed that they intend to besiege all the castles of the country, especially the castle of Dundrum. which ought to be presently looked to.*—1596, *August* 29. *Copy. pp.* 2.

9. VIII. *Ryce ap Hugh to [the Lord Deputy]. Dromcan preyed by Tirlogh M'Henry. Went to the rescue, and defeated Tirlogh. His men ran away like devils, and left all their baggage. "This country is to be likened to a covey of partridges, flied to the mark with a great hawk, for they will never spring again; and so are these people; they have been so frighted, they dare not rise;" a pitiful case for an ancient country. If it be not better looked to than it is, it will be lost in haste. "The Irish will never be quiet, till they be beaten, let them make what promise they list." Asks for some powder and shot with all speed; also carriage for some mantels and frise.—Ardee*, 1596, *September* 2. *Copy. pp.* 2.

9. IX. *Report of Walter Moore, Constable of Ballinacor, and Thomas Andrewes, clerk of Captain Tutcher's company, as to the intercepting of the munition sent to the said fort.*—[1596, *September* ?] *pp.* 3½.

Sept. 10. Kilmainham. 10. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. The Butlers will out into action so soon as they can find means to effect some notorious murder. Begs for supplies, and that some shipping may be sent out against the expected Spaniards. Taking of Ballinacor by Feagh M'Hugh, the Butlers, and others. The forces can be spared no longer in Connaught. Two of the Earl of Ormonde's nephews, and divers of the Kavanaghs, at the taking of Ballinacor. Prays

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

that forces may be presently sent.—Kilmainham, 1596, September 10. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

10. I. *Report by Serjeant Major John Chichester and Captain Thomas Lee of the taking of the fort of Ballinacor by Feagh M'Hugh, the Butlers, and others.—Newcastle,* 1596, *September* 10. *Copy. pp.* 3.

Sept. 10. Kilmainham. 11. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding.*] Prays to be recalled.—Kilmainham, 1596, September 10. *pp.* 2.

Sept. 14. Athlone. 12. The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. Describe the course of their negotiations with the Connaught rebels since the first treaty in July last. Submission of Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor, O'Hanley, Connor Oge M'Dermott, and Ferdorogh O'Kelly. The last two cited to repair to Dublin for the causes of Sir Richard Bingham, whom they term their "great enemy." They complain of this, and also that they cannot get their grievances redressed, according to the assurance given them in Her Majesty's name. Their complaints should have been heard in Connaught, where their witnesses might have been produced with ease to their purses, and no danger to their persons. The Province, assuredly, will be far more hazarded than before, if these now received rebels "take a toy" to break out again. Fear they will, if this course to draw them to Dublin by process continues. Think it a safer way for Her Majesty that these great complaints against Sir Richard Bingham and his ministers (of which some are monstrous) may be examined and tried within the Province, and Sir Richard charged and confronted with his accusers there, it being the place where the crimes were committed. And when their supposed M'William, the greatest man of name amongst all the rebels of Connaught, whose coming in is now in working, and "rather sperable than desperate," sees that other chief gentlemen of that faction cannot enjoy the benefit of their submission and reconciliation, but are vexed with strait warrants to appear at Dublin, they doubt it will be a mean to terrify him from coming in at all; and the rather because he and his associates, the Burkes, have larger books of information against Sir Richard and his ministers than any of the rest, and less commodity to produce their proofs so far as Dublin, in respect of the distance, being in the most remote parts of the Province.

Tyrone's second journey to the borders of Connaught with great forces, and accompanied by most of the Irish chieftains of Ulster. Captain William Warren sent to deal with O'Donnell and O'Rourke for sending in their pledges. O'Donnell's sent, and O'Rourke's to follow in twenty days' time. At that time the Earl promises to meet the Commissioners at the borders of the Brenny with the other pledges of Ulster, agreed upon at Dundalk in April last. The differences between O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo for chieferies and

1596. Vol. CXCIII.

other duties to be settled at the same time by Sir John Norreys and the Earl, if they can. Captain Warren brought in also one of the O'Connors, a notorious rebel in the county of Roscommon, together with two sons of Omalaughlin, whose father, chief of his name, and pretending to be descended from the Kings of Leinster, they have now a prisoner in the Castle of Athlone. So of all the chief heads of the rebels in Connaught, there remain only the supposed M'William, and the Burkes adhering to him, not accorded with. M'William has desired fourteen days to bethink himself: this they have agreed to. If he does not submit by that time, the Earl and O'Donnell willed Captain Warren to tell the Commissioners that they will not only leave him to himself, but will also serve upon him, if they may be licensed by the State. Enclose the conditions of the several submissions. Long delays to the work of pacification. O'Connor Sligo must stay a while to be settled in his country. O'Donnell has promised not to molest the country of Sligo until the meeting with the Earl at the Brenny; neither until then is O'Connor to be sent thither with any forces for Her Majesty. Will see, when they are on the borders of the Brenny, what they may do to reduce Philip O'Reilly, and to compound the matters in question between him and his nephew, eldest son to the late Sir John O'Reilly. This is a matter of great importance, because Philip, being a person stirring and politic, and bordering upon a great part of the English Pale, may be made either a good or ill neighbour to the subjects there.

Defeat by the Vice-President of Munster of a rising in that Province. The Vice-President at Athlone. Think that as they, the Commissioners, must return to Dublin for other services of Her Majesty to be handled there, he should be left in Connaught with some superior authority, the better to confirm the people in their new reconcilement, and specially to attend the finishing of the treaty with M'William, if it may be. The Province must not be left without any to take charge of it, and to give hearing to the people. Sir Richard Bingham absent in Dublin, to answer the accusations produced against him. Enclose divers protestations against Sir Richard. Whilst in Connaught the Commissioners employed instruments in O'Rourke's country to draw a division between O'Rourke and his brother. Hope some benefit will thence ensue to Her Majesty's service. Teig O'Rourke, being legitimate son to the late O'Rourke, executed in England, by a sister of the Earl of Clanrickard, is of late entered into open faction against the other, who is but his base brother. Thus the followers of the country are divided, so that Teig is beginning to prevail.—Athlone, 1596, September 14. *pp.* 6½. *Inclose,*

12. I. *Submission of Ferdorogh O'Kelly, for himself, his kinsfolk, and followers.*—1596, *September* 8. *p.* 1.

12. II. *Conditions for the submission of Ferdorogh O'Kelly.*—1596, *September* 8. *pp.* 2½.

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

12. III. *Submission of Connor Oge M'Dermott, for himself, his kinsfolk, and followers.*—1596, *September* 8. *p.* 1.

12. IV. *Conditions for the submission of Connor Oge M'Dermott.*—*Athlone*, 1596, *September* 9. *pp.* 2½.

12. V. *Hugh O'Donnell to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Promises to reform all things that have been committed by him, and purposes henceforth to live as becometh a loyal subject. The matters betwixt himself and O'Connor Sligo. Has sent* 10 *beeves to relieve the ward at Ballymore, and is ready to do the like again. Will see to the sending in of O'Rourke's pledges.*—[*The*] *Curlews*, 1596, *September* 11. *Copy. p.* 1.

12. VI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Refers to Captains Warren and Wilmott as to whether he has given his best endeavour or not for the finishing of the causes. Desires a fortnight's notice for the meeting at the Brenny. Will write to Feagh M'Hugh* [*O'Byrne*] *of the receipt of his pardon.* [*Sir John Norreys writes on the margin here: "It was by device given out to Feagh M'Hugh that the Earl had received his pardon, but with conditions; which I am sure caused him to be upon worse terms; and thereupon I wrote to the Earl to remove that scruple out of his head."*] *Will be ready to accomplish what he may to the liking of Sir John Norreys.—The Courlie* [*Curlews*], 1596, *September* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

12. VII. *Docket for the packet for England.—Athlone*, 1596, *September* 14. *p.* 1. *See also under August* 22 *and* 23; *Submissions, &c.*

**Sept. 14. Athlone.** 13. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. The second treaty with the Connaught rebels has had many hard passages, growing chiefly from the deceitful Scot O'Donnell, and his ambitious practices, who, having had long time, through the misgoverning of the Province, to work to himself a great dependency with the people, is loath to leave it, the rather for that it makes him strong in men and other means, both to overtop all his bordering neighbours upon any occasion, and also to fit him to be head of a faction against Her Majesty, when the Spaniards shall attempt alterations there. Would not have thought that O'Donnell could have made such dangerous impressions upon the people of Connaught as to alter them in heart from Her Majesty, to be overruled by him who is, as they let not to say, inferior to them, and not meet to be superior over them, had it not been that the extremities they endured under the officers of the Province drove them to seek refuge of him, and by his means of the Spaniards. Formerly they were driven to fly into Ulster; they hated O'Donnell, and held him but for a petty bordering neighbour, whom O'Connor Sligo was always able to bridle, and the Burkes strong enough to pull down. But now, having got this hand over them, by ministering succour in their

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

necessities, whereby he has had commodity to work sundry of their best families to his humour, he has made himself so awful to them, that they depend more upon his directions than upon themselves. This, by good foresight in the Governor, might have been prevented, if at the first he had temporised with slight offences in some of them, or at least not driven them by very hard usages to seek defence and safety out of the Province, which at no other time before was done.

Refers to the joint letter of this date and the accompanying declarations. Though he hopes the pacification they have made will hold, yet he dares not assure it, having regard to the distractions of the time, but chiefly to the resolute hatred these people profess to bear to Sir Richard Bingham and his kindred, which is now more inflamed in them by a course he has lately procured, to draw them to Dublin by process, even upon their reconciliation, for verification of their complaints; they having been promised before by us, according to the tenor of Her Majesty's letter, that their grievances should be heard and redressed within the Province; a matter which did greatly satisfy them, and now they are as much discouraged, finding that Her Majesty's word is frustrated, and they turned over to a further vexation of their adversary, as they term him. Thinks that, after this pacification, a Governor should be appointed, who, by the experience of these late errors, might be warned to carry his course in better sort. It cannot be safe to protract it long, lest the Spaniards, who have left some dregs of corruption in the people, may take advantage of their tottering and discontentment, and labour to seduce them to new alterations. It is to be feared that the Spaniards have sown dangerous seeds in the hearts of many of the Irishry, which they will not leave to follow, till they may work them to grow up to a crop to serve their turn, according to the observation that is usually made of that nation.

Hopes some of the Irish bands, which are of no great use in the service, and most burdensome to the country by their extortions, will be discharged. Yet it were not safe to leave Ireland without a strong army, till it may be seen what the Spaniards will do, and what settling and stability the pacifications will take. Finds the people make less reckoning now than they were wont to do of the pledges delivered in by them.—Athlone, 1596, September 14. *pp.* 2.

Sept. 14. Athlone. 14. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Hindrances to the conclusion of the treaty. Expectation of Spaniards by the people of Connaught. Their hatred to Sir Richard Bingham and his kindred. The Spaniards have found by experience that a small disturbance in Ireland is a great trouble to Her Majesty, and puts her to large expenses. Necessity for a meet Governor, who, tempering the people by mildness and discretion, may bring them back to their wonted obedience, and root out of their hearts all love to Spaniards or any foreign government. Influence acquired by O'Donnell over the people. Thinks that a letter from Her Majesty and some of the Council to the Earl of Tyrone would be to good purpose for

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

salving all the Earl's sores, and settling him again a subject as he was. Has gathered by his own observation and experience with the people, that without some royal word of safety from Her Majesty to assure the Earl, the endeavours of all her ministers in Ireland will be to small purpose to reconcile him thoroughly. Advisability of discharging some of the Irish bands in the service. Ireland must not be left without a strong army. Small account by the people of pledges delivered in. His plainness in advertising of Her Majesty's affairs to the Privy Council, being made known in Ireland, has bred him no small envy.—Athlone, 1596, September 14. *pp.* 2.

Sept. 14. Athlone. 15. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received intelligence that M'William had sent to warn the heads of every sept of the Burkes to meet him at a parley, for the purpose of considering the conditions proposed to him by the Commissioners. Thinks this argues a good mind in him to conformity, now that the residue are come in, and their expectation of the Spaniards at an end for this year, as they themselves give out. M'William the only one not as yet reduced. Urges that the people of Connaught should be freed from coming to Dublin to maintain their books of grievances exhibited against Sir Richard Bingham and his. Without framing the people first to love Her Majesty and her government, it is in vain to expect that they will persevere in duty and subjection. Necessity for a new Governor. So long as Connaught is not secured, the ground holds still, which the Spaniards have laid, to keep a rebellion on foot in Ireland. Is to draw on the morrow towards Dublin, and to join Sir John Norreys about October 2, the date prefixed for their meeting with the Earl.—Athlone, 1596, September 14. (*Signature wanting.*) *p.* 1.

Sept. 14. 16. Edward Fitzgerald to Burghley. Desires some employment in Her Majesty's service in Ireland. His father and two brothers have been slain therein, and he himself has endeavoured to serve Her Majesty during the late troubles. *Endorsed*:—1596. September 14. *p.* 1.

Sept. 14. 17. Captain Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Has received 1,521*l.* into the Exchequer, and has made payments therefrom to six captains, viz., Sir Thomas North, Sir Edward Stanley, Captain Cromwell, Captain Par Lane, Captain Phyton, and Captain Folliott. Desires his lordship's instructions concerning the musters. Must be at Chester certain days before the captains.—1596, September 14. *p.* 1.

Sept. 15. Athlone. 18. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Right honourable my very good Lord, how near we have drawn this tedious business to an end will appear to your Lordship by our joint letter, and if in that which is past, or in perfecting the rest, there hath or shall be more time spent than your Lordship desireth, the fault was in the senseless humour of these unbridled rebels, who hardly were drawn to forego the imagined power they

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

had gotten in these confused times, being comforted in their perverse purposes with a hope of foreign assistance, which impression is not yet removed, neither dare I dissuade your Lordship from seeking by all careful means to prevent the coming of Spaniards; for I remain of a constant opinion that the King of Spain will not desist from seeking by all possible means to continue this people in rebellion; and although the sharp war that we have made upon them these three months (in which time we have taken above 4,000 of their kine and killed 200 of their best men, and drawn the rest into so narrow a room as they were ready to eat one another), hath so abated their pride as they have been glad to be content with reasonable conditions, yet it is to be feared that an army of strangers coming before matters be settled, may cause them to seek to serve their turns of the Spanish fortune, and yet they have passed so many oaths and vows as they are worse than devils if they dissemble. How O'Donnell excuseth his former delays, promising a future conformity, will appear to your Lordship by the copy of his letter, and yet the matter between O'Connor Sligo and him will hardly be compounded, though it be referred to us as your Lordship seeth in our other letters. At this instant we have received advice from the Lord Deputy that Feagh M'Hugh hath taken the fort made by his Lordship, and that thereupon his Lordship is determined to employ some forces, as well to build against the said fort as to prosecute Feagh. What interruption that may bring to this pacification I know not, but I think the Earl will not stir, what course soever is held with Feagh, about whom I can now say no more than I have written lately by my brother. And now that these troubles are brought into some good state, so as no doubt but with good managing the knot of combination will be broken, though some relics of rebellion remain, I humbly beseech your Lordship to favour me with your good word to Her Majesty for my license to return, and that, in the disposing of many places now void, my services with often loss of my blood may not be forgotten; wherein I presume so much upon Her Majesty's often promises, as also princely disposition, to reward such as travail in Her Highness' service, as, if I be remembered, Her Majesty will think me worthy to be advanced.—Athlone, 1596, September 15. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Sept. 15. Athlone. 19. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Your Honour will perceive by our joint letter the tedious issue of this treaty, which howsoever it shall be construed, when the multitude of crosses that we have met withal shall be considered, it will appear it hath been no small work, for nothing hath been omitted that by device might be wrought to hinder it, with so general a consent of the greatest as it is to be wondered at; and if by an incessant prosecution of the rebels we had not brought them into that misery that they were ready to eat one another, we should never have compassed it. The managing the matter now, before their headstrong humour be settled, will crown the work, for which purpose we have concluded to leave my brother Thomas here;

1596. Vol. CXCIII.

more, I protest, to follow Sir Geffrey Fenton's advice than my own, fearing lest his remove hereafter should be a disgrace unto us both. And now that these matters are grown towards an end, I may be the bolder to continue my suit to your Honour to further my revocation, since there will be, as I think, no further cause of war (if foreign succour do not procure it), except with Feagh M'Hugh, which my Lord Deputy will be glad himself to follow, having undertaken it. And I will also recommend unto your Honour the remembrance of my service now when many places are to be given, whereof I trust that I shall not altogether be thought incapable; and will hope in Her Majesty's princely consideration of her absent servants, not to be thought unworthy of reward, having lost more blood in Her Majesty's service than any I know, of what quality soever, and I do presume that, if I be remembered, I shall not be refused. It hath been the custom of the worthiest princes to recompense such as had long served them in peril of their lives, without importunity of suing, in which of myself I have no grace, and am assured I shall not have many to speak for me; and thus, having nobody to rely upon but yourself and my Lord your father, I must crave to be excused that I am thus bold to trouble your Honour.—Athlone, 1596, September 15. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Sept. 17. Dublin Castle. 20. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Fort of Ballinacor lost, and the Captain taken. This done whilst Feagh M'Hugh's people lay in Dublin Castle. Small account by the rebels of their pledges. Delaying of the treaty, and meanwhile the Earl, O'Donnell, Brian O'Rourke, and the supposed M'William, as well by writings as by messengers, sought, under pretence of their religion, to stir up others in Munster to rebellion. Send copies of the original letters forwarded to them by the Earl of Ormonde. Think Feagh acted under the directions of the Earl and the others, as a messenger came to him shortly before the loss of the fort. The greatness of Feagh will thereby exceedingly increase in those parts. Pray that 1,000 of the foot and the remainder of the horse asked for may be sent, together with three months' victuals. Besides these new stirs growing in Leinster, they see small hope of good conclusion in Connaught, being not made particularly acquainted with the Commissioners' proceedings there. Hear only that a few of the chief rebels in Roscommon have come in, but when Her Majesty's forces are removed, see small cause to hope but that those rebels will fall away to the rest again.—Dublin Castle, 1596, September 17. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich, the 24th." *pp.* 3. *Inclose,**

20. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and* [*Hugh*] *O'Donnell to the King of Spain. Crave help with speed. Promise to obey him as their*

* The letters following are mentioned by the Lord Deputy as having been sent by him; *see* 1596, October 14, the Lord Deputy to the Privy Council; and 1596, October 15, the Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. It is most probable that they were enclosed in this despatch, as they also have the endorsement, "Received at Greenwich, the 24th."

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*King. They will be quiet, and dissemble with Englishmen, unless they proffer them great injury. Desire him to appoint the Prince Cardinal his nephew as King of Ireland.*—1596, [*August* 23–*September* 2].

*A note says that the original was first drawn out in Spanish, and engrossed into English by one Edmond Brimegham, on September* 2, *Roman style; yet the letters were not dated or sent, because the said Earl and O'Donnell looked for Spaniards "this harvest* 1596," *and because they came not, the said Brimegham was presently to be sent away;* i.e., *with the said letters, as stated in note on inclosure* III.

*Copy made on September* 15 *by James Nott, Tyrone's secretary. p.* 1.

20. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and* [*Hugh*] *O'Donnell to the Prince of Spain. To procure them help from his father with convenient speed.*—1596, [*August* 23–*September* 2].

*With note similar to that on the preceding. Copy by James Nott. p.* 1.

20. III. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and* [*Hugh*] *O'Donnell to the Prince Cardinal. They have craved the King of Spain to appoint his Highness as their King, and to uphold the Catholic cause in Ireland.*—1596, [*August* 23–*September* 2].

*With note similar to that on the preceding. Copy by James Nott. p.* 1.

20. IV. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, and* [*Hugh*] *O'Donnell to Don John de L'Aquila, governor of Brittany. Have anxiously looked for the promised aid from the King of Spain. Have written to him to send them help "with brevity." Will hold out for themselves, and live peaceably, till such help arrives. Desires him to write to the King for them.*—1596, [*August* 23–*September* 2].

*With note similar to that on the preceding. Copy by James Nott. p.* 1.

20. V. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy. Is out of hope to draw his nephews, Piers and James* [*Butler*], *to any conformity till they be hanged. Their excuses for not going to Dublin.*—*Callan,* 1596, *September* 11. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

20. VI. *Captain Charles Montague to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Feagh M'Hugh with* 300 *men threatens to besiege Castle Kevin. Has put one month's victuals therein. Newcastle likewise threatened by the rebels. Is told they will attempt something within* 18 *days, and, he suspects, Dublinwards. Barnaby Tooke continues his challenges. Richard Browne marches with* 100 *men, ensign and drum, the latter supposed to have been Captain Tutcher's.*—*Newcastle,* 1596, *September* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

20. VII. *Examination of Thomas Kavanagh, servant of Sir Edmund Butler, as to the causes of Sir Edmund's sons, Piers and James, going into rebellion.—Dublin,* 1596, *September* 16. *Copy. pp.* 2.

Sept. 18. Kilmainham. 21. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Is enforced, through Feagh M'Hugh taking the fort of Ballinacor, to make head against him with such small forces as he can draw together thereabouts, lest the Moores, Connors, Byrnes, Kavanaghs, Tooles, Butlers, and others, who have all promised to assist him, should join with him as they intend, and stand upon their Macs and Oes, as in Ulster and Connaught they have done already. Beseeches this action of his may be favourably considered, and not afterwards conceived as in anywise hindering the treaty in Connaught, or repugnant to the instructions touching Feagh, which with many other letters he received the day before. Thanks for the treasure which arrived safely with the said letters. Has won over Nott, the Earl's principal secretary, and has of late found means to speak with him. Nott confesses letters written to the King of Spain, and some other dangerous practices, as well by the Earl as the rest, and that since the taking of his pardon, offering themselves and Ireland to the King of Spain, if he will send forces to defend them. Prays for the speedy sending of the 1,000 foot and the remainder of the horse long since appointed to come, and also three months' victuals with them.—Kilmainham, 1596, September 18. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 18. Kilmainham. 22. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Is very speedily to take the field against Feagh M'Hugh. Thanks for the treasure sent. Nott, the Earl's secretary. Takes it in very ill part that Sir John Norreys has so unjustly accused him; but it is the fruit of that unhappy country, which he thinks he will more deeply taste of, if he is any longer continued there. Earnestly desires that he may speedily be revoked, and he will acknowledge it as a great favour. Prays for the forces appointed to come, and for victuals.—Kilmainham, 1596, September 18. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 18. Dublin Castle. 23. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Forwarding a petition of Sir Richard Bingham, and recommending him for his long and painful services in Ireland. Think his complaint to be in substance true. Have given directions to Sir Robert Gardener, who is now in his circuit in Westmeath, presently to repair to Athlone, to join with the Lord President and Sir Geffrey Fenton [for the trying of Sir Richard's causes]. Have likewise commanded Sir Richard Bingham to repair thither also, according to Her Majesty's pleasure signified unto them.—Dublin Castle, 1596, September 18. *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

23. I. *Petition of Sir Richard Bingham, knight, to the Lord Deputy and Council. Excepts against the Lord President Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton as judges in his cause, because they have already taken upon them to pass Her Majesty's*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*word to such rebels as have come in that he shall not come any more to Connaught to govern them; and this too without hearing what he could answer for himself. Further, they have written that they hold Sir Richard sufficiently condemned already upon the complaints taken at Galway, although he was unheard upon any one of them. Prays that he may be duly heard and tried, either at the Council Table, or by the Privy Council in England, for that otherwise the plot is laid beforehand for his overthrow. Endorsed:* —"1596, *September* 18." *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Sept. 18. Athlone. 24. The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. Acknowledge their Lordships' letter of July 21, brought to Athlone that day. Although formerly, when the conclusion was made at Dundalk in April last, they sought to deal separately with the Earl and O'Donnell, yet in the last treaty they have been content to use the endeavours of both to pacify the rebels in Connaught, not having the force necessary to work otherwise. As to the advertisement that the army at that time in Connaught was 5,000 strong, the report far exceeded the numbers in deed, for the army was scarce 2,700 by poll, and these diminished daily, and now, by death and otherwise, are so much weakened, that it grieves them to see so great an alteration. Hope their letters to the Lord Deputy and Council have been imparted to their Lordships. Will write further on their return to Dublin. Despatched yesterday a packet of their proceedings and success in this second treaty in Connaught.—Athlone, 1596, September 18. *pp.* 3.

Sept. 19. 25. Extract from letter of Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy, dated September 19. *See inclosure* I. *to letter of September* 29, *No.* 47. *p.* 1.

Sept. 22. Dublin. 26. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Heard from Sir Henry Wallop that Burghley had expected from the writer a particular book of the numbers of persons in all the bands in Ireland, together with a note signifying how many are wanting. Difficulty of obtaining the number, unless commissaries are appointed, for which, ever since the beginning of this unhappy war, he has been almost a daily suitor. The Lord Deputy too has divers times promised he should have them: but they have not been appointed. Dublin replenished with lurking seminaries [seminary priests], practising traitorous combinations both in country and city. Burghley shall, though at the writer's own charge as hitherto, receive by the end of October a perfect book of the numbers of persons whatsoever in Ireland in Her Majesty's pay. The decay of the bands by sickness falls out ordinarily in July, August, and September, but only in such bands as march in the army and lie in camp, and that through the "intemperature" of the weather, nakedness, and ill feeding. The companies in garrison, having more commodities and less toil, ordinarily stand sound. The captains [of the garrisons] cannot get

any more men, because none can come unto them, neither can they go to any, being "close cubbed up" by the rebels. Being afflicted with the strangury, is unable in this cold and moist climate to perform any longer his desired service to Her Majesty, either in his present office or otherwise in martial employment, which has ever been his chiefest desire; whereas in a hot climate he is by "counsel of physic" assured that the same [disease], notwithstanding his years, is very recoverable. Begs therefore for some post in England, equivalent in value to his present office, or that he may be given license to appoint a substitute, and to go for three or four years, on Her Majesty's service, to a place where he may recover from his painful infirmity, and peradventure also disencumber his estate from certain debts. Prays that his nephew, W. Lane, may have leave to attend on Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil to know their pleasures touching himself.—Dublin, 1596, September 22. *Holograph. pp.* 4.

[Sept. 22 ?] 27. Postscript of a letter, in the handwriting of Sir Ralph Lane, stating that the day before there escaped from O'Donnell an Irish prisoner, who certified that O'Donnell, notwithstanding the Earl's dismissal of the Spaniards, having departed from the Earl into Tyrconnell, did suddenly despatch a messenger with a letter in Latin to the said Spaniards to have recalled them, contrary to the will of the Earl, who knew not of his doings. But the ships were gone before the letter came, yet O'Donnell despatched a messenger into Spain, as the fellow said, with other letters. *p.* 1.

Sept. 24. Dublin. 28. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. The night before Sir Richard Bingham departed suddenly for England without leave of the State, although directed to repair to Athlone, to answer the complaints of the inhabitants of Connaught, according to the tenor of Her Majesty's letter, which was at full communicated to him by the Lord Deputy and Council. Many conjectures may be made of his secret stealing away, but the most probable is that finding, by the scope of Her Majesty's letter, that her Highness would now have his misgovernment brought to light, and her people of Connaught to have reason of the sore oppressions done to them by him and his, he thought to shun the trial thereof, being either overcarried with the greatness of his stomach to answer before Her Majesty's Commissioners, or stricken with the guiltiness of his conscience that he could not justify himself. By whatsoever humour he might be led, the example cannot but be dangerous, that he, being a governor, should continue and stand against his Prince's will in a case of justice to be ministered to her people, and specially in this broken time when Ireland is set upon disorder, and, therefore, such as serve Her Majesty as public officers and councillors, should do all things to hold the people in order.

For the complainants in Connaught, who have long time depended upon Her Majesty's justice to be heard and redressed, he knows not what buzzes this may breed in them, when they shall see that an

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

officer, complained upon and charged with sundry foul crimes, cannot be brought, either by Her Majesty's express commandment or by her Deputy and State, to stand and answer. The people have been so often promised that he should both answer their challenges and make restitution of wrongs proved. Sir John Norreys and he, who have brought them into a good way of pacification, and in whom they have conceived an opinion of trust and faithful dealing, will hardly bear further credit, either to hold them in obedience or to work them to any particular purpose for Her Majesty's profit, when it is seen that her words are contemptuously broken by Sir Richard, who is openly accused, and that, through his high stomach, their redress is made desperate, and the Commissioners are defaced and discredited. Leaves to Burghley's consideration what cause he has to be more large and vehement in this complaint. The Commissioners are now at a stop for any further dealing in those causes until further directions come.

Is assured that, if the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh long continues, there will be hazard of a far more dangerous alteration in the kingdom than there was by the stirs of the north, and by this prosecution the subjects of the English Pale will lie open to all spoil and ruin. Asks for speedy direction to the Lord Deputy rather to have Feagh taken in, according to Her Majesty's last letter, than to leave him loose to be a ground of further troubles in other parts of the realm.—Dublin, 1596, September 24. *Endorsed*:—"Received the 28th at Greenwich." *pp.* 2.

Sept. 24. Dublin. 29. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir Richard Bingham's sudden departure for England. Probable ill effects on the people of Connaught. Sir Richard's petition to the Council. Denies that the Commissioners have acted by indirect courses against him, to endanger his life and credit. Good results of their communication to the people of Connaught of Her Majesty's letter, directing the trial in that province of the charges against Sir Richard. It was high time to salve their sores with that medicine. Sir Thomas Norreys was not placed by the Commissioners in the government of Connaught, nor did they mean so to place him, but, being best acquainted with the staggering disposition of that people, and fearing their aptness to return to their vomit, if some superior person were not left amongst them for the time, and finding how far they were poisoned with the hope of Spaniards, they had reason not to leave them without a head or guide. The Commissioners have proceeded in the execution of their charge sincerely and faithfully, to the saving of a country, which by misgovernment was ruined, and in danger of being never recovered. Is now stayed by the Council from going to Connaught till the Lord Deputy's pleasure shall be signified. Meanwhile has advised Sir John Norreys to deal with the Connaught men to stay them from taking any advantage of Sir Richard Bingham's sudden departure.—Dublin, 1596, September 24. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 28th." *pp.* 2¾.

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

Sept. 24. Dublin. 30. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. His journey to Connaught. Has received a letter from Sir Robert directed to the Lord Chancellor and himself, but they will have no commodity to deal with it jointly, because of the absence of the Lord Deputy, who is "in a road" against Feagh M'Hugh, and also because of his own sudden return to Connaught. Has written to the Lord Deputy, and will not fail to work with the Lord President [Sir John Norreys] to break the emulation between them altogether if he can, or at least so to temper things that their private disagreements may be no cause of disorder to Her Majesty's service. This course he has hitherto held to them both, and it has done good in stopping extremities

The Province of Connaught being now in the way of settling, there will grow due at Michaelmas next Her Majesty's composition rents, out of which have been usually defrayed the entertainments of the Governor and Council, and all charges of soldiers, with all other expenses, ordinary and extraordinary, rising in the Province. This revenue will hardly be collected but by some person specially authorised to have government in the Province. Necessity for establishing one out of hand, both to levy the revenues and to minister justice to the people, who, after so many storms, will look for a more calm course of government than they have had of late. The appointment of a Governor also requisite in respect of Her Majesty's double charge, the expenses before-mentioned being now paid directly out of such treasure as is sent from England, instead of, as formerly, out of the composition and other revenues of the Province. For the composition he has not found, in all the treaties that have been, any dislike or contradiction of it, but a general and willing allowing thereof, as a matter indifferent between Her Majesty and the country.—Dublin, 1596, September 24. *Endorsed:* —"Received 27." *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 25. Dublin. 31. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, Sir Henry Wallop, and Sir Anthony Sentleger, to the Privy Council. Enclose advertisements just received of the landing of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country. Know not their numbers, nor their particular place of landing, but believe the news to be true. Will send to discover further particulars and write again. Beg the Council to consider the state of Ireland. If forces be not with all speed provided, some place of importance will be distressed, and in a very short time such a revolt worked in the whole kingdom, as will be very perilous and not easy to be recovered. Great scarcity of victuals. Unseasonable weather has done much harm to the corn. The treasure lately sent (the borrowed money being paid, and the Lord Deputy and Lord President satisfied), will very hardly pay the victualling money of the forces for September. The Lord Deputy, who is in Feagh M'Hugh's country, and the Lord President, who is at Athlone, have been informed of the above advertisement.—Dublin 1596, September 25.

Under the address is written:—"Deliver these in haste, haste. Haste, post haste, for life, life. For Her Majesty's most special

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

affairs." The various posts are thus given:—"Chester, 28 September, at 4 in the morning, Wm. Aldersey, Mayor. The same day at Coventry, at 8 of the clock. At Daventry, between 6 and 7 the same night. Brickhill, the next morning at five. At St. Albans, the same day after 10 o'clock." "Received the 29th, at Greenwich." *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

31. 1. *Advertisement of the landing of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country. "Let none know from whence it came." A note is added by the signatories of the above letter that the advertiser is a man near the Earl of Tyrone, sent on September* 23 *to Dundalk unto one Richard Weston that served the Earl, and by him sent to his brother, Nicolas Weston, an alderman of Dublin, who very dutifully brought it to the Treasurer. Copy. p.* 1.

Sept. 25. Camp at Rathdrum. 32. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. His sudden journey into Feagh M'Hugh's country has prevented the Byrnes, Tooles, Kavanaghs, and others from joining Feagh. Is building a new fort, about a mile from Ballinacor, which will serve to restrain Feagh from spoiling the Byrnes, and from entering the Pale. Captain Lee has undertaken to keep it. Defeat of the rebels at the fort of Ballinacor. The fort could well have been held. Has caused a serjeant and two soldiers, who were in it at the time of its capture by Feagh, to be executed. Has entered the rebels' glins again, and burnt the town of Farrinenerrin. More treasure wanted. Her Majesty's monthly charge in Ireland is little less than 10,000*l.* Still desires to be revoked, that in his time those things may not happen, which he has so great cause to fear. Treachery and duplicity of Feagh M'Hugh. The occupation of Monaghan by the Earl of Tyrone during a cessation, and his subsequent refusal to deliver it up, regardless of his pledges. The like seemeth now to be in hand in Connaught. O'Donnell's pledge. Encloses letter from the Earl of Tyrone to Feagh M'Hugh. Thinks that the truce for 14 days was only for the purpose of thrusting out all those parts of Leinster into action of rebellion, according to the oaths taken and combination agreed upon, if his coming had not hindered this. Incloses letter from the Earl of Ormonde, whom he hopes very shortly to speak with.

The Ulster men cry out upon Sir William Fitzwilliams, the Connaught men upon Sir Richard Bingham, with what cause he will not take upon him to determine, seeing those things were done before his time. The Butlers cry out upon Captain Lee, but that could not be the cause of their rebellion, since what they complained of was restored, by direction from himself and the Council. The Moores and the Connors complain of no hard measure, and yet they are never the better subjects. "The truth is they all have observed that in Ulster and Connaught, by this pacification, they are to have their Macs and Oes, and so by consequence their Irish customs, to the abolishing of Her Majesty's laws, and therefore by their example do the Butlers look to be restored in their blood; an Eustace will stand to be restored to the Baltinglas lands, and

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

the chief of every other sept will stand to be restored to the like, to the banishing of the English from amongst them, and to the gaining of the kingdom to themselves, which assuredly is the only mark they aim at, what other matter soever they pretend, as so faithless and treacherous a nation will do many things as though wronged and oppressed, when in very deed it will appear to be nothing so." Hereof the Lord President takes advantage, and cares for no more than that he may say he hath made a peace, how short time soever it may continue. This, he prays God, may be thoroughly considered in England, or else Ireland will be lost.

Complains that George Cawell, who did good service in discovering the rebels' late practice with the Spaniards, and who has lived since that time in Dublin, not daring to trust himself any more in the country, and having with him a horse of Cormack M'Baron's, has been set upon by that son of Cormack, who is one of the Earl's pledges, and by a company of Captain William Warren's servants; that divers doors were broken to come to him, and his horse violently taken from him, which Captain Warren says he will justify. If Cawell had been slain, or Cormack's son, who had been put in for a pledge, the dishonour would have redounded to the State, as if the same had been procured by some treachery, "so apt are this people to raise slanders." Hopes this matter may be at least very sharply reprehended. Renews his suit for his revocation, both for the respects aforesaid, and because he finds himself not credited, but thought an enemy to this course of pacification. God knows he is not to a sound one, but that he from his heart most earnestly desires the same, as the greatest happiness that may befall both Ireland and himself.

Understands that Sir Richard Bingham is departed for England. Thought fit to let Burghley know that he went without his license, as may further appear by his petition to the Council.—Camp at Rathdrum in the Ranelagh, called Feagh M'Hugh's country, 1596, September 25. *pp.* 7. *Incloses,*

32. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Feagh M'Hugh. Has agreed with Sir John Norreys for a peace until the 28th September, for Ulster and Connaught, and for Feagh. Has also a day appointed to meet the Lord Deputy, Sir John Norreys, and the whole Council, at Rathskey, after Michaelmas. O'Donnell has sent his pledges to Athlone until that day. Will bring with him the pledges of Connaught. Prays Feagh to be very careful of the Earl's friends in Leinster, and of himself.—The Curlews in Connaught,* 1596, *September* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. II. *The Earl of Ormonde to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Understanding that his brother Sir Edmund's bad sons had determined to raze and burn such castles as they had, he left a ward in the castle of Tullovellin, and is now repairing to Clothgronain, to leave a ward there also if he may. On his way to Tullovellin he sent some of his horsemen to see if they could light upon his*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*nephews, or any of their company, and took a fosterbrother of his nephew James, whom he keeps prisoner. Dares not commit his mind to paper touching these matters, therefore forbears till he shall speak with his Lordship. Is informed his nephews mean to burn all they can: also, that some of their chief followers are desirous to leave them, if they may be received. Hopes, if he may speak with his Lordship, that these traitors will be brought low enough.—Grandgohort,* 1596, *September* 23. *Copy. p.* 1.

Sept. 25. Camp at Rathdrum. 33. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Duplicate of preceding letter to Burghley.*]—Camp at Rathdrum in the Ranelagh, called Feagh M'Hugh's country, 1596, September 25. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the first of October." *pp.* 5½.

Sept. 25. Dublin. 34. Christopher Peyton, Auditor of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks for the letters of the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy on his behalf. His lordship is absent in the Glynns, on service against the rebels in those parts. Previous Auditors in Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, September 25. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Westminster the 22nd of October." *p.* 1.

Sept. 26. Camp at Rathdrum. 35. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. It may please your Lordship. This advertisement being sent me in great haste from Dublin, to assure the landing of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country, after all the delays used in the treaty for pacification, wherein the Lord President hath been much deceived and abused, it now resteth that forces be presently sent us out of England, for otherwise this State will soon be endangered. And yet, because I find that the Council now at Dublin do intend to advertise this over, who happily will be able more particularly to learn the numbers arrived, I have thought it fit to refer your Lordship to their report thereof, and, for our supplies, desire to have them such as they shall find meetest to answer the service. For mine own part I am of opinion that, though those Spanish forces are not many, as I think they are not, who now are landed in those parts, yet considering I do very much doubt the landing of a greater number in Leinster or in Munster, as they did heretofore intend, and as the Mayor of Waterford's letter should import, by their having of so great a force in readiness, we cannot have fewer men sent over than the 3,000 foot and 200 horse heretofore desired, besides the remain of the last horse that were once in readiness at Chester, together with three months' victual, consisting of bread, corn, cheese, and butter only, and munition and treasure in a good large proportion, the other being all issued already, within a matter of forty pounds. If these land not before any great numbers of Spaniards do arrive, considering how "tickly" the Pale standeth affected, our state will be very hard, and therefore I eftsoones pray your Honour, both for the furtherance of the service and in regard of your love to me, to use all possible expedition herein. It were no doubt to good purpose to set forth some shipping to sea to meet with these Spaniards, for that it seemeth they are but meanly

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

shipped.—The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, September 26. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

35. I. *Sir Henry Wallop to the Lord Deputy. Advertisement of the landing of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country.*—1596, *September* 25. *Copy. p.* 1.

35. II. *Thomas Wadding, Mayor of Waterford, to the Lord Deputy. A merchant of Waterford arrived on the* 19*th inst. from Biscay, whence he departed five weeks past, who tells that his ship and goods, with seven ships more of Dublin, Drogheda, and other places in Ireland, are stayed, and the men at liberty. The common report in Biscay is that the King of Spain is assured of the Earl of Tyrone; that* 8,000 *soldiers are at Lisborne* [*Lisbon*], *to come, as is thought, to Ireland; and that there is no stay but want of shipping. The merchant says further that one of the King of Spain's captains at sea, an inhabitant of Bilbao, departed thence about the beginning of August to Lisbon, with command to be there directed by the King of Spain's Admiral; adding further that all nations are stayed in Spain. Duncannon should be looked to, and made a better place for defence.* [*Postscript.*]—*The merchant says that* 3,000 *soldiers are sent for from Brittany to come to Spain.—Waterford,* 1596, *September* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

Sept. 26. Camp at Rathdrum. 36. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter to Burghley.*]—The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, September 26. *pp.* 2.

Sept. 26. Kilkenny. 37. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. My very good Lord, I had more often written unto you of the troublesome state of this unfortunate country, but that I doubted not you were still made acquainted therewith by my Lord Deputy, and such other here as have special charge and direction for those causes, yet this much, for my own opinion at this time, I thought fit to let your Lordship understand, that I never knew this unfortunate land at any time in so dangerous case as now it standeth almost universally in every part thereof. And among other mischiefs my lewd brother Sir Edmund's oldest son, lately married (much against my mind) to my Lord of Mountgarrett's daughter, and my brother's second son James, are fallen to open rebellion with Feagh M'Hugh, and combined (as I understand) with the chief traitor Tyrone by this devilish mean (as they openly declare) to procure from Her Majesty restitution of their blood, with succession of my Earldom, which in my opinion were most unhonourable and unfit for Her Majesty to yield to, being sought in that arrogant and traitorous manner. The elect Mayor of Waterford came hither to me, to let me understand that his son, being now in Spain, wrote unto him that there is great mischief presently at hand and intended hitherward, and that all shipping from all nations are stayed there, and such preparation of shipping and men made ready to set forth presently, as the like was never seen there; whereof I thought good to advertise your Lord-

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

ship. God bless Her Majesty, and send her victory over all her foreign enemies, and unnatural traitorous subjects.—Kilkenny, 1596, September 26. *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 26. Galway. 38. William Daniel, preacher of the Word, to Burghley. Was chosen and sent by the Lord Deputy and Council to preach the word of God in Galway, upon the earnest request and suit of the magistrate of that town and of all the bishops of the Province. Came accordingly with cheerfulness to fulfil the work of the ministry, though he was very necessarily employed as a reader in Her Majesty's new college by Dublin. Has now spent almost three quarters of a year most painfully in instructing the people both in the English and Irish tongue, with great hope of prospering, having already rooted out their famous idols, which they served. Through the suggestion of their traitorous seminaries, the smoking firebrands of all these troubles, they have been of late persuaded to stone him, and attempted this, as his chamber windows can testify. Still hopes to continue the work of his ministry, to the confusion of all superstition and Popery in Galway, if he is graced and countenanced by the State. Has learned by woeful experience that the chief cause of all these troubles and revolts is the persuasion and suggestions of those filthy frogs of the synagogue of Antichrist, which are fostered in great numbers in every town, and do so generally prevail (for want of due regard to their apprehension and punishment), that generally the people dare not hear the word preached, nor baptize nor marry publicly, nor bury their dead, but according unto the Romish superstitions. The remedy of all this malady can be no other than to proclaim all such seducers and their fosterers, traitors to God and Her Majesty. Sues for this unto Burghley, whom God has made a faithful father to both Her Majesty's realms, to procure their welfare and prosperity. Will not offend that brevity which he has found to be most grateful to Burghley. The danger is worse than the common report, so that every day they are like to become a prey unto their enemies. Recommends the suit of the bearer, who is a man of good worship and account, and has lost in these troubles more than 2,000*l.* Asks Burghley to send by him to the magistrate of Galway such directions as may work the desired effect.—Galway, 1596, September 26. *Holograph.* *pp.* 2.

Sept. 26. Chester. 39. George Beverley to Burghley. Has received instructions from Sir Henry Wallop to expend the 1,000*l.* lately sent in provisions for the garrisons of Carlingford and Carrickfergus which are in want. Will afterwards repair to his Lordship to yield his accounts. The prices of grain in those parts at present, accounted after the London measure, are:—wheat, 50*s.* the quarter, and upwards; rye, 43*s.* the quarter; beans, 33*s.* 4*d.* the quarter; oats, 20*s.* the quarter; butter, 3*d.* and 3¼*d.* the pound; cheese, 2½*d.* and 2¾*d.* the pound.—Chester, 1596, September 26. *p.* 1.

Sept. 27. Athlone. 40. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. It may please your honourable Lordship, it was the 17th of this present

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

before I received your Lordship's letter, which gave me knowledge of Her Majesty's just pleasure to have Sir Richard Bingham's cause heard in this Province, a course that no doubt would have given great contentment to the people, with an assurance of Her Majesty's purpose to see that they should have redress of their wrongs; but, as we were expecting and preparing for his coming, we have received advice of his departure for England; the report of which his intent was spread here some days before, and might well have been foreseen at Dublin. What contrary effect this accident will bring to the satisfaction of the people, especially for that my Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council there have hereupon made stay of the Commissioners coming hither, will quickly appear; but I fear it will do no good in this uncertain time.

And I may not conceal from your Lordship, that I have many reasons to persuade myself that my Lord Deputy and the Council would not be willing that any other should have the examining of this cause but themselves. For first, when I wrote to his Lordship and the Council, that I thought it was not a course fitting with Her Majesty's pleasure that pursuivant upon pursuivant should be sent to vex and terrify as well the subject as others in rebellion, whereby they might be discouraged from maintaining their complaints, I was sharply reprehended and threatened for my labour. And whereas the Lord Deputy and Chancellor had long since received those books of complaint and depositions, which I sent your Lordship, with others which never came to further light, and yet never acquainted your Lordship with them, nor made any report of them, it cannot be but they will be unwilling that any others should see further into them than they have done; and also I doubt that Sir Richard, having had good leisure to inform them more fully of his innocency, hath procured such letters for his justification as will appear to have been somewhat hastily written; and I have heard the letters were drawn by Sir Richard himself. But, now he is gone, it is requisite that this Province be speedily provided of a Governor, as well for the containing of this new-reconciled people in good terms, as for the well managing of Her Majesty's revenues, composition, and impost.

And forasmuch as it is said that Sir Richard attributeth his contemptuous and guilty departure to an opinion that I sought his life, and had established my brother in his government; for the first, I hope I shall not need to answer, and, for the other, I protest unto your Lordship that it was no matter pleasing either to myself or my brother, that Sir Geffrey Fenton and I resolved to leave the managing of the affairs of this Province in my brother's hands, whilst we should be absent to handle the Brenny and Northern causes; only we were willing it should not be put into such a one's hand as either were not able or desirous to continue it in good state, but so soon as I found I must stay here myself to perform Her Majesty's altered course for Sir Richard's causes, I returned my brother into Munster with his very good liking, and will recommend him no farther to the place than he shall be thought fit for it, but

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

must assure your Lordship that the place will require one that should be no prentice neither in civil nor martial causes. In the treaty with Tibbott Burke, we find him full of delays, yet doubt not but, whether he will or not, we shall bring him to conformity.—Athlone, 1596, September 27. *Endorsed:*—"Received at Nonsuch the 3rd of October." *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Sept. 27. Athlone. 41. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Your Honour may please to understand that, as I had ended my letter to my Lord your father, intending to have troubled your Honour with my private business, I received an advice that three Spanish ships were come into O'Donnell's country, and that they bring munition and money, and promise presently further succours; a matter that I rather believe, because I stand assured the Spanish King will continue his intelligence with these people; and the sooner for these honourable successes that Her Majesty's army hath had in Spain, than for any assurance the reporter giveth thereof. What it is will quickly be known, and I will take the best order to prevent the danger thereof that I may, although the untimely war that my Lord Deputy hath begun with Feagh M'Hugh will make the North much unprovided, from whence his Lordship hath drawn part of the forces, which his Lordship would never consent might be drawn to serve Her Majesty here. I trust this advice will confirm the purpose of drawing me from hence, for howsoever I have shifted with the Irish, with the ill seconding that I have had, I will not undertake to deal with the Spaniards with such a clog at my heels. How Sir Richard Bingham hath taken his flight your Honour, I know, shall understand from Dublin, but I protest I am glad he is gone, for if he had tarried I should have been in danger to have been accused of treason, which misery is happened to a tame poor soldier, by a pupil of that bloody school, whom I think they will hang for namesake, being one that hath [ventured], and is like to venture, his life further for Her Majesty's honour and service, than all the race of the Binghams that I know.

Where your Honour thinketh that the committing of my papers to my men hath caused your Honour's letters to be seen, I do assure your Honour that no man of mine hath ever seen or had the keeping of any of your letters, but, because my Lord Deputy would not send me the copy of Her Majesty's letters, whereby we were to take our direction, I was forced to let him know that I had received some copies from your Honour, whom I trusted therein, the rather because I thought him affected to your Honour, and if I do not understand Her Majesty's pleasure from your Honour, I shall know it from my Lord Deputy either never or very late. Her Majesty's treasure is arrived ten days past, but yet we hear nothing of it but a forerunning prophecy that we shall be little the better for it. I protest before God that I am ashamed to see how Her Majesty is used in it, and the more because it depends upon my Lord your father's charge; but, having written often thereof without being hearkened unto, I will meddle no more in it. And thus, scarce able to hold

1596. Vol. CXCIII.

my pen, I must leave to trouble your Honour. [*Postscript.*]—The Spanish money will be more dangerous here than his force, for therewith he will corrupt all our Irish, and there must be a general reformation of the numbers of Irish in all the companies, especially amongst the horsemen, who now are good for nothing but to drive cows. Of this point I have before given my brother sufficient instructions.—Athlone, 1596, September 27. *Endorsed* :—"Received at Nonsuch the 5th of October." *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Sept. 27. Dublin. 42. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The landing of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country. "Their landing in that place, being a desert country, without towns or castles to cover them, and void of all other relief for their sustenance except lean beef, is an argument to me that they are not come with a force to invade, and tarry by it, for, if that had been their purpose, they would have made their descent in some better inhabited parts of the realm, as in Munster, Leinster, or about the Shannon; besides, the season of the year, (winter being now come), is over far passed for them to nestle in a watery, rheumatic climate, so far contrary to their constitution." Thinks rather (if any be come at all), that Don John de l'Aquila has sent one or two small "barks of adviso" [despatch boats] to entertain the Irishry with hopes and promises, till a better commodity of time next year. Has been shown, by a Dublin merchant, a letter written in the present month from his factor at Lisbon, wherein he advertises of a great preparation to be in hand there for Ireland, but he writes that they will not be in case to put to the sea this year for want of men. By this it may be seen that the Spaniard means to follow his plots for Ireland, presuming to disturb Her Majesty there more than at home, or at least so to entangle Her Majesty with the garboyles of Ireland, as to divert her thereby from sending great forces to trouble him in any part of his dominions.

Wishes that now, whilst there is time, the troubles of this realm were compounded in all the parts thereof, but especially Feagh M'Hugh taken in, according to Her Majesty's late pleasure signified; for he, being the only disturber of Leinster, which is the heart, has, if he be not stayed, more means to endanger the whole kingdom, than any of the rest, who are but remote "lymmes" [limbs]. If Feagh is suffered to be the Robin Hood, it will encourage even some of the late submitters to break loose again. Prays for some speedy direction to the State that he may be taken in, otherwise, besides the ground that the foreign enemy will have to work upon by him, and by his example other corrupt parts of the kingdom be kept in disorder, the poor subjects of the English Pale will be undone through his nightly spoils, and be driven in the end to quit their dwellings, or to run into action with him.

The poor inhabitants of Connaught that have so long complained, and have been often promised redress, are greatly grieved to see first Sir George Bingham and his son, with sundry others, shrink into England, and now Sir Richard suffered to run the same course;

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

by which manner of dealing they think that all hope is taken from them, to have justice against their cruelties and extortions. This is not the way to reconcile and knit subjects' hearts to Her Majesty, whose word they see is not kept towards them, but rather to drive them into an utter discouragement and alienation of mind from her government.—Dublin, 1596, September 27. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Greenwich the 30th." *pp.* 2.

Sept. 27. The New Fort in Ranelagh. 43. Captain Thomas Lee to Burghley. The notorious traitor Feagh M'Hugh has hindered his proceedings with the Earl of Tyrone. His service therefore is now employed with the Lord Deputy in making good another fort in Feagh's country, for the better curbing of him and his from their knaveries. If this service goes forward he makes no doubt but in short time to do a good service unto Her Majesty, in ridding the country of so vile a den of thieves as this Feagh has. Increase of Feagh's strength. The Butlers and others burned all the land of the writer adjoining that of Feagh, and took away from him and his tenants 500 cows and garrans, besides burning six of his newly-built towns to the ground. The writer was no cause of their violence. Feagh is most base and of no worth. Hopes to go to the Earl, when the soldiers are settled in the new fort, which he will keep, and make good the opinion the country has of his cutting off Feagh and his followers. Will die the poorest man that ever served Her Majesty. Will always be ready to serve his Lordship, for he cannot forget the good Burghley did him, when he was young.—The New Fort in Ranelagh, 1596, September 27. *pp.* 2.

Sept. 27. The New Fort in Ranelagh. 44. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding to Burghley*].—The New Fort in Ranelagh, 1596, September 27. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 28. Dublin. 45. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others of the Council, to the Privy Council. Have received letters from the Newry, confirming the arrival of a Spanish ship in O'Donnell's country. Have taken, and send copy of, the examination of a mariner belonging to the port of Drogheda, who, being in the road of Donegal, applying his fishing, at the time the Spanish ship arrived, learned of some of the country there both the state of that ship and the time and place of their landing.* Will send further reports on the matter, as they come to hand. Also send a declaration by a merchant's servant, newly arrived from Spain, by which it may please their Lordships to observe the disposition of that country to disturb Her Majesty either in Ireland, or in some other part of her dominions, so soon as their preparation may be put in order. Have reason to think that they will specially attempt invasion against Ireland, where, by their former offers and promises, they have made many dangerous impressions, and have corrupted no small

* This copy is wanting.

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

numbers of the inhabitants of Ulster, Connaught, and other parts, together with most of the chieftains of those countries.

Though there is as yet discovery made but of one ship arrived, yet their Lordships may please to see how they continue their promises of more to come after. Doubt not but this [one] was sent to assure them thereof; and, if the Earl of Tyrone repaired to them, as it appears by the two letters from the Newry he did, and does not presently acquaint Her Majesty, or the State in Ireland, with such matters as passed between him and them, their Lordships may judge what may be their further danger, if the Earl be not found sound. It is like he is not, if he conceal such messages or letters as the ship brought him or any other, or do not reveal the conferences he had with them, and what answers he returned back again by them. Cannot but think the more of his unsoundness, for that the ship arrived on the 17th, now twelve days past, and yet they have not heard anything from the Earl. Enclose copy of a letter from the Lord of Louth; also copy of one from the Earl to Feagh M'Hugh.—Dublin, 1596, September 28.

Under the address is written:—"Haste, haste, post haste, haste." *Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch, the third of October." *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

45. I. *John Morgan to* ———. *Report of Thomas Louth, from Dungannon, that the Earl of Tyrone lately received from the Spaniards a packet of letters, and that one ship with Spaniards had arrived in Tyrconnell. The Earl was ready on the morning of the* 23*rd instant to take horse for Tyrconnell to confer with the Spaniards.—Newry,* 1596, *September* 24. *p.* 1.

45. II. *Captain Francis Stafford to* [*Sir Geffrey Fenton*]. *Is given to understand that, on the* 22*nd instant, the Earl received from O'Donnell a packet of letters, which seem to concern matters of importance. Hastening of the Earl to Tyrconnell. Is informed a Spanish ship has arrived there, and that there are more at sea, ready to arrive, but where he cannot learn. It is an old proverb, "he is half armed, which is well warned." If probabilities and proofs may persuade a truth, the treachery of Ireland is daily more and more manifested. Therefore begs him to persuade the Lord Deputy and the Lord General to concentrate some sufficient force near Dublin, to defend it against any unlooked-for attack.—Newry,* 1596, *September* 25. *p.* 1.

45. III. *Thomas Scurlocke's declaration. A declaration by me Thomas Scurlocke, a merchant factor of Dublin, of such matters as I heard reported in Spain, returning from Bilbao,* 26 *August, and landing at the said place of Dublin,* 25 *September* 1596, *being commanded hereunto by the Council upon my said return. Returning from Bilbao, where I was employed upon my master's services, I heard it there reported that the King of Spain was preparing a great navy in three special places of his kingdom, at Lisbon, Ferrio* [*Ferrol*], *and Cyvell* [*Seville*], *for the disturbing of*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*some parts of Her Majesty's dominions, but whither I know not, but that I heard it that they purposed with all the best speed they may they will go forward; and yet the greatness of their fleet, being such as hath not been heretofore of long time set forth, will keep them from stirring this year; but the time certain of their going forth I heard not spoken of, neither am I able to set down the number of their fleet, but as the general report gave me to know, that it was as great as ever was set forth at one time, and that their going will be as soon as they can thoroughly furnish it, which will ask the longer time in respect of their late great loss, received by Her Majesty's royal navy. This is as much as I can upon my certain knowledge deliver touching the Spanish fleet purposed to be set forth for some part of Her Majesty's dominions, saving that at the passage I saw twelve of the King's galleons passing for Bluett [Blavet] and Belleisle in Brittany, to bring home all the King's men and munition employed there, for that a league was made between the French King and the King of Spain. Endorsed:—27 September* 1596. *p.* 1.

45. IV. *The Baron of Louth to the Lord Chancellor Loftus. Knowing your Honour to have the charge in my Lord Deputy's absence, [I] think it fit to certify your Lordship of the miserable state of this poor country. Yesterday my tenants of Louth were preyed. Thomas Gernon, of Killincool, and his men, hearing the cry, and for that he denied them of a buying, came forth, and was wounded with two of his men. My mother in the Carrick was prayed by a great number within these two nights. It is reported that eighteen ships are landed within these two days at Loughfoyle, and, if speedy redress be not taken, we shall be overrun. The mighty God amend our calamity.—Fallonslow,* 1596, *September* 26, *Copy. p.* 1.

45. V. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Feagh M'Hugh. [Duplicate of inclosure* I. *to letter of September* 25, *No.* 32.] *The Curlews in Connaught,* 1596, *September* 12. *On this copy it is stated that Feagh delivered the original to Captain Montague, who was sent to him by the Lord Deputy to let him understand Her Majesty's gracious favour towards him. Copy. p.* 1.

Sept. 28. Coventry. 46. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Being constrained, in necessity for my safety and true purgation, to avoid the hard measure and indirect proceedings of my adversaries against me in Ireland, to appeal unto Her Majesty (the true pattern of justice) and to my especial good lord your Honour's father and yourself, I have emboldened myself upon the innocency of my cause, not as one fleeing from justice, but as a distressed true servant seeking release in a case of extremity, being driven thereunto by the practice of my malicious adversaries, who work to their utmost my overthrow, most indirectly, contrary to the rules of law and justice, which, God pleased, I will evidently lay open to your Honour, being

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

coming towards the same with the best convenience that my old years will permit. I thought meet, lest any misinformation of me should be made to your Honour, to hasten these few lines unto you, myself, the Lord granting me health, purposing to attend your Honour to-morrow or on Thursday next: in which meanwhile, humbly recommending myself to your honourable good censure, craving pardon for my boldness, I humbly take leave.—Coventry, 1596, September 28. *p.* 1.

Sept. 29. Dublin. 47. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others of the Council, to the Privy Council. The manner of proceeding to be held in Sir Richard Bingham's causes. The appointment of Sir Robert Gardener to act with Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Sir Richard's disregard of the Council's order, and his flight into England. Particulars by John King, his servant. Await further instructions from their Lordships, or from the Lord Deputy who is in Feagh M'Hugh's country. Inclose copies of letter from Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy, and of Sir Richard Bingham's petition to themselves.—Dublin, 1596, September 29.

Under the address is written, "Haste, post haste." *Endorsed:* —"Received at Nonsuch, the 4th of October." *pp.* 1½. *Inclose,*

47. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy. Has received his letters stating that the complaints against Sir Richard Bingham are to be tried at Athlone. Inadvisability of Sir Richard coming there so soon, before the complainants can have notice given them. Quarrelsome and mutinous dependents of his at Athlone. Sir Robert Gardener, a man noted of the world to bear a singular affection to Sir Richard, and himself touched in some of the matters mentioned in the complaints. Is of opinion that those extraordinary courses, wherewith Her Majesty is so highly offended, proceeded chiefly from him. The people will think he is sent to bolster up Sir Richard's cause. Thinks some other should be appointed: also, that a new commission should be sent to them for handling these causes.—Athlone, 1596, September 19. Copy. p.* 1.

47. II. *Petition of Sir Richard Bingham, knight, to the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council at Dublin. Has long attended in Dublin, craving to be heard upon the complaints against him. Sir John Norreys's exceptions to the appointment of Sir Robert Gardener. Indirect taking of witnesses by Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton, and their other unlawful courses against him. Appeals to the Queen, the fountain of justice. Is ready to abide any trial before competent judges, and to receive punishment, if found guilty. Prays that his friends may not be prosecuted, until Her Majesty's pleasure shall be further known, he and they having most truly served Her Majesty these twelve years in Ireland, as their Lordships know.—No date. Copy. pp.* 1½.

Sept. 30. Dublin. 48. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others of the Council, to the Privy Council. Send further reports about the landing of

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

Spaniards. The intelligences vary, but carry matter sufficient to ground an opinion of some dangerous attempt to be intended out of hand against Ireland by Spain. The Earl of Tyrone went down in person to them upon the first warning that they were landed, which is now fourteen days past, and has given no notice thereof at all. The facilities he had for advertising the Council from day to day, if he had so willed. Have regularly written of these intelligences to the Lord Deputy and Sir John Norreys, and have now asked them to come and consult for the safety of Ireland, which, in their opinion, stands in great peril. Her Majesty's forces being divided into sundry parts, by reason of sundry employments abroad, the means are the less, and further off, to succour the seat and heart of the State, viz., the English Pale and Dublin. Against these they doubt more of some sudden, dangerous, attempt, if the Spaniards be landed in any numbers, than against any other part of Ireland. There are nightly incursions made, spoiling and burning the subjects of the Pale, even to the river of Boyne northward. The like is done from the mountains by Feagh M'Hugh and his rabble. Necessity for the 3,000 foot and 300 horse asked for in July last, together with victuals, money, and munition. The Master of the Ordnance reports that there are only seventeen barrels of powder in store. Think the forces should be presently sent to the waterside to be transported, and they can be easily countermanded if not required.—Dublin, 1596, September 30. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

48. I. *Ro. Gosnould to Captain Baker. Has received certain news that the Spaniards in nine ships have landed in Sir John O'Dogherty's country, called Ennezon,* [*Inisowen*] *and that the rest are looked for by the first wind. The Earl of Tyrone has ridden down in all post haste, very secretly, taking no more than two men who could speak Spanish. Before he went, he made proclamation in Dungannon that, upon pain of death, no man should say anything of the ships that were come, for they were but Scottish. Will not judge for what cause is the Earl's departure.—Armagh,* 1596. *September* 27. *Endorsed:—"Received at Nonsuch, the 5th of October." Copy. p.* ½.

48. II. *Richard Weston to* ———. *The Spaniards landed at Killibeggs on the* 18*th of September. As yet there are but "two great ships with great store of munition, and no great store of people." They are come to know the Earl's and O'Donnell's pleasure. O'Donnell sent to the Earl on the* 22*nd, and the Earl went to Donegal the next day. If the Spaniards and the Earl agree, there is a great fleet presently to arrive.—Newry,* 1596, *September* 29. *Endorsed:—"Received at Nonsuch, the 5th of October." p.* ½.

48. III. *Declaration made to Sir Geffrey Fenton in writing,* 29*th September* 1596. *The writer, on September* 2, *passed from Bilbao to St. Sebastian, his shipping and goods being stayed in Spain, and he taking the shortest way home. The Governor of Bayonne*

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

*was there to conclude with the Governor of St. Sebastian touching the articles of a peace between the King of Spain and the King of France. All the nobility of Navarre were to meet at Paris touching the setting up of mass, and building anew the churches. It was reported, but not openly, that the King of France was to match himself with the King of Spain's daughter.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 30. Dublin. 49. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Varying nature of the reports as to the landing of the Spaniards. Thinks they have an absolute intention to disturb Her Majesty in Ireland in some measure. There is no further assurance of the Earl of Tyrone and the other submitters in Ulster and Connaught, but that they will break loose again, if they see that by Spanish aid their party may be made strong; for none of them are without their dregs of disloyalty. Thinks the Earl the best of them, and that he would have been made assured by a few lines from Her Majesty's sacred self. The Earl's going to commune with the Spaniards, and sending no word to the State for fourteen days, makes show of his unsoundness. Advises a levy of forces to be held in readiness for Ireland, so that, in case of necessity, they may be suddenly sent over.

If Feagh M'Hugh might now be taken in, with any honourable provisions, it would do much to appease the general storm of the realm, or at least to make suspicious to the Spaniards, the hopes and promises that have been made to them by Ulster and Connaught. It might easily have been done, before the present prosecution of Feagh began. Doubts not that it will be objected, that it is not honourable for Her Majesty to have him taken in. In respect of himself, Feagh is worthy of no favour, but, inasmuch as the iniquity of the time straineth the State [in Ireland] to do unworthy things, the indignity of this point is avoided. By his taking in, the safety of Ireland is assured, and, contrariwise, if he be suffered still to live as a Robin Hood, he will be a ground of a great desolation in the English Pale, if not the whole ruin thereof. The staying of Feagh will break the combinations of the north.—Dublin, 1596, September 30. *pp.* 1½.

Sept. 30. Athlone. 50. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Informed the chief gentlemen of Connaught of Her Majesty's pleasure that the complaints against Sir Richard Bingham should be heard in the Province. Their perplexity on his flight increased by divers reports spread abroad by Sir Richard's brother, nephew, and others. Committed the brother to the Constable's house at Athlone, there to remain till the Lord Deputy's further pleasure were known. Wrote thereof to the Lord Deputy, and said he thought it very requisite that his Lordship and the Council should write some general letters to the chief gentlemen of Connaught, letting them know that Her Majesty would be much displeased with this contemptuous departure of Sir Richard, which was altogether unknown to the State; that, notwithstanding, they should not despair of

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

having their causes duly heard, and their wrongs, where proved, redressed; and that fit Commissioners should be appointed for that purpose with all convenient speed. Protested to his Lordship that, unless this course were held, it would be in vain for him to labour to persuade the people that there was any meaning to have the true manner of Sir Richard Bingham's government brought to light. Finds not the handling of the State in these matters such as, in his opinion, were fit for Her Majesty's service.

O'Donnell's dealings with the Spanish ship that arrived at Killibeggs. O'Rourke also sent to know the news. O'Donnell had had ready for a month, to go to Spain, a bark with a man of his own, one James Crehan a merchant, but the wind and weather had prevented its leaving the harbour. O'Connor Don, through whom the news of the arrival of the Spanish ship had come to Norreys, thought it most requisite for a ship or two of Her Majesty's, if any were near the coast of Ireland, to repair to Killibeggs, and take the Spanish ship and O'Donnell's bark. There will be no cause this winter to doubt [fear] of any Spanish succour coming to the rebels. Thinks Her Majesty has great cause to look to be disburdened of a great part of her charge in Ireland; but the Lord Deputy may not consent to this. If Her Majesty thinks fit not to endure this underhand dealing of the Earl and O'Donnell, he [Norreys] advises a present prosecution of them, and, that well handled, before the next spring, they would be glad to renounce the Spaniards, and Connaught with good usage might be kept from joining with them. Protests he will undertake nothing in the state he is in, being unable to bear the heavy burden of the Chief Governor's disfavour.—Athlone, 1596, September 30. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Richmond the 18th of October." *pp.* 5.

Sept. 30. 51. Causes which moved Sir Richard Bingham to repair into England to appeal for justice.

First. Sir Richard Bingham being ready to go to Athlone, and to have been at Mullingar the 22nd of September, he was advertised that Sir Geffrey Fenton, one of the Commissioners, had set from Athlone, the 17th day, and was in his way to Dublin, which fell out accordingly, for he came to Dublin the 20th day; but for that he being one of the Commissioners and absent, the rest could not proceed. Sir Richard sent to him to know when he would repair back to Athlone; he returned him answer, that he knew not.

Secondly. Sir John Norreys had placed his brother Sir Thomas in Sir Richard's charge, before Her Majesty's pleasure was known in Ireland that the same should be sequestrated, as by his letter to the Lord Deputy of the 16th of September appeareth (which proveth Sir Richard's former affirmation, that Sir John laboured the place for one of his brothers, to be true); and withal in the said letter Sir John certifieth the Lord Deputy that there was no commodity in Athlone for Sir Richard, a thing very strange, Sir Richard paying 50*l.* per annum to Her Majesty therefore.

1596. Vol. CXCIII.

Thirdly. Captain John Bingham advertised Sir Richard by letter of the 20th of September, which he received the 22nd at Dublin, that Sir John Norreys had taken all Sir Richard's provision of malt, the custom wood and fishing belonging by establishment to the house for maintenance of the ward; not respecting that Sir Richard paid 50*l.* a year therefore, and had a special grant thereof from Her Majesty; and how Sir John would turn all out of the castle but the constable and ward, the said captain wishing that Sir Richard had seen Her Majesty and the Lords, seeing the two Commissioners, namely Sir John and Sir Geffrey, observed no course of justice, but took all for good which the rebels said.

Fourthly. By a letter from the said captain of the 21st, which Sir Richard received the 22nd, he advertiseth that Sir John Norreys sent for him, and told him that Sir Richard was to come to Athlone, as a private man accused, to answer all matters; and that at his coming he might not lodge in the Castle, because Sir John was to sequester all things, which by Her Majesty's letter was not in his power, as he heard.

Fifthly. By a letter from the said captain of the 22nd, which Sir Richard received in Dublin the 23rd, he advertised that Sir Richard should not come through to Athlone, but be stayed in the Dillons' country, some five or six miles short of Athlone, and have none of his friends near him, but should be used altogether as a man utterly disgraced and thrown down in the eyes of those base traitors, which he had governed 12 years, and be at the mercy of the Irish, to be murdered or subjected to the like danger; not any of Sir Richard's own horsemen or footmen permitted to come to meet him for his safety in passing through the country, or himself suffered to lodge in the Castle; and withal how he heard that Sir John Norreys had taken exceptions to Sir Robert Gardener to be one in the Commission with him and Sir Geffrey; such is their extreme course towards Sir Richard.

Sixthly. For that it appeareth by Sir John Norreys's own letter to the Lord Deputy of the 19th of September, that he could not so soon attend to proceed to the hearing of Sir Richard's causes, for that (as should seem) he had not matter to his liking to inculp him withal, thinking it fit that Sir Richard should not come to Athlone, but be near at hand, as his brother had formerly advertised him; and having appointed to meet the Earl of Tyrone upon the frontiers of Ulster about the 8th of October, to receive the pledges of the North, and granted respite for fourteen days to the supposed M'William to bethink himself to come in, and besides taking exceptions to Sir Robert Gardener, who was especially named by Her Majesty to be in the Commission, all which Sir John did only to protract time to obtain some farther matter against Sir Richard, which yet he had not compassed, Sir Richard considering all these and many other delays in working, by the said Sir John and Sir Geffrey, to defer time in hope to work his condemnation and overthrow, before ever it should appear what he could answer for his true justification. And withal, noting their hard and unusual

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

course of proceeding against him, contrary to all the rules of law and justice, he emboldened himself to appeal to your Honours (the fountain of wisdom) for relief in this his great distress, which he most humbly beseecheth your Lordships, upon the knees of his heart, to afford him; and to be his honourable mean to Her Majesty, in regard of his old years, and acceptable services done to Her Highness, to turn away her heavy indignation from him, till it appear what he can justly answer in the defence of his innocency. And also that it would please your Honours for some speedy course that his causes may be heard and tried before indifferent Commissioners, namely, if it may stand with your Lordships' favourable allowance, to draw the hearing of them back according Her Majesty's pleasure, and your Honours', formerly signified, before the whole Council, where everything may appear in his true nature, without partiality; before whom, if he appear any way guilty, he desireth no favour but severity of punishment; which trial he most humbly beseecheth your Honours to grant him, in regard of his aged years, his painful and true services, which he hath continued under Her Majesty and her predecessors these 47 years past, without any just act of reprehension, whatsoever his adversaries have or shall surmise to the contrary. And he, according his most bounden duty to your Honours, shall daily pray, &c. *Endorsed*:—30 September 1596. *Copy. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

51. 1. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. Desirability of the Vice President of Munster* (*Sir Thomas Norreys*) *having the government of Connaught. The decision in the causes of Sir Richard Bingham will not be given for some time, their Lordships having intermitted the hearing of them until the 6th or 8th of October. The meeting with the Earl on the borders of the Brenny. Philip O'Reilly to be reduced. Norreys must leave the Province for the hearing of Sir Richard's causes at Dublin: none so meet to supply his place in the army as Sir Thomas Norreys. Have written to the Privy Council.—Athlone,* 1596, *September* 16. *Copy. p.* 1.

September. 52. Memorial for Maurice Kyffin for the distribution of certain sums of money to ten captains, appointed to levy and conduct a thousand soldiers to be sent into Ireland. *Endorsed*.—1596, September. *Copy. pp.* 3.

September. 53. Instructions for Maurice Kyffin, sent to Chester to further the transportation of 1,000 footmen into Ireland, and afterwards to repair into that country, and enter upon his charge there. *Endorsed*:—1596, September. *Copy. pp.* 2.

[September.] 54. Note of the matters, concerning which the Earl of Kildare desires that letters in his favour may be sent to the Lord Deputy. Restitution of preys taken by M'Cartan. Restoration of certain

1596. VOL. CXCIII.

lands for which the Earl's father and himself have been for twenty years suitors. License for the transportation of 4,000 quarters of corn. The matter of Sligo. *p.* 1.

September. 55. Petition of the Earl of Kildare to Queen Elizabeth. Nine years since he first made complaint of his wrongs to Her Majesty, and received her gracious letters into Ireland for remedy, but has hitherto obtained none. His great impoverishment and spoil by the rebels. For five years he made suit to the Council in Ireland about the preyings and burnings in Lecale, and at length got three commissions to the Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall, for enforcing the rebel M'Cartan to do him right, but none of these commissions has been executed. The Earl of Tyrone offered with 2,000 men to remedy his wrongs, but, suspecting his practices, he presently discovered his letter to the State. Tyrone's consequent malice. "He hath left nothing unburned that could be burned in all the country, and in that wasted manner my poor country remaineth at this present." His employment, with other noblemen, to Ardee, and their return for want of victuals. His sundry other chargeable employments. The late Earl of Kildare left petitioner in great debt; bequeathed 1,600*l.* a year to petitioner's mother, 200*l.* to Lady Garrett, 300*l.* a year to his brother, and various portions to divers base children; but to petitioner he left the title. "The greatness of my ancestors' titles remains with me, but their estate of living altogether decayed." His grandfather was attainted, but his father was restored. Is kept from the benefit of this restitution, and also, on the plea of supposed later attainders, from those lands which were held by his ancestors long before the attainder. Desires leave to traverse Her Majesty's title to these lands. If it be found that they have been withheld wrongfully from him, prays that he may be allowed the arrearages on his debts or rents. Also, that he may have the arrearages of 42*l.* a year on his lands in Catherlagh, withheld by Her Majesty for thirty-three years together, without any recompense at all. *Endorsed*:—1596, September. *pp.* 2.

[September.] 56. Extract from a letter of Edmund O'Reilly to the Lord of Delvin, advertising that of late there came a number of Spaniards towards Lough Foyle, and that O'Neill [Tyrone] and O'Donnell visited them. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch the 5th of October." *p.* ½.

[September.] 57. Anthony Brabazon to the Lord President [Sir John Norreys]. Spake with one who saw the Spaniards land in O'Donnell's country, and who says that more are landed in the Earl's country. Ferdorogh O'Kelly knows of this, but he keeps it secret. Will send a messenger to ascertain the numbers, if the Lord President pleases. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Nonsuch the 5th of October." *Copy.* *p.* ½.

[September.] 58. Duplicate of preceding. *p.* ½.

## Vol. CXCIV. 1596. October.

Oct. 2. Camp at Rathdrum.

1. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. Hopes the Council in Dublin keeps them well advertised concerning the landing of Spaniards in the north. Encloses letters from the Bishop of Meath, "whose intelligencer hath often told us truth," from an officer of Captain Baker's, and from the Lord President. Is forced to keep the field, both to restrain the Kavanaghs, Byrnes, Butlers, and others, from joining Feagh M'Hugh, as otherwise they would have done by this time, even to the gates of Dublin, and also to make head against the Spaniards at their landing, if any more forces arrive about Waterford, as one advice imports. Besides, both there and at Wexford, Father Arthur and divers other Jesuits and seminaries are lately landed, "who are commonly the forerunners to such attempts, by preparing the people's minds fit to receive them, as these will sooner be most apt, in regard they are far gone in popery and superstition, and most devilishly bent to do mischief." Begs again for the promised forces, with treasure, munition, and three months' victual. These may now no longer be deferred, without the loss of Ireland. Has often foretold this, but it was not his good hap to be believed, because some others were of another opinion, or at least made such show as prevailed. Fears there will be cause to repent this.—The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, October 2. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

1. I. [*Thomas Jones*] *Bishop of Meath, to the Lord Chancellor* [*Loftus*]. *Duplicate of the Bishop's letter, dated September* 1. *This copy puts the date as September* 28, *and is endorsed, "Received at Nonsuch the sixth of October." p.* 1.

1. II. *Ro. Gosnould to Captain Baker. See inclosure* I. *to letter of September* 30, *No.* 48.—*Armagh,* 1596, *September* 27. *Copy. p.* 1.

1. III. *Postscript of Sir John Norreys's letter of September* 26, 1596, *stating that three ships were reported to have come upon the coast of O'Donnell's country. Copy. p.* ½.

Oct. 2. Camp at Rathdrum.

2. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires his best furtherance for the sending of the forces, treasure, munition, and victual, asked for in his letter of this date to the Council. Rejection of his advice made him desire to be revoked. Is now, notwithstanding, resolved to do the best he can to make head against the Spaniards at their landing, if they happen to arrive thereabout, "as no doubt the greatest force will." Leaves the success to God. "I protest, before God, that if present forces be not sent us with all expedition, all the English Pale will be ready to revolt, myself not knowing whom I may trust."—The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, October 2. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCIV.

1596.
Oct. 2 Dublin. 3. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Arrival of 13,684*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* in ready money, under the charge of his servant Johnson. Is very glad that Burghley is satisfied with the statement of his accounts from 1 October 1595 to 30 June 1596. Has given Burghley's instructions to the muster-master, the victualler, and the master of the ordnance. Losses on the victualling money. Where Burghley says that in their demands for victuals they must consider how difficult it is in a time of dearth to make provision of corn in England, he holds it their duty to make their requests according to the necessities of the service, which can endure no lacks, but must be either supplied or hindered. Is exceedingly sorry to hear of the great dearth and scarcity in England, especially in the parts of Cheshire and Lancashire. The like dearth in Ireland, through the spoiling by traitors, the burden of soldiers, and the extremity of foul weather. Munster in the most favourable condition. Thinks a great sum might be saved if *id.* or ij*d.* per day were allowed to each soldier for victualling himself; the soldier would be the better supplied.

Is sorry Burghley is importuned by suitors for their money on the writer's bills. Difficulties of moving Her Majesty for money for Ireland. Burghley's wish that Wallop would come over himself about it, and take the charge thereof. Where his Lordship succeeds so little, Wallop will prevail nothing. His constant and important duties in Ireland. His allowance no greater than that of his predecessors, and he is put to greater expense. Is ready, if he receives Her Majesty's license, to go to England to advise about affairs in Ireland; but pleads the privilege of his years, which make him unfit and unable for so great a travail. Is not ignorant how necessary it is that some sufficient Councillor were sent from Dublin to attend Her Majesty and the Privy Council, to inform and resolve them of many things that letters leave questionable and doubtful. "But, my good Lord, I am sorry to say, yet must say it because it is a truth, the discountenance and disgrace that encountered and checked Sir Robert Gardener in his last employment thither, hath bred such example and terror in all others here, as indeed they are not only discouraged but much afraid to undertake the like. Nevertheless I would some were appointed to it, for I know it is a thing most necessary and needful."

Complains that the Commissioners in Connaught have acquainted them but little with the course held in the treaty negotiations. Is of opinion that nothing is purposed by the traitors in general, but persisting in their rebellion, and practising by winning of time to gain more advantages. "For Tyrone in particular, his greatness already purchased (whereto he hath found no small furtherance by the cessations), and his hopes to raise the same to a higher pitch by the encouragements and helps he continually hath from Spain, the one and the other hath made him so presuming and insolent, as I am persuaded he abaseth (*sic*) Her Majesty's grace and mercy and intendeth nothing but his own raising so high as I trust her Majesty will never permit, but he shall the nearer and nearer grow

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

to, if he be any longer dallied with."—Dublin, 1596, October 2. *pp.* 3½.

Oct. 3. Dublin. 4. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. His great grief at Her Majesty's sharp postscript written by her own hand. His gratitude for Burghley's answer on his behalf. His answers to the charges of negligence and lavish expenditure of the Queen's treasure, and of often calling and pressing for money. He has been maliced and maligned for the care he has had of Her Majesty's profit. Her Majesty's charge far surmounts the proportions of money or victual sent. Great lack endured by the soldiers. Expense occasioned by the long entertained cessation in Connaught. Has used all his skill and care in respect of the extraordinary charges. Cannot refuse any payment that the Lord Deputy absolutely commands him to make. The money spent on the Connaught service was 6,250*l.* and not only 1,200*l.* as reported. Has written a few lines to Her Majesty protesting his innocency, and asking for leave to appear before her and receive his trial.—Dublin, 1596, October 3. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 4. Dublin. 5. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Her Majesty's displeasure against him, and his grief thereat. Hopes to be restored to her favour through the intercession of Burghley and Cecil.—Dublin, 1596, October 4. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

5. I. *Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Copy of preceding letter to the Lord Treasurer.—Dublin,* 1596, *October* 3. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 5. Dublin. 6. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. One Spanish ship only has arrived at Killybeggs. Has sent the same spy that brought the information to pass along the coast from Killibeggs to Lough Foyle. The submitters in Connaught stand firm still. The people there urge the hearing of their complaints against Sir Richard Bingham, as Her Majesty promised. The longer this is deferred, the less assured will be the resettling of Connaught, and the further off the gathering of the composition from the people. The Lord Deputy's war with Feagh M'Hugh will trouble this State more than all the rest. Spoiling by the rebels near Dublin.—Dublin, 1596, October 5. *Endorsed*:—"Received at Richmond the 18th of the same." *Seal. p.* 1.

Oct. 6. Dublin. 7. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. One bark only sent to hold the rebels in hope of great succours from Spain, and to interrupt the pacification both in Ulster and Connaught. Does not know what letters she brought, nor what conferences passed. Loyal conduct of the submitters in Connaught. The supposed M'William, being foolish above the rest, remains unreceived, but might come in, if some course were taken against Sir Richard Bingham, against whom he and his faction the Burkes complain bitterly. The spoiling of the English Pale so great and frequent, that, if order be not taken out of hand, the subjects will not be able to endure it. Already it is come to this, that one neighbour refuses to contribute to the safety

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

and defence of another. Many gentlemen of the Pale have broken out and run to the rebels; more will follow till they see the common danger provided for. The Earl and the rest of Ulster and the Brenny have gathered their forces, and are keeping them together. No likelihood of their dispersal till they see what order shall be taken with Feagh. His prosecution should be stayed. Philip O'Reilly, a most subtle and resolute traitor, is slain. The Earl of Ormonde has apprehended, of his blood and kindred, Viscount Mountgarrett and his son, and Sir Edmund Butler and his wife, who are to be brought to the Castle of Dublin.—Dublin, 1596, October 6. *pp.* 2.

Oct. 6. 8. Exceptions taken by Sir John Norreys to the petition of Sir Richard Bingham to the Lord Deputy and Council.—1596, October 6. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 7. 9. Note of Captains for Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1596, October 7. *p.* 1.

Oct. 7. 10. A rate for the wages, &c. of 2,000 men for Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1596, October 7. *p.* 1.

Oct. 7. 11. Note of counties for levy of men for Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1596, October 7. *pp.* 1¼.

Oct. 8. Rathdrum. 12. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Acknowledges certain letters from the Privy Council, which he has been unable to answer before. The articles against Sir Richard Bingham were not sent with his answers, either through an omission of the clerk, or because it was thought that the Council had the copy formerly sent. The forces asked for wanted against the expected arrival of the Spaniards. Must needs have cause of grief at the unfortunate accidents in his time of government, which are not in his power to remedy, as things have been carried. So has long been desirous to be revoked. The Earl of Ormonde gave knowledge of the stirs in Leinster, and promised his uttermost service upon the rebels, especially upon his bad nephews. A reasonable force will subdue all the rebels, if the Spaniards yield them no succours. If they do, there is great danger every way. Influence of the Earl of Ormonde. He has promised also to meet the Lord Deputy with a good round force, if the Spaniards should land; and further, to apprehend the Lord of Mountgarrett, and his son that married the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, and that pretends title both to Desmond and Ormonde.—Rathdrum, 1596, October 8. *pp.* 4.

Oct. 8. Rathdrum. 13. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Excuses himself for not having answered certain letters received shortly before his starting against Feagh M'Hugh. Her Majesty's displeasure with the state of Ireland. Cecil says that the Lord Deputy and others are guilty of much of their own troubles. Sir John Norreys and he are entered into taxation of each other, and he doubts not

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

advantage will be taken of this, though it were in a country that yielded no other soreness. Foresaw so much from the beginning. His endeavours to satisfy Sir John Norreys, against whom he at length stood on his guard. Desires to be revoked, as he abhors dwelling in contention. Sir John Norreys runs a course of pacification to the endangering of the kingdom. Is not credited when he finds fault therewith. "It would be more for Her Majesty's service, that the whole might be trusted upon one man, to be thoroughly countenanced and backed, and all little enough, if not too little, than upon two that differ in opinion." Cannot with safety use his superior authority. Has thought it fittest in the great matter of the treaty to let Sir John Norreys run his own course without contradiction, holding it sufficient to signify his own opinion. Acknowledges his own private discontentment is very great. With reference to Cecil's inquiry as to the employment of Scots, says that three thousand Scots, well led by a man affected to Her Majesty, would do more service upon the Ulster rebels than double their numbers of English; because they would victual themselves, are light of foot, and hard-bred. "In the last your Honor hath well concluded that this land is cursed to them that touch it." In the matter of Sir Richard Bingham, he has, it seems, displeased all parties. Sir Robert Gardener excepted against. Sir Richard Bingham thought he could not be indifferently heard, and therefore straight took his course for England.—Rathdrum, 1596, October 8. *pp.* 6.

Oct. 14. Dublin. 14. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Inclose O'Connor Sligo's petition that he may be placed in Ballymote with an English garrison, until the castle of Sligo is re-edified, and that he may have her Majesty's entertainment for 200 able men of that county. Do not recommend either request. Have given O'Connor Sligo forty pounds of Her Majesty's liberality, as he has but small means to live on, in order that he may do service to Her Majesty in Connaught.—Dublin, 1596, October 14. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

14. I. *Petition of Donogh O'Connor Sligo to the Lord Deputy and Council.*—[1596, *October.*] *p.* 1.

Oct. 14. Dublin Castle. 15. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. Difficulties of getting certain news as to the arrival of Spaniards in the north, owing to the handling of the matter by the Earl of Tyrone. Both the Earl and O'Donnell have had long and secret conference with the Spaniards that came. Thinks the subversion of Ireland is intended. The rebels do not desire grace and mercy, or they might have them. Feagh M'Hugh, even in the time of his protection, most treacherously practised to recover his house of Ballinacor, knowing also that Her Majesty was ready to pardon him for his offences. Donnell Spainagh, a chief man among the Kavanaghs, joined himself with Feagh by oath, immediately after he had received his pardon. Many others, both in Leinster and Munster,

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

have been enticed and stirred up to take arms, under colour of religion, by those rebels of the North, who promised that they would assist them, after Tyrone had received his pardon, as appears, under the hands of the Earl, O'Donnell, and others, by the instrument lately sent to their Lordships. Further, by the example that, both in Ulster and Connaught, they are allowed their Macs and Oes, and are now restored to their lands, all the other rebels intend to stand upon the like. So, if the course of pacification be continued, it must be resolved that Her Majesty shall bestow no foot of land on any English servitor, and that such as have any land already shall not enjoy the same: but all is to be possessed by the Irish, which is the highway to the loss of the kingdom. Irish practices with Spain. Continual spoiling on the borders of the Pale. Wasting and razing of castles in Lecale. Intercepting of victuals sent to Armagh. Killing of some of the ward at the Narrow water. Daily sending of shot to Feagh M'Hugh. Devices to draw out the work of pacification. Putting in of pledges of small account. Things are done to some certain end, either to bring in the Spaniard, who is now said to be setting forces to the sea in great numbers, or else to get the kingdom to themselves.

Is newly come from the Ranelagh, having left there some force to finish the fortification at Rathdrum, near Ballinacor. Means to return very shortly, to stop the Kavanaghs, Byrnes, Tooles, Butlers, and Eustaces, from joining Feagh, as, if they be not very well looked to, they will do, and then will Leinster be in as bad a state as Ulster: and also, to make head against the Spaniards, should they land in such numbers as is supposed. Promises of the Earl of Ormonde. Has beaten a great part of Feagh's "glynnes," carried away 600 or 700 of his cows, and killed and taken some of his best men, one being his brother. If he might follow him but till Christmas next, he would make him a very bush kern, and not leave him above two men to follow him. Still, because he finds little comfort in his service, and small credit given to his advices, he begs for his speedy revocation.

Sir Thomas North arrived on the 11th inst., with one company of the 1,000 foot, directed to come to Ireland. The rest they look for daily. Ask for victuals and treasure for them: also for munition, as they have not full ten barrels of powder left. Philip O'Reilly slain; he was "a man of great courage and spirit, a most dangerous and bad neighbour to the Pale, the Earl of Tyrone's special counsellor to contrive mischief in time of peace, and as it were his right hand to execute it in time of war."

Encloses letter from the Earl of Tyrone, whose statements about the Lord President's promise, and about those who intercepted the victuals going to Armagh are untrue. Yet some believe them. "It is to be observed that he maketh no mention of any Spaniards." Apprehension of Lord Mountgarrett and his son by the Earl of Ormonde. Five more companies of foot have arrived.—Dublin Castle, 1596, October 14. *pp.* 5. *Incloses.*

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

15. I. *Captain Francis Stafford to [the Council in Dublin]. On the 5th instant, a convoy from the garrison of Armagh, conducting some provisions thither under charge of Captain Ashendon's ensign and the Clerk of the Store, James Pearce, was overthrown by Ever Boy M'Donnell. On the same day some of the ward of the Narrow water were slain. The garrisons at Armagh, Newry, and Carlingford, are very weak, and require reinforcements. Spoilings by some of the Hanlons.—Newry,* 1596, *October* 5. *Copy. pp.* 2.

15. II. *John Morgan to Sir William Clark. The killing of Captain Ashendon's ensign and his convoy. Some of the ward of the Narrow water slain. The Earl [of Tyrone] with all his forces is presently to come upon those borders, with six weeks' victuals. It is said there are divers ships not far from Sligo, and at Killibeggs one galley with oars, waiting for the result of the next meeting between the Earl and the Lord President. More men wanted at Armagh and Newry: except they be speedily looked unto, both places will smart.—Newry,* 1596, *October* 6. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. III. *Captain Charles Eggerton to [the Lord Deputy]. General report that there are lately arrived, in M'Swine Bayne's country in Tyrconnell, ten Spanish ships with men of war, and the Earl is said to have gone unto their post. Knows not whether the report is true. Has received a very threatening letter from Brian M'Art M'Baron [O'Neill], who heretofore was wont to seek for his friendship. Has been sent warning that he intends hurt to Knockfergus.—Knockfergus,* 1596, *September* 28. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. IV. *Gyllaboy O'Flannagan to [Sir John Norreys]. Concerning the arrival of a Spanish ship at Killibeggs, and the doings of O'Donnell and O'Rourke therewith. (See letter of Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil of September* 30.)*—Roscommon,* 1596, *September* 28. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. V. *James White, Mayor of Waterford, to [the Lord Deputy]. Has, according to his Lordship's direction, examined for news certain merchants of the town, who left Biscay three weeks before. They say that upon the taking of Cales [Cadiz] all nations were stayed in Spain, and now all again are of late released, saving only Irishmen and such as were of Holland and Zealand. Also, that they took their passage in a French vessel from Portugalete to Plymouth, and that they left their masters in Biscay in suit for release of their ships. They likewise tell that about seven weeks past, twenty great ships with 5,000 men that were in Brittany and at Blovett [Blavet] arrived at Santander, and that they have heard that there were eighty great ships at Lisbon; which two fleets were to join together, and set for England or Ireland. They say further that a small ship of Limerick was pressed at Lisbon with all her company to serve the King of Spain.—Waterford,* 1596, *October* 8. *Copy. p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

15. VI. *Report of John Dowdy, merchant coming from Bilbao. Eighty ships ready at Lisbon, bound for Ireland. Additional ships and men from Santander. Bark sent to Earl of Tyrone with letters of advice. Daily mustering of men throughout Spain.* —1596, *October* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. VII. *Report by Alexander Brett, merchant of Drogheda, coming from Bilbao. As to preparation of ships for the expedition:* 15,000 *men appointed to join it:* 30,000 *or* 40,000 *men under arms.*—1596, *October* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

15. VIII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Finds fault with his prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, which is contrary to the Lord General's promise. Stealth, killing, and prey about the Newry and Armagh.—Dungannon,* 1596, *October* 8. *Copy. p.* 1.

[Oct. 14.] 16. Certificate of the gentlemen of the Byrnes' country, Wexford and Dublin, showing the importance of the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, and the benefits derived therefrom.—[1596, October 14.] *Copy. pp.* 3.

Oct. 14. Dublin Castle. 17. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Arrival of Sir Thomas North with one company, The rest of the foot at Chester for want of transport. Want of treasure, victuals, and munition. Why Sir Henry Wallop returned his man to sue for more money before the 15,000*l.* had arrived. Thanks for hope given of his revocation. Is sorry the loss of Ballinacor was ill taken. The fort at Rathdrum will much more annoy Feagh, whom he expects to bring as low as ever. Philip O'Reilly slain. Encloses copy of letter from the Earl of Tyrone (*see* inclosure VIII. to last). Lord Mountgarrett and his son taken by the Earl of Ormonde. Five more companies of foot have arrived.—Dublin Castle, 1596, October 14. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 14. Dublin Castle. 18. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Has sent his letter touching Sir Richard Bingham to Sir John Norreys. Backwardness of the rebels in receiving their pardons.—Dublin Castle, 1596, October 14. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 15. Dublin Castle. 19. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The delays in Connaught not occasioned by their default. Have done their best to provide for the army there. The Commissioners have kept them ignorant of the course of the negotiations. Will endeavour to prevent any private and particular respects, as it is necessary they should all labour together in unity, to bear up the common service. Great death of soldiers through the infection of the country. Desertions numerous. Mountford walketh up and down the country without being apprehended, for he is pardoned by name in the Earl's pardon. The numbers of soldiers not sufficient to suppress the home rebels. Long sickness of the muster-master. Commissaries should be appointed for the musters. Running over

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

of soldiers to England with counterfeit passports. The treasure received has been duly accounted for. Corn, butter, and cheese wanted. Cannot prescribe any certain course of employment for the soldiers, owing to there being several rebels and disturbers in various parts, and the men must be employed as occasion and necessity shall urge. Sent 2,000, not 200, beeves for the army in Connaught, and promised money for 2,000 more (at 15*s.* a beast) out of the next treasure to come. Bread, too, was well supplied, also munitions and money. Tyrone has got all the pledges of the North and the Brenny in his hands, contrary to the conclusion made at Dundalk. Spoilings in Meath and Louth. Tyrone has spoiled the greatest part of Lecale, and has drawn to himself Magennis and O'Hanlon, two ancient urraghs of Her Majesty. He could not endure to have the castle of Sligo built. Disloyal conduct of the Earl. He has joined of late with O'Donnell in an instrument for raising a stir in Munster for defence of the Catholic religion, but the document was intercepted by the Earl of Ormonde, and sent to their Lordships, with other letters from the Earl and O'Donnell into Spain. The Earl encourages Feagh, and the Butlers and Eustaces all term themselves O'Neill's men. All these things are arguments that, notwithstanding he has received his pardon, the Earl remains corrupted with the dregs of treason, and has no sound heart to Her Majesty. Necessity for the prosecution of Feagh, on account of his open rebellion. Outrages by him. Edmond O'Reilly has taken the name of O'Reilly. Tyrone, with 1,000 men, came to support him, and also to make Mulmorey, eldest son of Sir John O'Reilly, tanist. Thus the Earl still goes on to gripe into his hands more and more such countries as appertain to Her Majesty.—Dublin Castle, 1596, October 15. *Endorsed:*—"Received at London the 29th." *pp.* 13. *Inclose,*

19. I. *Note of victuals sent to Galway and Athlone for the* 600 *horse and* 2,000 *foot under the Lord General in Connaught, between* 1 *May and* 30 *September,* 1596.—1596, *October. p.* 1½.

19. II. *Proportion of victuals for* 500 *horse and* 1,500 *foot, for six months, by Robert Newcomen: "accounting* 28 *days to the month, viz.,* 20 *flesh days, and* 8 *fish days."*—1596, *October* 16. *p.* 1.

19. III. *Certificate by Sir George Bourchier of munition sent to Athlone, Limerick, and Galway, between* 1 *June and* 13 *October,* 1596.—1596, *October. p.* 1.

19. IV. *Note of* 6,446*l.* 13*s.* 7*d. disbursed for the Connaught service out of the Privy Seal for* 12,000*l. dated* 27 *May* 1596.—1596, *October* 8. *pp.* 5½.

19. V. *Note of* 6,501*l.* 13*s.* 0*d., paid out of the Privy Seal of August* 10, 1596, *for the service in Connaught.*—1596, *October* 8. *pp.* 5.

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

19. VI. *Captain Francis Stafford to [the Council at Dublin]. (Duplicate of inclosure* I. *to No.* 15.)—*Newry*, 1596, *October* 5. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

19. VII. *John Morgan to [the Lord Deputy]. The Earl of Tyrone has returned to Dungannon from his conference with the Spaniards. He has taken* 2,400 *men into Connaught, and sent to O'Hanlon to entertain* 100. *Raid by Con, the Earl's son, into the lordship of Newry. Tyrone will be at wars presently, for he has agreed with the Spaniards.—Newry*, 1596, *October* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

19. VIII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Asks him to give direction for the present enlargement of his pledges, who were to be changed every quarter. Is ready to meet him at any time, with nine or ten days' warning. One Spanish bark, wind driven, on the coast of Connaught.*—1596, *September* 30. *Copy. p.* 1.

19. IX. *Lieutenant Ro. Gosnould to Captain Baker. Has received the captain's horse and things, which were lost, with a very honourable letter from the Earl of Tyrone. Warning secretly sent him from Art M'Baron to have a great care that his soldiers straggled not abroad. The Earl has made general musters, and has with him some strangers. An exploit determined against Armagh by the rebels.—Armagh*, 1596, *October* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

Oct. 15. 20. David Burke FitzJohn M'Oliverus to [the Lord Deputy]. Reasons for his being countenanced and supported by the State against Theobald [Tibbott] M'Walter Kittagh [Burke], who will ever be disloyal.—1596, October 15. *p.* ½.

Oct. 16. Dublin. 21. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. It brings no small grief to them to be still troublesome to their Lordships in writing unpleasing matters of this Government, for the safety and defence of which Her Majesty has expended so great sums of treasure, and has seldom reaped but ingratitude and disobedience. So far do they find the infection of treason and disloyalty to be distilled amongst them, that, of the four Provinces of the kingdom, they know not one to be clear, and three of them to be universally corrupted with rebellion in most of the parts thereof.

Unsoundness of many in the English Pale. Ulster, as they have often written to their Lordships, is all gone to the devotion of the Earl of Tyrone, except Knockfergus, and a few other pieces which Her Majesty holdeth by force. The condition thereof is not bettered, but rather made worse, since the Earl received his pardon. He has taken all the pledges of the North, and "doth and may expound himself absolute" through all the Province. His intrigues with Leinster, where Feagh M'Hugh and many others are all at his commandment. Thus a great portion of Leinster is made a

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

party with Ulster, by which their Lordships may judge what is the danger of Ireland, when these two Provinces have made combination together, both of them bordering upon the English Pale, and griping as it were between them the five shires thereof, from the North to the South. In Connaught, though some of the rebels have made their submissions, yet M'William and the Burkes, with the whole county of Mayo, Leitrim, and Sligo (where O'Donnell pulled down nine castles at his last being there), and the O'Flahertes, "a strong nation of people in the county of Galway," stand out still, and adhere as before to O'Donnell and the Earl. So that Province is in effect in the same way of danger as before, and as ready to run to the Spaniard, and receive him, as any part of Ulster. Munster is not free from the impression of the general treason, and has within itself many dangerous disturbers, besides intelligence and correspondence nourished with some of the rebels abroad in other places.

Pray for the despatch of the 3,000 foot and 300 horse many times asked for; also for victuals. In Ireland "is no store to feed the natural-born multitude of the country, much less to sustain others." Corn in the English Pale insufficient to feed the families there till Candlemas next. Specify the victuals wanted. A great quantity of corn could be brought from Denmark to Ireland. Ask for 8,000*l.* to make provision of beef and herrings, which can now be done, and to buy corn in Munster. Nothing is left of the 15,000*l.* last sent over, to answer any occasion howsoever urgent. Do not know where to borrow any money. The ordinary charges are over 8,000*l.* a month, besides extraordinaries. Desire some round sum, otherwise the soldiers, for whom is their greatest care, will be in very lamentable extremities. The Earl of Ormonde has deserved great thanks of Her Majesty for his good service. Philip O'Reilly slain. Edmund O'Reilly has taken upon him the name of O'Reilly, which had been extinguished, and the country divided by allotment to several septs. Have given the Earl of Ormonde commission against his nephews and others.—Dublin, 1596, October 16. *pp.* 5. *Inclose,*

21. I. *A collection of Her Majesty's charge, both ordinary and extraordinary, in Ireland, for a month of thirty days. Endorsed:* —1596, *October* 3. *pp.* 15.

21. II. *Thomas* [*Jones*], *Bishop of Meath, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. —*Philip O'Reilly slain by a bullet in the forehead. A small force now sent to the borders would for ever recover the Brenny. Eighty horse now in Meath could go.—Ardbraccan,* 1596, *October* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

21. III. *Christopher* [*Nugent*], *Baron Delvin, to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *Advance of Philip O'Reilly, who came with three companies of shot, "all apparelled in cassocks of divers colours," probably sent by the Earl, and also with a force of horse. Assistance*

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

*rendered him by M'Mahon, Maguire, and O'Rourke. Measures taken against them. Great spoiling by the rebels in Eastmeath. Several there pay tribute to Philip O'Reilly. Thinks the "Phillipences and Tributaries" should be made to yield their tribute to their natural prince. News that Philip O'Reilly has been slain by one of Shane O'Neill's sons, and Tirlagh M'Henry. Edmund O'Reilly is gone to the stone, to call himself O'Reilly.—Clonin, 1596, October 10. Copy. pp. 2.*

[Oct. 16.] 22. Note of Captains for 1,000 men for Ireland.—[1596, October 16.] *p.* 1.

Oct. 16. Chester. 23. Maurice Kyffin to the Privy Council. Sundry disbursements made by him, as directed by their Lordships. Sends muster rolls of the companies that came to Chester. His difficulties in making these rolls, owing to the sickness of those appointed to assist him. Had no opportunity of help from one Hawkins, who had formerly been used for a muster-master. The Bishop of Gloucester's horses have not yet arrived. Wants to know if he is to wait for them, or to embark at the next opportunity for Ireland.—Chester, 1596, October 16. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

23. I.–X. *Muster rolls of the companies of Captains Ferdinando Weynman, Edward Phyton, Sir Edward Stanley, Henry Folliot, Sir Thomas North, Sir John Bolle, Henry Cromwell, Par Lane, Sir Edward Bowes, and Sir Urian Leigh, taken at Chester from October 2 to October 12.—1596, October 2–12. pp. 41.*

Oct. 16. Chester. 24. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Queries as to certain payments for the companies at Chester. Whether he shall wait for the horses from the Bishop of Gloucester. Whether he shall muster the horses of the Earl of Kildare and Mr. Malbie. Inconvenience from the distance from Chester of the gentlemen appointed to take the musters. Ignorance of Hawkins, the muster-master. The writer's method of mustering preventive of fraud. The bearer, Mr. David Lloyd, (who has been Mayor of Chester) will see to any answer of Burghley being conveyed to the writer.—Chester, 1596, October 16. *pp.* 4.

Oct. 16. Dublin. 25. Donogh O'Connor Sligo to Burghley. His good treatment since coming to Ireland. Note of the message to him from O'Donnell. No proffer shall divert him from his due obedience to the Queen. His presence in the county of Sligo would do some good. Has asked the Lord Deputy and Council to let him have Ballymote, with a company of English soldiers, for the safeguard of his person. —Dublin, 1596, October 16. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

25. I. *Message delivered to O'Connor Sligo from O'Donnell, conveying great offers to him, and threatening, if these are not accepted, to make another of the Connors O'Connor Sligo.*—[1596, *October.*] *p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

Oct. 17. The Fleet. 26. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. The innocency of his cause. Craves for his trial before the Council. Will deliver true and infallible reasons to any thing it shall please his Honour to demand of him.—The prison of the Fleet, 1596, October 17. *p.* 1.

Oct. 18. Dublin. 27. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Is much grieved with Her Majesty's sharp reprehensions for things not in his power to remedy. Insufficiency of the money sent to hold the army on foot in "so miserable and poor a country" as Ireland. His payments for the Connaught service. His payments for extraordinary causes by *concordatum*. Arrival of 600 men from Chester. Four hundred more expected shortly. Asks for 7,000*l.* or 8,000*l.* for the purchase of 5,000 or 6,000 beeves to be salted, 600 or 700 barrels of herrings, and some corn from Munster. A saving will thereby accrue. Her Majesty's debt risen from 21,000*l.* to about 40,000*l.*—Dublin, 1596, October 18. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

27. I. *Book of the issue of* 15,700*l.*, *assigned for Her Majesty's service in Ireland by Privy Seal of* 10 *August* 1596.—[1596, *October.*] *pp.* 33½.

27. II. *A collection of Her Majesty's monthly charge in Ireland, as the state of her army stood on the* 1*st of October* 1596.—[1596, *October.*] *pp.* 17½.

27. III. *Note of such money as has been paid to Sir John Norreys and the forces under him, out of the Privy Seal of* 27 *May* 1596.—1596, *October* 8. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 18. Rycot. 28. Sir Henry Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Hastens the bearer with letters from Ireland, which the writer should present to Cecil. Will attend Sir Robert presently.—Rycot, 1596, October 18. *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 19. Chester. 29. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. To further and expedite such directions as are yet to be sent to Chester concerning the present occasions. The horses from the Bishop of Gloucester. The horses of the Earl of Kildare and Mr. Malbie. He discovered and prevented great defects and deceits in the musterings of the foot bands.—Chester, 1596, October 19. *p.* 1.

Oct. 20. Chester. 30. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Muster of the ten horses and their riders sent out of the diocese of Gloucester.—Chester, 1596, October 20. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

30. I. *Muster roll of a company of the Earl of Kildare's light horse.*—1596, *October* 19. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. [20]. London. 31. The Earl of Kildare to Sir Robert Cecil. Is going towards Chester to make what speed he may in forwarding Her Majesty's service in Ireland. By reason of his former service, his present

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

estate, and the losses he has sustained, he thinks he deserved greater respect than 35 horse. Leaves Udall, the bearer, behind to attend to his other causes, and sends a small token to Sir Robert.—London, 1596, October [20]. *p.* 1.

[Oct. ?] 32. Draft of a letter, apparently from Burghley or Sir Robert Cecil, to the Earl of Kildare, stating that his suits have been favourably received by Her Majesty, but that she is resolved not to pass any suits absolutely before Michaelmas term at the soonest, when he should send over some agent to solicit his causes. They object to Udall, of whom they have received out of Ireland very hard informations for his religion, and practices with the Earl of Tyrone. Since Udall's coming to him, the Earl of Kildare has not shown the same forwardness in religion as before. Udall has been examined, and is allowed to return to him, but he should not be used further than in the Earl's law causes.—[October ?] *p.* 1.

Oct. 20. Dublin. 33. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Burghley, in his letter of 10 June 1596, declared himself contented with the writer's answer to complaints made against him by the Lord General and others. Sir Robert, too, expressed himself satisfied, but referred to the weakness of the bands mentioned in all letters from Ireland, and yet the large expenditure of treasure. The Lord General's new accusations. Sends an answer. [*This document is wanting.*] Requires license to repair to England for the benefit of his health, which has suffered from his manifold griefs and travail, and from the "raw and waterish climate." Recommends Sir Henry Warren to be muster-master in his room.—Dublin, 1596, October 20. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 20. Dublin. 34. Robert Newcomen to Burghley. Concerning the victualling of the army, and the losses sustained by Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1596, October 20. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 20. Youghal. 35. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Enumerates the "diseases" of Munster, which, through long and careless sufferance, have grown almost incurable. Sir Thomas Norreys seeks a "chepman" for his house and lands in Munster. Report that he is like to be governor of Connaught.—Youghal, 1596, October 20. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 21. Chester. 36. George Beverley to Burghley. His proceedings in victualling for Ireland. The scarcity and prices of bread-corn in these parts are great.—Chester, 1596, October 21. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

36. I. *George Beverley to Sir Henry Wallop. Concerning the victualling for Ireland. The scarcity in North Wales, Cheshire, and Lancashire. At Chester, wheat is* 58*s. the London quarter; rye,* 55*s.; and all other grain rateably dear, and no quantity to be had for any money. Has heard wheat is selling in county Wexford at* 38*s. the London quarter.—Chester,* 1596, *October* 18. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

VOL. CXCIV.

1596.

Oct. 21. Chester. 37. George Beverley to Sir Robert Cecil. The victualling for Ireland. It is thought that Munster will be able to yield great relief of bread-corn.—Chester, 1596, October 21. *p.* 1. *Encloses,*

37. I. *George Beverley to Sir Henry Wallop. Duplicate of inclosure to preceding letter.—Chester, 1596, October* 18. *Copy. p.* 1.

Oct. 21. Chester. 38. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. "Sir William Brereton, Mr. Mainwaring, and myself, having (according to the tenor of your Honour's letters directed to me in that behalf) mustered the ten horses and their riders, sent out of the diocese of Gloucester, and finding divers defects of petronels, pistols, morions, &c., one Hall, that conducted the said horsemen hither to Chester, undertook before us that all should be supplied forthwith. Hereupon we concluded and signed the muster roll, before the departure of Sir W. Brereton and Mr. Mainwaring. Since which time, those horsemen have made much stir, clamour, and complaint, some of them resorting to me, bare-legged and barefoot, and showing how they wanted shoes and stockings; others affirming they lacked shirts, doublets, hose, &c. (which wants were not mentioned, nor could be discovered at the Musters, for that their armour and horsemen's coats covered their bodies, and on their legs they had boots); whereupon I sent for the said Hall their conductor, requiring him to supply their defects of apparel. Who answered, that he had already paid them all the allowance which was delivered to him for their uses, concluding that he could not yield them any supply of apparel. Moreover, one of those soldiers being seen and searched by a chirurgien, is found to be dangerously diseased of the foul sickness (called *morbus Gallicus*), so as, for fear of infecting the rest, I have thought it most requisite to discharge him. He is also most poor and needy, wanting money and divers necessaries. Finally, at the time of this bearer's departure hence, the said Hall was supplying those defects of petronels, pistols, &c.; but, for the soldiers' wants in apparel, he said that they had sold their shoes and other things which seemed wanting; and therefore they were not to have any supply thereof from him. This bearer (the Earl of Kildare's lieutenant) to whose lot some of those men and horses fell (by division between him and Mr. Malbie's lieutenant) is doubtful to receive them into the Earl of Kildare's company of horse, unless they were furnished with such necessaries. I have not seen so many difficulties and defects in the setting forth of so small a number of horsemen. Pleaseth it your Lordship to appoint some good and speedy order herein."—Chester, 1596, October 21. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 21. Dublin. 39. The Attorney and Solicitor General of Ireland (Sir Charles Calthorpe and Sir Roger Wilbraham) to Burghley. Ask for instructions as to proceeding against the sureties of the late Philip O'Reilly for the penalty of 2,000*l.* Find that not 1,000*l.* will be recovered.—Dublin, 1596, October 21. *p.* ½.

VOL. CXCIV.

1596.
Oct. 21. 40. Wants which the Lord Deputy requires to be presently supplied. *Endorsed*:—1596, October 21. *p.* ½.

Oct. 22. Dublin. 41. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Supposed letter from the King of Spain to the Earl of Tyrone: "A poor device drawn from a silly ground, yet such weak forgeries have more force to work with the Irish than any matters of truth." Exaggeration concerning the landing of Spaniards. Rumoured league between the Kings of Spain and France. Ferdorogh O'Kelly, one of the late submitters, begins to stagger in his duty. Thinks the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh will tempt others to disobedience again. In Ulster it is advertised that the Earl stands upon his keeping more than before. Her Majesty having signified her pleasure that Feagh M'Hugh should be taken in, it is thought the harder that he should be prosecuted. Evil effects of that action. Unsettling of the submitters. Frequent burnings and murders of towns and people in the Pale. Present consideration of the matter urgent. Rathcool and other towns burned. The Naas in danger. Great incursions into the counties of Meath and Louth, in such sort as the river of Boyne is now almost made a border. So long as the treaty of pacification is in hand by some, and the wars are prosecuted by others, the state of the goverment will be more and more disordered, and the foreign enemy may the better follow his opportunity. Tyrone presses to have a meeting on the borders for delivering in of pledges, and compounding all other differences. Will try and arrange it with the Lord President.—Dublin, 1596, October 22. *pp.* 2½. *Encloses,*

41. I*a*. *Omalaughlin O'Mulchonery to Philip O'Reilly and others. The King of Spain's letter to O'Neill, which was sent by the Lord Deputy to the Queen, was sent back to King Philip by Her Majesty, with her own letter signifying that the Irish nation had made peace, and had refused King Philip's friendship. The King sent the very same letter to O'Neill, to know if the reports were true. The Spanish ship that was at Killybeggs promised to return speedily with* 200 *ships.*—1596, *October* 14. *Translation from the Irish. pp.* 1½.

41. I*b*. *Donogh Byrne to Iriel O'Farrell. One of the ships which were here before, has landed in O'Donnell's country with* 60 *Spaniards, and has gone back again with them to Spain. Sends commendations.*—1596, "*this present Monday.*" *Translation from the Irish. p.* ½.

41. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy. Upon often complaint made by Captain William Warren of the abuses committed by those of the Brenny upon the Pale, he sent some of his people to take a distress from them, intending to give satisfaction to those that lost their goods. This by no means would Philip O'Reilly allow of, as it seemed, for he would have rescued his distress again if he could, in which attempt he lost his life. Thinks this was a sufficient satisfaction for him. If there were any other*

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

*challenges to be made, either upon the Earl's people, or any other that he had undertaken for, he would give present satisfaction. so as he had the like. But commonly, when he intended to punish those that committed such disorders, they fled from him, and were received in the Pale. If he might have the Lord Deputy's word that they should not be removed there, his Honour would find that the Earl would not only make restitution, but punish them severely. Will see that the victuals taken going to Armagh are presently restored, and the parties punished. To prevent such dangers, he always desired that some of his own men should be taken to conduct the convoys, but this was never observed. The daily abuses of those of the Newry are such that, unless the Lord Deputy look carefully to it, there can hardly be any good peace kept. At the next meeting with the Lord General, will tell all that he knows about the coming of the late Spanish ship, and disprove all the false reports delivered of himself. Asks that a horse taken from his brother by George Cawell may be restored. Also that the Lord Deputy would deal with the Lord Chancellor concerning some money lent him by the Earl.—Molloghade,* 1596, *October* 18.—*Copy. p.* 1.

Oct. 23. Dublin. 42. Sir Ralph Lane to the Earl of Essex. Refers to his lordship's happy return from his renowned voyage [*i.e.* the expedition to Cadiz]. Miserable state of Ireland, "universally in one measure or other flaming with the fire of rebellion in every quarter of it." As there appears no likelihood of peace to assure Her Majesty's hold, either in the Irish counties or in the civilest parts of Ireland, by reason of the Catholic combination (as their Jesuits term it) largely spread abroad and deeply rooted in all the gentry of the land, the end must needs be a sharp war. However valiantly the common English soldier carries himself abroad against a foreign enemy, they of the former supplies coming into Ireland have shewn themselves stark cowards against the Irish, whom they were wont by great odds to beat. But now the Irish soldiers are most ready, well disciplined, and as good marksmen as France, Flanders, or Spain can show. All this owing to the Earl of Tyrone, who, as he has done for three years past, infinitely belabours them with training in all parts of Ulster. Lack of discipline among the English forces. It would be an act of most honourable mark for his lordship to procure the establishment among all English forces, wheresoever they are, of the discipline of files, to which in time may be added the order of camarades. The army would thus have a double strength.—Dublin, 1596, October 23. *pp.* 2½.

Oct. 24. The Fleet. 43. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays that, owing to his sickness and his aged years he may obtain his liberty, or, otherwise, that he may be restrained in his own lodging upon good sureties to be forthcoming.—The prison of the Fleet, 1596, October 24. *p.* ½.

Oct. 25. Dublin. 44. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning two young men fit to be employed in Spain for learning news.—Dublin, 1596, October 25. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCIV.

1596.

Oct. 25. Chester. 45. George Beverley to Burghley.—Provision sent into Ireland in the *Jonas* of Chester. Touching allowances for himself and his men.—Chester, 1596, October 25. *p.* ½.

Oct. 25. [Chester.] 46. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Touching the extra charges and the ferry at Liverpool. Encloses declaration of disbursements to footbands. Money issued. Has not as yet been able to embark for Ireland. Muster of the Earl of Kildare's horse. Deceits in borrowing horses and men.—[Chester,] 1596, October 25. *pp.* 4. *Incloses,*

46. I. *The Account of Maurice Kyffin of his disbursements for the coat, conduct, imprests, and transportation of* 1,000 *soldiers sent into Ireland.*—1596, *October. pp.* 17.

Oct. 26. Dublin. 47. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others of the Council, to the Privy Council. Further news from the Lord President touching the Spanish ship. Apprehend some dangerous attempt to be exploited out of hand by the Spaniards against some parts of Ireland. All Irish shipping stayed in Spain. Pray for speedy sending over of men, victuals, and money, as before requested. Arrival of ten companies of foot, together with 64 barrels of meal, and 6,000 lbs. weight of cheese. Knockfergus, the Newry, Armagh, with all the other places held in the North, and also the frontier towns of the borders, will have to be abandoned for want of victuals.—Dublin, 1596, October 26. *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

47. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. The errand of the Spanish ship was to learn the state of the country, and to offer speedy assistance. Thinks Tyrone will seek help where he can. The prosecution of Feagh, the coming of Marshal Bagenall, and the arriving of new forces out of England, will make Tyrone jealous.—Athlone,* 1596, *October* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

47. II. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy and Council. Sends copy of an advertisement received by a messenger out of O'Donnell's country. Thinks the Earl of Tyrone is much discontented, and will seek assistance from Spain. Some good store of victuals to be provided. Athlone and the Newry to be better fortified and furnished with munition. The advice of Spaniards to arrive presently causes him to make some stay.—Athlone,* 1596, *October* 23. *Copy. p.* 1.

47. III. *Advertisements delivered to Sir John Norreys by Gyllaboy O'Flannagan, servant of O'Connor Don. Reports in Spain that O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Rourke had been slain in the wars. Three letters to them from the King of Spain, "to know the certainty of the news as aforesaid." Promises of O'Neill and O'Donnell to receive the Spaniards. After the Spaniards went away, O'Donnell did "cut" in his country* 6,000 *cows, five hundred garrans for*

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

*carriages, and two baskets for every garran, to be ready by* 1 *November.*—[1596, *October.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

Oct 26. Dublin. 48. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Has quarried ten tons of touchstone for Cecil's building. Having risen diversely, the stone may serve for doors, windows, chimneys, stairs, or other building. Desires to be informed whether it shall be polished in Ireland, and to what port it shall be transported. Sir Geffrey Fenton and he have dealt with the Lord Deputy and the Lord President.—Dublin, 1596, October 26. *p.* 1.

Oct. 26. Chester. 49. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. As to taking up certain money. To be directed touching the payment of the soldiers shipped for Ireland, who, immediately upon their arrival in Dublin, were dispersed to divers garrisons. The Mayor of Liverpool, and the staying of ships for transport.—Chester, 1596, October 26. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 27. Dublin. 50. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Relate their dealing with the Lord Deputy and the Lord President, to reconcile the differences between them.—Dublin, 1596, October 27. *pp.* 1½. *Inclose;*

50. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir Geffrey Fenton. As to the emulation between him and the Lord Deputy. Does not think the latter will hold any other course towards him than he has done. Her Majesty has granted him her license to return. Must remain constant in his opinion that there might have been as assured a peace settled in Ireland as at any time in Her Majesty's reign. The vain advices of Cawell, Fitzgerald, and others, touching treaties with Spain. Believes Tyrone will seek assistance from Spain.—Athlone,* 1596, *October* 22. *Copy. pp.* 2.

Oct. 28. Dublin. 51. The Council of Ireland to Sir Robert Cecil. Transmit intelligence (*wanting*) from the Earl of Ormonde, to be laid before the Privy Council.—Dublin, 1596, October 28. *p.* ½.

Oct. 28. 52. A Brief of the receipt, issue, and remain of a Privy Seal of 3,041*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, dated 13 October 1596. *Endorsed*:—"1596, October 28." *p.* 1.

Oct. 29. Dublin. 53. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Tyrone and O'Donnell have desired aid of Spain. The King of Spain, being stung at the heart with the late attempts of Her Majesty's forces at Cadiz, is not without a strong desire to be revenged. Does not think he will bring any force for invasion to any part of Ulster, but rather will strike either at Galway or Waterford, or at both. Danger would then arise to the English herring fishery off Waterford in November and December. Most improbable that the King will come to Dublin. Perhaps the reports of the Earl's seeking assistance from Spain are given out to divert the prosecution now on foot against Feagh

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

M'Hugh, which may also be the cause of the Earl and O'Donnell holding their forces together, and giving out speeches of their great "cuttings" of cows upon their countries. Great need of men and victuals. Scarcity in Ireland. Armagh, Knockfergus, Dundalk, and other places of guard, will probably have to be abandoned. The Lord Deputy, with 900 men, prosecutes Feagh M'Hugh. The meeting with Tyrone on the borders.—Dublin, 1596, October 29. *pp.* 2¼. *Incloses,*

53. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Is unable to travel at present, as he is exceedingly touched with his old disease. Will write to Tyrone to draw down towards those borders, and doubts not to make a final conclusion of all matters. Desires Fenton's attendance. Asks for the opinions of the Council.—Athlone,* 1596, *October* 27. *Copy. p.* 1.

53. II. *Extract from a letter to Nicholas Weston, Alderman of Dublin. All shipping stayed in Spain. Strangers ordered away. Immense army collecting to go to England.—Crosswick,* 1596, *September* 20. *p.* ½.

Oct. 29. Chester. 54. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Touching his efforts to take up money. The treasure remaining in his hands. Hopes he has answered Burghley's expectation in the performance of his duty. Desires to know if he shall muster the footmen that are yet to come.—Chester, 1596, October 29. *p.* 1.

Oct. 29. [Chester.] 55. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Scarcity of money to be taken up on condition of repayment in London.—1596, October 29. *Endorsed:*—"From Chester." *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

55. I. *William Moore, Mayor of Liverpool,* [*to Maurice Kyffin*]. *Complains that the letters from the Privy Council, to make stay of ships for transport of forces to Ireland, have not been addressed to him as Mayor.—Liverpool,* 1596, *October* 28. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Oct. 29. Dublin. 56. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Shews how he answered the former accusations as to the weakness of the bands, and the great expenditure of treasure. Finds Her Majesty repossessed of an opinion of great fault in him touching the musters. Sends, in defence, his account for the last half year. His wrongful taxation by unproved certificates and continual flying misreports. His severe illness. Desires that Sir Henry Warren may be joined with him in his office of muster-master.—Dublin, 1596, October 29. *pp.* 3.

Oct. 31. Dublin. 57. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Are thankful for the aid to be sent to them. Arrival of 1,000 foot. No horse as yet. Great want of victuals. Unusual scarcity in Ireland. Will restrain the export of corn from Munster. Cannot redress Her Majesty's charge of 130,000*l.* per annum till the realm be freed of these great occasions of expenses and troubles. Will send full

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

accounts. The munition which has arrived is far from sufficient. Ask their Lordships to quicken Beverley the victualler. Munster supplying corn to the rest of Ireland. Have no reason to doubt that Spaniards will land. Desire the hastening of ships to defend the coasts of Ireland, especially the harbours of Munster, in which Province the Spaniards will probably attempt a surprise of some of the chiefest towns. Ferdorogh O'Kelly is revolted, and, being strong, may work great trouble and annoyance. The rest that did not submit continue still out. The ships of Ireland still detained in Spain; those of other nations released. The King of Spain strongly desires to be revenged for his losses at Cadiz, and great preparations are being made by him. He has drawn out of Brittany all his Spanish regiment but 500.—Dublin, 1596, October 31. *Endorsed:* —"Received at Whitehall, the 23rd of November, late at night." *pp. 5. Inclose,*

57. I. *A Certificate of the issue of* 15,700*l.*, *assigned for Her Majesty's service in Ireland, by Privy Seal of the* 10*th August* 1596. —1596, *October* 10. *pp.* 36.

57. II. *Note of powder and munition received out of England.*— 1596, *October* 21. *p.* 1.

Oct. 31. 58. David Burke FitzJohn M'Oliverus Burke to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires employment which would advance the service in Connaught. Fears that otherwise M'Walter Kittagh will grow the more inflate and insolent. Refers for testimony on his behalf to those who have had the chief administration in Connaught. Beseeches that "the sole virtuously disposed of that long since degenerated race may not be altogether discomforted."—1596, October 31. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

58. I. *Petition of David Burke, son of Sir John M'Oliverus Burke, called otherwise by the name of M'William Eughter, to Burghley. His education at Oxford. Made a Justice of the Peace in the county of Mayo. His studies at the Inns of Court in London, where he has since continued. Theobald M'Walter Kittagh's usurpation of the name of M'William Eughter. He detains petitioner's brother in prison, and seeks to extirpate and exile him from his country. Prays for a charge of some horse or foot in Connaught, to work the overthrow of the said M'Walter Kittagh.*—[1596, *October.*] *p.* 1.

Oct. 31. Chester. 59. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Received his letter of October 29. Burghley's dislike of the payments made by him to the foot bands. The words of the instructions by which he paid.—Chester, 1596, October 31. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

59. I. *Chief heads of the memorial, signed by the Lords of the Council, and delivered to Maurice Kyffin, whereby to make payments to ten bands of footmen.*—[1596, *September.*] *p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCIV.

59. II. *Extract from a letter of Burghley to Maurice Kyffin, dated 3 October, 1596, touching a payment of two weeks' imprest to the foot bands. p.* ½.

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## VOL. CXCV. 1596. NOVEMBER.

Nov. 1. Dublin. 1. The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. That Thomas Newes and William Pitt, merchants, of Poole in Dorsetshire, may be commanded to perform their bargain with the bearer Mr. Weston for certain fish to be carried to Dublin.—Dublin, 1596, November 1. *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 4. 2. A Declaration of the disbursements and remains of 1,000*l.*, delivered to George Beverley at Chester, on 1 September 1596, for the provision of grain and other victuals for the army in Ireland. —1596, November 1. *p.* 1.

Nov. 5. Newcastle [in Feagh M'Hugh's country]. 3. Captain Charles Montague to [the Lord Deputy]. Receipt of powder and lead from Sir George Bourchier. Sir Edward Bowes's men are passed as far as Wicklow. They are much distressed in the Glynns; their cows are thrown by tens and twenties in heaps dead. The other day, when his Lordship took the prey out of the Glynn, had the cry not been too soon raised, he had captured both Feagh and his wife, and the rest of the women in their cabins.—Newcastle, 1596, November 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

Nov. 7. Kilkenny. 4. The Earl of Ormonde to [the Lord Deputy]. Large proffers of service made by the Lord Mountgarrett. The only service to be accepted of is the cutting off of his wicked son-in-law, or Walter his bastard, now the chief actor in these treasons. There are also two wicked nephews of his, sons of John FitzPatrick of Upper Ossory, whom he might easily cut off. His Lordship to give credit to the Earl of Thomond whom the writer has desired to say somewhat to him touching these causes.—Kilkenny, 1596, November 7. *Copy. p.* 1.

Nov. 8. Dublin. 5. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been kept to his lodging for ten days by sickness. Knows not what to write. As yet Ireland is clear of Spaniards, but how long it will remain so, God only knows. Inconvenience and costliness of the present government. One party labours for peace, and another party begins war and follows it. The universal impoverishment of the country. Reasons for the delay in the dispatch of the enclosed packet (*wanting*) from the Lord Deputy and Council, dated October 31.—Dublin, 1596, November 8. *Endorsed*:—"Received at White hall, the xxiij$^{rd}$ of the same." *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCV.

1596.
Nov. 8. Dublin.

6. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. "Being lately come out of one hideous tempest at sea into another here on land, I know not whereof first to write to your Honour, sith so many miseries and mischiefs, all hastily concurring to the utter ruin and loss of this kingdom, do offer themselves to view and consideration. The fire is generally kindled in all quarters of this land. The enemy still gathereth head, and daily prevaileth. Our English companies be exceeding weak and unable to resist, crying out to God and the world that they have neither money nor victual, nor have had (as they say), in a very long time, any manner of means at all to relieve them. The inhabitants (Her Majesty's subjects), having been long since exposed to the spoil and slaughter of the enemy, complain of the grievous outrage and pillage committed on them by our soldiers, whereby many are brought to extreme beggary and want, and as many, or rather more, revolted to the enemy, which they term to stand on their keeping. The ground is laid waste, and in a manner desolate, yielding neither food for man nor forage for beast. The dearth and scarcity of all things is incredible. In few words, here is manifestly to be seen the lamentable face of a torn declining state, which, without very speedy and special redress, is past all hope of recovery. Thus have I rudely, howbeit very truly, and as briefly as I could, described the state of things here at this present, whereof, though your Honour receive more perfect intelligence from others who have cause to know more than I do, yet I hope the same shall be no prejudice to the faithful intent I had of discharging my duty herein towards your Honour. The promised aids and practices of the Spaniard among these rebels must needs be better known to your Honour than I can advertise you as yet; being but very lately arrived here. I am to take my journey to the Lord Deputy at the camp, but do not yet understand of any convoy thitherwards."—Dublin, 1596, November 8. *pp.* 1½.

*Affixed to this letter are the following memoranda:* —"The town of Dublin is reduced to poverty, which is specially imputed to the continual receipt of soldiers sent over hither out of England. The inhabitants here have been, and still are, constrained to diet and lodge soldiers upon their arrival, and are never paid either for diet or lodging. All sorts that are to receive pay do murmur extremely for want of pay, and very certain it is that the soldier is without money, victual, and apparel. It is too apparent that, as the want of justice generally hath been the efficient cause of all late rebellions and combustions in this land, so the establishing of present justice here would speedily redress all evil.

"By reason of a faction of late between the followers of Philip O'Reilly (who revolted to the party of the Earl of Tyrone), and the followers of the Earl, O'Reilly was killed; after whose decease the Earl assumed that name and title to himself (as he did also the title of O'Neill), and thereby much increased his power; whereas, if that faction between the O'Reillians and Tyronians had been nourished, it is thought that both parties by that means might have been weakened and subverted.

1596. VOL. CXCV.

"Without money and victual sent over hither forthwith, and the same duly and truly distributed, it is utterly in vain to send men. The new companies are already exceedingly decayed, and must needs very shortly be altogether consumed, if mature prevention be not used." *pp.* 2.

Nov. 9. The Camp at Rathdrum. 7. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. No hope of the conclusion of a pacification in Connaught. Tyrone and O'Donnell have promised the Spaniards to receive them with all their forces, and have written accordingly to the King of Spain. Encloses divers letters. Grievous want of treasure and victuals. The Spaniards are expected this month. Combination for the Catholic religion. Indignities offered him by Sir John Norreys. Desires to be revoked. Necessity for more speedy remedies than treaties and cessations. Has finished the fort. Hopes effectually to annoy Feagh M'Hugh. Has placed a ward at Castle Kevin, and another at Newstone, late Piers Butler's. Hopes thus to reduce the rebels to great extremity. Help reported to be given to Feagh by the Butlers, Eustaces, and others. Capture of two near kinsmen of Barnaby O'Toole. Desires the Earl of Ormonde to act on the other side of the Glynns against his bad nephews. Remissness of the Council at Dublin in sending beeves. — The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, November 9. *pp.* 5. *Incloses,*

7. I. *Advertisements, by letter from Athlone of* 17 *October* 1596, *extracted from a letter. The peace which has been so long in labouring is growing to no effect. O'Kelly has refused to come in or to deliver the castle without a letter from the Earl. O'Donnell's brother and Ulick Burke have brought up forces to assist O'Kelly. "All is like to be worse than ever." The messengers, after three weeks' absence, have returned from M'William without seeing him or having any direct answer. Copy. p.* 1.

7. IIa. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy. See October* 26, *No.* 47. II.—*Athlone,* 1596, *October* 23. *Copy. p.* 1.

7. IIb. *Advertisement about the arrival of Spaniards. See October* 26, *No.* 47. III.—[1596, *October.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

7. III. *Rice ap Hugh to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Has been informed that the Spaniards will be here before Christmas, and that O'Donnell has "cut" for them* 10,000 *beeves,* 10,000 *porks, and* 10,000 *muttons, for victuals, and, for carriage,* 2,000 *garrans. The life of the informant would be in danger if his name were known.—Atherdee,* 1596, *October* 25. *Copy. p.* 1.

7. IV. *Captain Francis Stafford to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Has received intelligence that Tyrone has agreed with the Spaniards; is expecting them with the first wind, and has appointed them to land at Carlingford. He is sworn not to conclude any truce or peace without the King of Spain's consent. The King was very angry*

1596. VOL. CXCV.

*that his last letters were presented to Her Majesty. The Earl said his secretary ran away with them. These news came from one aboard the Spanish ship, who sent an urgent message to a friend of his to leave Newry with his family and goods, and go to Drogheda or Dublin. Cannot give names for fear of further inconvenience. Critical condition of the Newry. Tyrone has passed a slanty between Patrick M'Art Moile and M'Mahon. The former has also received the Earl's eldest son to foster, and has carried him home to Monaghan. Weakness of several garrisons. Lack of munition, money, and victuals. The garrison of Armagh is still disturbed by the Earl's people. Provision made by the Earl and O'Donnell for the Spaniards.—Newry, 1596, November 1. Copy. pp. 2½.*

7. V. *Feagh M'Hugh, Piers Butler, and James Butler, to Brian Reogh and the gentlemen of Leix. Exhort them "to stick and stand with their natural lord and country," for God's sake and the Catholic faith. Will help them therein. p. ½.*

7. VI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to [the Lord Deputy]. That present order may be taken for Feagh M'Hugh, and that those of Connaught may have Her Majesty's pardon, as was agreed with the Lord General.—Maherloghcowe, 1596, October 22. Copy. p. 1.*

7. VII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy.* [*See under October 22, No. 41. II., of which, with the exception of the last two sentences, this is a duplicate.*] *—Molloghade, 1596, October 18. Copy. pp. 1½.*

Nov. 9. Rathdrum. 8. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Endeavours by all means to chastise the "treacherous rebel" Feagh M'Hugh, and his accomplices the Butlers, Eustaces, and others, to the number of some 700, with the two bastard Geraldines, brothers to the Earl of Kildare, who are certainly affirmed to be gone to them. Hopes soon to drive them to great extremity. Has already got some 1,200 of their cows, with garrans and other spoil. Has taken a foster brother of Phelim M'Feagh and Cahir Glass O'Toole, and nearly captured Feagh himself. One half of the beeves and carriages for which directions were given have not come. Desires treasure and victuals for three or four months for 4,000 or 5,000 men, to be sent speedily, or "all will go to a very great confusion." — The Camp at Rathdrum, 1596, November 9. *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 9. The Camp [at Rathdrum]. 9. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. "S^er^, by your lre. of 9 of the last, I find that now yt pleaseth you to tak som taste of my misires, and whith whath gryef of minde I seurf in this cursed countrye, and how unfitt yt is for me to continue in this goverment, when as thes country peopll doeth know that I am in disgrace w^th^ herr ma^ti^, as allso how much s^er^ Jhon norrys and my self deffer in that poynt of peac, all which I reffer to your honor's wis and grave consideration. But for my own part, I never found that sinc the earl of Tyron's taking of his pardon, that ever hee gave us

1596. VOL. CXCV.

ani on token or singe that hee desiered a peac, or that hee ment to live as a subjett, but, to the countrary, hee hath continued his practis with Spayne, and by his means hee hath sought to thruste out they Butlers, who seek now to be restored in bloudd by him, and divers others, as the Baltinglases, the two bass brothers of this earle of Kildar's, and whath his daungerous practis hath benn whith my lord of Mountgaratt now that hee is comitted, now [no] dout but that in short time y^t^ will apeyre. As alwayes I hav found you my honorable frind sins my coming to this wreched goverment, so as yf now by your means I might be freed of thes misiries and restored to herr ma^ti^ wonted favour, I should rest very reddy w^th^ a thankfull mind to doe you servis, and acknoulegd my self depely beholding unto you for y^t^. If cayer be not hadd that mony and thry moneths vituells att the best be sent for 4 or 5 thousand soldiers, befor the ariving of the 2,000 that now are coming, I know not how they may be provided for, and yet is ther no reason for us to mak staye of them, in respect that now they Lord President is advertized from the earle of Tyrone that Spaniards will land, who refuseth to advertis me of ani such time, the which I tak as and indingnity to my plac, and therfor I still continue and humbell sutour to herr ma^ti^ to be freed of this cursed goverment, and thus hoping, by your honor's means, ether to reseve som comfort from herr ma^ti^, or ells to be presently revocked from this goverment, I tak my leve.—From the camp, November the 9, 1596." *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Nov. 9. 10. Note of Sir Richard Bingham's entertainment, 523*l.* 10*s.* 0*d.* per annum. *Endorsed:*—1596, November 9. *p.* ½.

Nov. 10. 11. Rory M'Shihie to Sir Thomas Norreys. Threatens to hang Mr. Stroud, his prisoner, within eight days, unless Connor O'Brien and two other prisoners are liberated by Sir Thomas. "If you deny me of the premisses, I protest before the Almighty, I will both burn, spoil, kill, and hang, as many of your countreymen as I can catch." "The night is so near hand, I must omit to be penning." *Endorsed:*—1596, November 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

Nov. 11. 12. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. Details the tenor of his three Commissions, viz. for Oyer and Terminer, for Martial Law, and for Martial Affairs. At his first coming to the government of Connaught, every sheriff had a martial law, but that was called in, and the authority reserved to the Chief Commissioner of the Province. Had not, under that authority, executed one person in seven years. His commissions were granted by Sir John Perrot and Sir William Fitzwilliam, whilst they held the office of Lord Deputy. His fee and diet.—The Fleet, 1596, November 11. *p.* 1.

Nov. 11. 13. Note of a bark laden at Liverpool with grain and other victuals for Ireland.—1596, November 11. *p.* ½.

1596. VOL. CXCV.

Nov. 12. 14. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Touching the employment of an Irish intelligencer in Spain, as soon as possible. The passage from Waterford is ready. The Irish are acceptable in Spain, and not suspected. The Spaniards "are prepared better than we to defend, and that they know. Our ships are untrimmed, so as, to come suddenly upon this fury of revenge, it may be they will upon our coast do some incursions." The intelligencer to write by way of Ireland, and Sir Geffrey to send on the letters unshewn to anyone. Sir Robert will not stick at paying any reasonable charge. Sir Geffrey cannot do him a pleasure more acceptable at this time, than with all speed to settle him a good intelligencer in Spain. *Endorsed:*—1596, November 12. *Draft. pp.* 2.

Nov. 15. Shandon. 15. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Acknowledges receipt of his letters of October 7. The merchants are very fearful to adventure to the coast of Spain, because, since the late service at Cadiz, all Irish shipping is stayed. Nevertheless, has dealt with one Philip Roche Fitz Philip of Kinsale, and recommends him for employment in Spain. The man does not wish to repair first into England to Sir Robert, as he thinks that will bring him into suspicion with his own countrymen, by whom he fears to be betrayed sooner than by any others. Sir Robert can send instructions by the bearer. It will not be easy to find a trusty man of the wilder sort for employment.

Inroad into Munster in August last by certain of the M'Shees, the remain of a traitorous race, banished long since for execrable murders and treasons by them committed. Within ten days he had hung upwards of ninety of them, and drove the rest out of the country; but they have of late returned, and committed divers murders upon the English, who live so dispersed, in places of danger and weak thatched houses, and will not by any means be drawn to dwell together. Ten wood-kern terrify them all. Incloses copy of a letter from the "captain of this cursed crew" of the M'Shees. There are very few, either in city or country, that can speak Irish, who are much better affected to Her Majesty, her State, and Government, than this insolent letter imports.

Extreme weakness of the forces in Munster. Horses and arms much decayed. Asks increase of pay for the horsemen, according to the rate in other parts of Ireland.

William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, a man of Bristol, and there very infamous, has been guilty of divers corruptions. Burghley was very much misinformed about him. His evil behaviour towards the best subjects in Munster. His illegal courses. His continuance in office is prejudicial to Her Majesty's service.—Shandon, 1596, November 15. *Endorsed:*—"Received at Whitehall, the 8th of December." *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

15. I. *Rory M'Shihie to Sir Thomas Norreys.* [*See above, November* 10, *No.* 11.] *Copy. p.* 1.

VOL. CXCV.

1596.

Nov. 17. Dublin. 16. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Difficulties as to the meeting with the Earl of Tyrone. The Earl and the rest of the North are fearful that they will be prosecuted just like Feagh M'Hugh, and thus they not only stand upon their keeping, but also show daily tokens of falling back into disobedience. The Earl has warned the garrison of Armagh to be wary how they issue out for cutting wood, or any other necessaries. He alleges that no truce is kept with him, and that therefore he must do the best he can for himself. Thinks, as he has before written, that the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh should be taken up out of hand. It causes daily calamities in the poor English Pale, and will assuredly increase to a further ruin thereof, and to the general danger of Ireland. Has written very earnestly to Sir John Norreys to hasten to Dublin. His absence, and that of the Lord Deputy, very inconvenient for the transaction of public affairs.—Dublin, 1596, November 17. *p.* 1.

Nov. 17. 17. Note of the numbers of men in pay in Ireland, in October 1596. *Endorsed by Burghley*:—1596, November 17. *pp.* 3½.

Nov. 18. Westminster. 18. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. The Province of Connaught is easy to be reduced to its former obedience without "ruinating" or dispeopling the country, or much effusion of blood. The waste there is but "Tartarian," the people with their cattle removing from place to place, and is no impediment to the composition. [*Marginal note by Burghley*:—"The composition riseth not upon pasturing, but chiefly upon tillage."] If Ballyshannon or Sligo be garrisoned by English, and a reasonable force prosecute for three or four months, Connaught must submit, and be divided from Ulster; and this may be done without wrong to any man. Ballyshannon of more utility than Sligo. [*Marginal note by Burghley*:—"Ballyhenan is in Tyrconnell and not in Connaught, and must be recovered from O'Donnell."] The whole revenue of the Province is "sperable," when once the rebellion is suppressed, [*Marginal note by Burghley*:—"So as during the rebellion it is doubtful,"] for the farmers sit at easy rents, so that the rent in arrear would be forthwith answered, for the land is not waste, but the rent detained. The revenue was but 200*l.* per annum at his coming to the government of the Province, but, by his good industry and bounden duty to Her Majesty, the same is augmented to 400*l.* and upwards per annum. The greatest portion of any one county is answered by Galway, and all the revenue is usually paid by the Earl of Clanrickarde, the merchants of Galway, and the English subjects of the Province, who are farmers thereof. The impost also increases or lessens according to the number of tuns of wine that arrive in the Province. Has remedied some abuse in the ministers at whose hands he receives the wine. The Auditor misinformed Burghley, when he told him that Sir Richard had not accounted since 1592. Has manifestly accounted for all, composi-

1596. VOL CXCV.

tion, revenue, imposts, fines and amercements, to and for Michaelmas 1594. At his coming from Dublin, his accounts were in hand to be passed to Michaelmas last. [*Marginal note by Burghley:*—"So no account is declared for '95 or '96."] Is ignorant what course it pleases Her Majesty to take for the government of Connaught, but is assured that he would in short space make the Province as dutiful and beneficial to Her Majesty as the civilest part of Ireland, if he had reasonable means allowed him, without overcharging Her Majesty. [*Marginal note by Burghley:*—"What are reasonable means, without overcharging of Her Majesty?"] Craves to be admitted to Burghley's presence, to tell him of many other necessary things concerning the state of Ireland. [*Marginal note by Burghley:*—"If I were at mine own house, as I now am in the Queen's Court, I would gladly confer with you."]—Westminster, 1596, November 18. *pp.* 2.

Nov. 19. Westminster. 19. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. The Province of Connaught contains 47 baronies, the one half of which do not stand upon tillage, but altogether upon pasturing; and such as do live by tillage profit more by pasturing. Three whole parts of the Province consist of pasturage. Ballyshannon can soon be recovered without doing wrong to O'Donnell, for it is no wrong for Her Majesty to have her own. Ballyshannon stands close upon the river of Lough Erne, that divides Ulster from Connaught. The revenue rent is (for the most part) to be had, notwithstanding the rebellion, for the farmers are civil English gentlemen and merchants, and will sooner pay the rents than hazard the forfeiture of their leases. His accounts for '95 and '96 are, he hopes, cleared by this time. Desires to know what course Her Majesty will hold with the rebels of the Province; whether she will continue them in English tenure (which he holds ever the best and soundest course), or suffer them to have and set up their tanist law.—Westminster, 1596, November 19. *p.* 1.

Nov. 20. 20. The Lord Deputy to the Council of Ireland. Has long since turned over all matters, as well for pacification as otherwise, to the Lord President Norreys. Since he finds the rebels' force is weak in those parts, he will, if they think it convenient, send away three companies to the Lord President or Mr. Marshall [Bagenall], and place the rest in fit garrisons upon those borders, which is the chief cause of his stay now thereabouts. Has met with the Earl of Ormonde, and they have come on both sides of the Briskelaghes, where the rebels kept, and whence they have now dispersed them into other parts. *Endorsed:*—1596, November 20. *Extract p.* ½.

Nov. 20. Atherdee. 21. Rice ap Hugh to the Lord Deputy. Burnings and slaughter. Is certainly advertised that all the traitors of Ulster are now together, and have laid down their plot for the destruction of Ireland. O'Donnell and Maguire are to take in hand Westmeath,

1596. VOL. CXCV.

and all along to Offaly. The O'Neills and the M'Mahons are to go through Louth, and so to Tara, where they look for a third company to join them, if they do not stay to get their pledges. Hears they have written to his Lordship for them, or to have peace for all the Irish according to promise. The Earl said openly that there was no promise kept with him, and that the Spaniards were not for Ireland, because they were so great a number. The Earl's forces are 2,000 shot of the O'Neills, 400 from the M'Mahons, 1,000 from O'Donnell and Maguire, 500 from Clandeboye and the country adjacent, besides kern and horsemen. Armagh is as good as lost. Urgent want of munition, men, and victuals, "or else all is gone." Dares not write what he knows.—Atherdee, 1596, November 20. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 20. 22. The number of English that possessed lands in Connaught; with notes on several places. [*In the handwriting of Sir Richard Bingham's secretary.*] *Endorsed by Burghley:*—1596, November 20. *pp.* 4.

Nov. 21. Mellifont. 23. Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Deputy and Council. Hears that O'Rourke, Maguire, McMahon, and others, intend the spoil of the Annaly, Westmeath, and the parts towards Trim, about Monday or Tuesday next. O'Donnell and M'William appointed to lay waste Connaught and Thomond. The Earl lies near Dundalk with a force, but as yet is doing nothing. The Spaniards daily expected with these southerly winds. Nothing holds the Irish now from spoiling the country, but their pledges, which they say are hardly detained by the Lord President, seeing the conditions for which they were delivered in have been so often broken. The Earl lieth over the borders to keep further aid from the Newry and Armagh. Incursions into the Pale. Cannot learn that Sir William Stanley was in company with these late Spaniards.—Mellifont, 1596, November 21. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 21. Carrick. 24. Lord Louth to the Lord Deputy and Council. Donnoghane, and many other places specified, preyed by the rebels.—Carrick, 1596, November 21. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 22. Tullagh. 25. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. Sends letter [*wanting*] from a Councillor, living on the border towards the Brenny, who has a very good spial upon the O'Reillys, and thus learns many things from the Earl of Tyrone. The "cross and contemptuous proceedings" of Sir John Norreys, which though he has been contented to endure more than any other man of valour or spirit would have done, yet private Councillors have not the patience to brook the same, but must break out into such dislike as appears in the letter. Prays again for his revocation. After Philip O'Reilly's death the Brenny might well have been regained, but, lest this should hinder the peace, the matter was so long deferred, that meanwhile the Earl had gripped it fast into his own hands. The prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. The Earl has refused

1596. VOL. CXCV.

to meet the Lord President. Captain Baker cannot be suffered by Tyrone to go to his garrison at Armagh. The Ulster matters he left to be managed only by Sir John Norreys, according to his patent and direction from England. Dispersal of Feagh and his rabble, also of the followers of Sir Edmund Butler's sons. Fears he will have to leave the field, owing to the wet season and the great want of victuals and treasure. The last 1,000 foot came very well appointed, with gentlemen of livelihood to command them. Hopes the other 2,000 that are coming will bring an ample supply of treasure and victuals. Advertisement touching Spaniards by one Caddell, employed by Sir Geffrey Fenton. Must continue of his old opinion that the rebels have no intention of becoming subjects, and must therefore be reclaimed only by the sword. The 2,000 men will not be wanted in the event of peace, and of the Spaniards not coming over this winter. Thinks they should be held in readiness. If it be resolved that the 2,000 should come over, he trusts he may have the choice of captains, as has been the wont. Asks for 20 or 25 lasts of powder.—The Camp at Tullagh, 1596, November 22. *pp.* 5. *Incloses,*

25. I. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Never heard Feagh M'Hugh's name mentioned in all the treaties and capitulations in Connaught. Never promised him his pardon. Dealt not with the Earl, except first through Captain Warren and afterwards through Captain Brabazon. Nothing in their instructions or reports touching Feagh M'Hugh.—Dublin,* 1596, *November* 15. *Copy. p.* 1.

25. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain William Warren. Cannot meet the Lord General Sir John Norreys upon the borders of Longford. Complains that there is no trust kept with him, and that the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh is contrary to promise. "My Lord Deputy doth seek all violence that may be." Will attend the Lord General upon the borders of Dundalk, until he shall recover his health, and has written to him to that effect.—Maherloghcowe,* 1596, *November* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

25. III. *Captain Francis Stafford to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *For sufficient force to be sent to redress the peril likely to overtake Armagh, the Newry, and Carlingford. Hostile conduct of the Earl of Tyrone.—Newry,* 1596, *November* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

25. IV. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain Francis Stafford. Complaining as to certain stealths on his people. Will be upon the borders on Monday next, and answer as to provision for the soldiers of Armagh.—Maherloghcowe,* 1596, *November* 10. *Copy. p.* ½.

25. V*a*. *Lieutenant Ro. Gosnould to Captain Francis Stafford. Has sent a letter he received from Tyrone to Captain Baker. Forwards copies.—Armagh,* 1596, *November* 11. *Copy. p.* ½.

1596. VOL. CXCV.

25. vb. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Lieutenant Ro. Gosnould.—The prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh is a great occasion of their not keeping peace. Warns him not to go abroad for wood or other necessaries without a guard.—Maherloghcowe,* 1596, *November* 9. *Copy. p.* ½.

25. VI. *Marshal Bagenall to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *Earnestly besecches them to send more forces to the Newry, to prevent the attempts intended against it. O'Farrell and Omalaughlin have been lately with the Earl, and are shortly to receive some forces. One of the Hagans is appointed to conduct some forces into the Glynns* [*to aid Feagh M'Hugh*].—*Newry,* 1596, *November* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

25. VII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Marshal Bagenall. Their proposed meeting. Had Sir John Norreys's promise of Her Majesty's pardon, as well for Feagh M'Hugh as for himself. Means not to let the garrison of Armagh be provisioned, so long as Feagh is prosecuted.—Maherloghcowe,* 1596, *November* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

25. VIII. *Advertisements by Patrick Caddell, sent by Sir Geffrey Fenton into Ulster to learn the secrets of the Irish;* 16 *October to* 10 *November* 1596. *The King of Spain was wroth to receive back from Queen Elizabeth the letter he had sent to the Earl of Tyrone. The Queen certified the King that she had subdued the Earl and the rest of the Irish. Cahil O'Connor requested the King not to disperse the fleet and army appointed for Ireland, suggesting that Tyrone had sent the letter to the Queen through policy. One ship sent from Spain to Ireland for news. The Earl's excuse. Letters sent by the Earl and O'Donnell into Spain. Promise of ten thousand Spaniards, with artillery and treasure, to land at Waterford. Twelve barrels of powder left by the Spaniards. The Earl has entertained* 3,000 *bonnaghts; O'Donnell,* 1,500; *Maguire,* 700; *M'Mahon,* 500. *O'Reilly commanded by the Earl to have* 700 *bonnaghts. O'Rourke is extremely sick, and no likelihood of his recovery. Troops of men going weekly from the North by night to the Glynns to aid Feagh M'Hugh. Mulmorey O'Reilly keeps with his ward upon the Stone. Capture of Cavan Castle by Edmund O'Reilly. Edmund, who is created O'Reilly by the Earl, fears that Mulmorey will draw in the Queen's forces to his aid. Richard Tyrrell, with* 100 *shot and* 100 *targets, is gone to the Rede Moore, and intends to pass up to the Glynns. The English soldiers, who went of themselves to the enemy, would willingly serve Her Majesty, if they might be paid once a year. Recommends the making of a blockhouse or sconce on every bridge over the Boyne, to prevent the spoilings by the enemy.*—1596, *November* 10. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

Nov. 22. Tullagh. 26. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks him for the 1,000 foot that came over last, so well appointed. Entreats his best favour in furthering speedy supplies of treasure, munition and victuals. The Councillor referred to in his letter of this date to the Privy

1596. VOL. CXCV.

Council is the Bishop of Meath. Exceptions taken by the Bishop, and many other Councillors, to Sir John Norreys placing his troop of horse at Trim, after they had been ordered by the Council to go to Kells on the border.—The Camp at Tullagh, 1596, November 22. *p.* 1.

Nov. 22. St. Sepulchre's [by Dublin].

27. Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, and Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath, to Burghley. It may please your good Lordship, We are inwardly grieved to behold the present most dangerous estate of this kingdom, wherein we see a daily declination in this people from their obedience to rebellion, and almost an utter havock to be made in the several parts of this realm, which things we fear have grown to this extremity, for want of due information made to your Lordship, by whose wisdom and good policy, the course of this government hath been hitherto most happily directed; and albeit I, the Chancellor, have hitherto made bold in some part to discover the state of this kingdom, and to signify to your Lordship alone my poor advice and opinion, how these stirs and broils might be suppressed, and that, in regard we have been restrained from dealing in martial causes, we have been loath to send any advertisements, but jointly with the Lord Deputy, and the rest of this Council; yet, being now eye-witnesses of the general calamity of this country in all the parts thereof (Munster only excepted), where also there is some doubt conceived by the Vice-President that some stirs will shortly be raised, as by his letters he hath lately signified unto us; and, foreseeing the great danger wherein this kingdom doth now stand, if some speedy means of prevention be not used and taken in time, we have, in discharge of our bounden duties and consciences, thought good, in this our joint advertisement (which we deliver upon our credits), to impart unto your Lordship, and to you alone, the present most distressed estate of this poor realm, together with our opinions, how these grievous enormities may be remedied, hoping that, as hitherto, by your grave and provident circumspection, this country hath now for many years been governed, so now by the same in this most needful time it shall find relief.

And first, to begin with the Province of Ulster, from whence this rebellion hath received his ground, containing these parts, viz., Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Clandeboye, we see at this instant no sound part to be left in any of these places, but that they remain at the Earl's devotion. In whom, notwithstanding the receiving of his pardon, and his many protestations of his duty, we can perceive no tokens of any good or dutiful disposition; partly because by his special direction, since the acceptation of his pardon, the M'Mahons and Reillys have invaded the Pale, and committed great outrages; partly because at this instant he, taking without cause a cause of quarrel, for the present prosecution of the traitor Feagh M'Hugh (who, as we are informed, was never once named in the treaty of the Lord President with the Earl), is now come, with the number of three or four thousand men, near to Dundalk, threatening to enter into the Pale with his forces, so to divert the Lord Deputy from this

1596. Vol. CXCV.

service against Feagh; to which end, as we are advertised by an intelligence newly received from Sir Edward Moore, he intendeth presently to send O'Donnell, Maguire, the Mahons, and others, to make incursions into the counties of East Meath, West Meath, and Longford, but chiefly, because we have it discovered by several intelligences, that since the receiving of his pardon, he hath continued his combination with Spain, sent his letters to that King, assuring him of his service and dependency, and doth undoubtedly live in a daily expectation of the arrival of Spaniards. Besides, we see that in these times of pacification, wherein there hath been an abstinence from war, no regard hath been had, by himself or his confederates, of the keeping of any peace, for, in this time of cessation, almost the whole county of Louth and that part of the county of Meath, which lieth beyond the river of Boyne, which is within 20 miles of Dublin, containing four several Baronies and a half [*In margin*:—"Baronies of Kells, Navan, Slane, Morgallion; di. barony of Fowre"] is almost quite wasted by the incursions and spoils of the Reillys and M'Mahons, inhabiting the counties of Cavan and Monaghan; which also have on this side of the river of Boyne committed several spoils. On this wise they have encroached in time of peace (which the State here hath duly kept), and wonderfully enriched themselves with many thousands of cattle and other goods, having wrought an utter beggary, and almost a desolation, in those parts; besides, the revolt and loss of those two counties of Cavan and Monaghan; of which the first, being established by division in the time of the joint government of me, the Chancellor, with Sir Henry Wallop, hath ever since continued in good obedience, subject unto law, and answered Her Majesty a yearly revenue; and the other, being divided in the late government of Sir William Fitzwilliams, was brought to good conformity, and to answer a good commodity.

As for the Province of Connaught, we are right sorry to see the delays which have been used in the treaty with those traitors, and that, at the first entering of the Lord President into that Province (at which time he had the strongest army which in man's memory hath been seen in Ireland,) when they made a scruple to admit the offers of Her Majesty's grace and most reasonable conditions, he did not more roundly deal with those inconstant people; for then was the time to have recovered Sligo, a place of special moment to prevent the uniting of the forces of Ulster and Connaught; which if it had been done, we have in our opinions reason to think that the inhabitants of that Province would long ere this have been reduced to good conformity, where now, depending upon assurance of aid out of Tyrconnell, and out of any other part of the North, if need so require, they show themselves most froward and obstinate, having, in this long treaty of the Lord President with them, by delays and evasions greatly abused him; and there O'Kelly, who submitted himself, and delivered his pledge, is for certainty again revolted, and become a traitor; as for others, which in like manner submitted themselves before the Lord President, as O'Connor Roe

1596. VOL. CXCV.

and M'Dermott, they are in that Province men of mean account, and little hold can we take of any of their promises, seeing O'Kelly his revolt, and knowing the variable disposition of the people of that Province.

There now remaineth only the present state of Leinster to be made known to your Lordship, which by the traitor Feagh M'Hugh and his confederates is at this instant much distressed; and, albeit the Lord Deputy being now in the field, and in prosecution of that traitor, keepeth him in his glinns, with such forces as he hath of his own, not suffering him or them to range abroad, to do hurt in these parts about Dublin, as formerly they did, yet, by reason that traitor hath drawn into his confederacy many of the Butlers, Kavanaghs, and Moores, the counties of Kilkenny and Catherlogh, and part of the county of Wexford, are at this instant in a miserable case, in which many spoils and burnings have been lately committed, specially in the county of Kilkenny, by the Butlers; against whom we are right sorry that, in this most needful time, that honourable Earl doth not prepare himself to serve with greater zeal; seeing the disloyalty of his nephews and so near allies is a sufficient provocation, in honour and duty, to set him on fire to chastise their lewdness and disobedience against so gracious a Prince. As for the Queen's county, the state thereof is at this present most lamentable, for the English gentlemen, which there are planted, are all spoiled, and have their towns and haggards burned by the O'Moores (saving only some few gentlemen of the Wingtons, and their near allies, which are foster-brethren to the Earl of Tyrone). Which mischief being foreseen by the Lord Deputy and Council, Mr. SentLeger was directed with his band of 50 foot, having also the command of Captain Marshall his fifty, to lie in that county for the defence thereof; by whose remiss care in that service, and partial carriage towards some gentlemen of that county, we think that calamity hath partly happened. The King's county is, thanks be to God, as yet in safety, but the inhabitants are forced to bear an excessive charge amongst themselves for the guard of that county. As for these civil parts in the counties of Meath on this side the river of Boyne, Kildare, and Dublin, they are much oppressed by the soldiers in the thoroughfare, both of horse and foot, especially by the troop of the Lord President his horsemen, who commit very grievous extortions and oppressions. The like is also done by the rest of the soldiers, who are not restrained by any discipline, and it is greatly to be feared, that if some speedy direction from Her Majesty, or your Lordship's order, be not taken to bridle the disorders of the soldiers, that "manurance" of the land will quite be given over in these parts.

We have, upon our duties, truly and faithfully made relation to your Lordship of the present miserable estate of this kingdom in the several parts thereof; which, how it may be remedied in this extremity, it is a thing beyond our reach, and belongeth to such as have authority in martial causes, from which we are secluded. Yet,

1596. VOL. CXCV.

nevertheless, being much grieved in our consciences and duties to behold so dangerous an alteration to be wrought in this state, to the dishonour of her most excellent Majesty and the hazard of her kingdom (her Highness having at this instant seven thousand soldiers in pay besides wards), which are not so well employed as they might and ought to be, we are humbly bold, according the experience which we have attained in the service of Her Majesty, being poor Councillors of her State here, unto your Lordship alone, the father of all good counsel in this age, to deliver our simple opinions for redress of these enormities, most humbly submitting the same to your fatherly and wise consideration, being first resolved that there is now no means, either by any treaty or pacification, to suppress this dangerous rebellion of the Irishry, which, by reason of their own strength, and success in such few bickerings as have been had with them, are grown into such pride and insolency, as, in our judgments, Her Majesty, neither in honour nor safety, may endure. And therefore we wish that some speedy order be taken for their prosecution, to be begun at Candlemas next, at which time their cattle being grown to weakness, themselves worse provided of victuals and relief, and before the arrival of any foreigners it will be more easy to distress them, and to give them a blow, than at any other time; for, if they be permitted to hold this rebellious course without chastisement until the summer, they, having plenty of milk, which is their chiefest food, and the shadow of the trees to shroud them in their passes and places of fastness, it will be a matter of great difficulty to annoy them without disadvantage to Her Majesty's forces. And seeing those two Provinces of Ulster and Connaught are joined together in this combination of rebellion, we foresee it to be a thing of special importance that at one instant there be advanced against these traitors three several armies, which being conducted by skilful and careful leaders, we hope in God will soon be able to give that "depeachment" unto these rebels which the heinousness of their offences doth deserve. Touching this matter I, the Chancellor, made bold about a year since to write unto your Lordship, and I still continue in the same opinion, that without three several armies, one to be guided by the Lord Deputy towards Armagh, another to be sent into Connaught, and the third to arrive in Lough Foyle (of which army we do, for Her Majesty's service, humbly wish that Sir Richard Bingham, in regard of his good experience and knowledge of all the ports of the North, might have the charge), these tumults will not be thoroughly suppressed; but, if this course be taken, and a guard of some five hundred be left in Leinster, to pursue the Butlers, Kavanaghs, Byrnes, and Moores, we are in good hope these stirs will soon be appeased, for the honour of Her Majesty and re-establishment of this kingdom, which at this instant is thus miserably distracted. For better performance whereof, in regard of the general scarcity of corn and victuals in this realm, Her Majesty must be moved of her accustomed goodness, to send hither with all speed a good proportion of victuals from thence, and a large proportion of treasure for present

1596. VOL. CXCV.

provisions of beeves and herrings now in their season, and of such a quantity of grain as this country is able to afford. And we wish, in like manner, strait direction to be sent hither for restraining of corn and other commodities, that they may be kept within the Pale, for relief of the good subjects and of Her Majesty's armies; whereas now, in this time of cessation, these rebels do send freely to our markets in the Pale for corn and victuals, whereby all things are grown here to very excessive rates and prices. Thus we have made bold, presuming of your Lordship's good acceptation, to signify our opinions for the suppressing of this dangerous rebellion, most humbly beseeching your Lordship, if in any part we have erred, to pardon our boldness, and to impute the fault unto the zeal we bear to Her Highness' service, for the good and happy success whereof we will not cease continually to pray.—St. Sepulchre's [by Dublin], 1596, November 22. *pp.* 7. *Inclose,*

27. I. *Sir Edward Moore to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. (*Vide supra, under date.*)—*Mellifont,* 1596, *November* 21. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

27. II. *Rice ap Hugh to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. (*Vide supra, under date.*)—*Atherdee,* 1596, *November* 20. *Copy.* *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 22. Carrickfergus. 28. Captain Charles Eggerton to Burghley. Constrained to send his wife into England as a suitor for the relief of herself and his children. Has disbursed his all in the Queen's service, but is no more regarded in Ireland. Himself and company have not received their pay for five years. His great expenses, since he is in chief command in that part of the country. Extremities to which he and his men are reduced. Earnestly begs for relief, and for license to repair for a short time into England to free his poor living there, which he has mortgaged.—Carrickfergus, 1596, November 22. *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 22. Atherdee. 29. Rice ap Hugh to the Council of Ireland. Rewethstown burned the previous night. If men and munition come not in haste, all those quarters are gone. Fears help will come too late. "A pitiful case to see the poor subjects a burning before our eyes, and having no force to relieve them." Victuals wanted. Atherdee in great danger.—Atherdee, 1596, November 22. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 23. Chester. 30. Thomas Lynyall to [? Sir Robert Cecil]. Mr. Henry Malbie made show of his men upon horses and in armour that had been borrowed. Now many of his men, being commanded to ship into Ireland, required of their officers to be furnished with horses and armour. They were answered that they should be furnished upon their arrival in Ireland, and so they went aboard, sundry of them much discontented. Mr. Henry Malbie and his wife have taken a house at Wrexham, eight miles from Chester, where he now remains. Prays God her Majesty's service may be better prosecuted by such as will prefer honour before greedy pay or gain.—Chester, 1596, November 23. *p.* ½.

VOL. CXCV.

1596.

[Nov. 23?] 31. Memorandum stating that the company of light horses, named to be the Earl of Kildare's, was mustered at Chester on the 19th October, most of them being borrowed horses (the parties that lent them not certainly known), and their riders hired for money to serve that turn. Sir William Brereton and Mr. Mainwaring had cause to suspect no less, yet either could not for lack of authority, or would not for dread of displeasing, intermeddle any further than the viewing of the horses. Such county gentlemen can never duly perform any service of this kind, both because they want the requisite skill and knowledge, and also because they extremely fear to hazard their quiet state by procuring the disfavour and hatred of great men, and therefore it is no safe course to commit to such men the managing of such affairs. Mr. Malbie's company of light horse is yet to come, and if it prove no better than the Earl of Kildare's (as may well be feared), Her Majesty had much better give them freely a thousand pounds apiece, than be so shamefully defrauded of the pay assigned to them, and of the service expected of them.

The town of Chester has been, is, and will be still (if speedy course of redress be not taken) *spelunca latronum:* for, when horses are appointed for Ireland, borrowing and hiring of horses to make show at musters, with the like borrowing and hiring of armour and furniture for horsemen, and also for footmen, is no new device: and this, concurring with the usual frauds and falsehoods practised likewise in Ireland, has brought that country to the doubtful and dangerous terms it now stands in.

One man, whom the Lord Treasurer and his Honour have now employed to seek to redress these enormities, has resolutely vowed his life in the execution of this charge, for the service of Her Majesty and his dear country. No reward whatsoever, no favour of equals nor dread of superiors, no, nor menacing of death and destruction, shall ever move him one jot to defraud the trust committed to him herein. But it is most requisite above all things that he be thoroughly seconded and munited with authority, without which his faithful and painful endeavours shall never sort to good end. [*Probably from Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil.*] *pp.* 3.

Nov. 24. Dublin. 32. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. In favour of the bearer, Nicholas Weston, an alderman of Dublin.—Dublin, 1596, November 24. *p.* 1.

Nov. 24. Dublin. 33. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of Nicholas Weston, an alderman of Dublin, and as to the employment of a servant of Weston's in Spain.—Dublin, 1596, November 24. *p.* 1.

Nov. 24. Dublin. 34. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Meeting with the Earl deferred by reason of the illness of Sir John Norreys at Athlone. Thinks that the rebels who are gathering will break out into some bad attempt upon the English Pale. The subjects there have no

1596. VOL. CXCV.

mind to make any defence, as in other like times they did, but depend upon Her Majesty's forces, which are dispersed in three parts of the realm against the rebels, and thus the Pale is endangered. Risks incurred through the absence both of the Lord Deputy and of Sir John Norreys. The Brenny men and the M'Mahons have laid more parts of the Pale waste, since the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh was begun, than hath been done in all the time that the Earl was proclaimed. Sufferings of the English army in the Glinns: it ought to be brought back. Urges that some course be taken to stop dangers in time. Asks that his advice may be kept secret as he has had his portion of unjust and unworthy reprehensions in Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, November 24. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

34. I. *The declaration of Walter Wirrall, merchant, who lately arrived at Dublin from Spain, touching such intelligences as he discovered at his being there for* [*concerning the*] *Spanish fleet. First, I, the said Walter Wirrall, do declare upon my certain knowledge, that being in Spain lately, the* 24*th day of October last, the King of Spain commanded the Lantado at Lisbon to set forth himself to sea with* 80 *sail, directing them to Ferrol, where he had appointed* 40 *sail more to meet them from Andalusia, guarded thither with twelve galleys; and also* 25 *sail more from Vigo, under the charge of Captain Sebeor, to meet the rest at the said place called Ferrol, or the Northern Cape. The Lantado, the said* 24*th day despatched himself with the said number of* 80 *sail to the sea, and, intending his course for this realm of Ireland, shipped with himself certain Irish priests and pensioners, expecting to meet the rest of the fleet as was appointed; and coming then to the Northern Cape, where by means of a storm they would have doubled the same, and missing thereof were driven upon the sands and banks, and there lost between* 15 *and* 17 *of their best ships, with about* 5,000 *men in them, who also all perished, and there were at that place also about* 36 *of their ships scattered, but to what place, or what is become of them, the rest know not, neither did we hear what became of them, but certain we are that so many were lost and scattered, so as the others came not to meet them at Ferrol, but stayed in Vigo and Andalusia, where they mean to winter themselves, until the next spring, and the remainder of Lantado's fleet stay themselves at Ferrol this winter also; and we further hear that the King purposeth against the next spring to make ready a greater navy than this should have been, only, as they give out, to conquer Ireland, and so quietly to pass into England, where they say they shall find great friends. This is the best intelligence that in this my voyage into Spain I could discover, and do utter it and set it down upon my knowledge, for that I am privy to their doings herein, being there in the country when they set forth.—Dublin,* 1596, *November* 23. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

34. II. "*A note of some late service done in Connaught.*" *Defeat of Ferdorogh O'Kelly by Captain Brett and the garrison o*

1596. VOL. CXCV.

*Kilconnell. Divers chiefs slain. M'Teig O'Louman fled with about* 100 *men, but was met by Richard Burke and some of the garrison of Athenry, and utterly defeated. The garrisons of Aughrim and the Callough took a prey in Clanricarde, which was rescued by the English garrison of Kilconnell. Edmund O'Kelly, son-in-law of Ferdorogh, was taken prisoner. Gillie Reogh and others were killed. Ferdorogh O'Kelly has dearly paid for his latter rebellion, having neither goods nor followers left him, and would be content now with very easy conditions.*

Nov. 25. The Court. 35. Burghley to Sir Richard Bingham. Her Majesty is determined that he shall return into Ireland, to answer the matters of complaint against him; and also, that those charged with him shall repair thither for the same cause. Has had prepared from the book of informations a list of Sir Richard's brethren, servants and others therein mentioned. This he encloses, desiring Sir Richard to return it, letting him know which of those named are in England, and which in Ireland.—The Court, 1596, November 25. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

35. I. *The names of divers of Sir Richard Bingham's kindred, followers, and servants, charged with complaints, contained in the Articles exhibited against him; with notes by Sir Richard, and a request for a trial under competent Judges. Objection to Sir John Norreys.*—[1596, *November* 25.] *p.* 1.

Nov. 25. Dublin. 36. The Lord Chancellor Loftus, and others of the Council in Ireland, to the Privy Council. Inclose news of Dublin merchants arrived from Spain. The State in Ireland is in all parts in very evil case. Burnings and slaughter in Louth and Meath by the Northern rebels. These are countenanced by the Earl of Tyrone, who has stopped the passage between Dundalk and Newry. Have cause justly to conceive that this will speedily breed a most dangerous event. Have written to the Lord Deputy and the Lord President. Ireland endangered by the divided authority of Russell and Norreys. Pray for present directions from Her Majesty or the Council. Beg for victuals and money. Scarcity in Ireland. Great part of the munition lately sent already issued. More wanted.—Dublin, 1596, November 25. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

36. I. *Declaration of Walter Wirrall, merchant, before the Council of Ireland.* [*To the same effect as his declaration above, dated November* 23.]—*Dublin Castle,* 1596, *November* 24. *p.* 1.

36. II. *Relation of Spanish news by Christopher Devenish. Report of* 25,000 *men to go into Ireland, and that, after their arrival in Ireland, there should be a King in England of the English nation. Sixteen ships lost by this army, when it was at sea. In its ranks were all the Irish priests, Jesuits, friars, and pensioners, who also returned to Ferrol. Three days before the departure of Devenish, it was reported that "this army was commanded upon pain of death to depart, and also that the Cardinal*

1596. Vol. CXCV.

*should marry the King's daughter, and that the Prince himself in person, with all that they are able to make this next summer, will go for England." Mr. Hill gone to the Court of Spain. Two pledges of the Earl of Tyrone's with the King. Endorsed* :—1596, *November* 25. *Copy. p.* 1.

36. III. *Intelligence brought by Richard Proudfoot from Bilbao in Biscay. The Lantado left Lisbon on October* 25, *with* 90 *sail to meet the General of the Biscay Fleet with* 25 *more ships at the Groyne. Forty-five ships and twelve galleys, for which the Lantado had waited, arrived from Andalusia at Lisbon after he left. Loss by the Lantado of* 17 *vessels and* 5,000 *men off Cape Finisterre;* 36 *vessels missing. The Lantado returned to Ferrol. Further directions for the fleet to leave. Don Carolus, alias, Cahill O'Connor with his wife, mother, and children, the Bishop of Killaloe, and divers Jesuits and priests, English and Irish, were shipped in the Lantado's fleet. It comprised* 40,000 *men, besides* 4,000 *more in Sebeor's fleet. It was reported that the fleet was only to land the army in Ireland and then to return to Spain. It was thought that on the landing of the forces, Ireland would soon be theirs. O'Neill and O'Donnell their faithful friends. Further preparations for the conquest of England the following spring. Endorsed:* —1596, *November* 23. *Copy. pp.* 2.

Nov. 25. Dublin. 37. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Outrages in the English Pale and in the other parts of Leinster. Evil effects of the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. Unprotected state of the Pale. In Leinster, since the prosecution of Feagh began, there has been laid waste all the Byrnes' country, from Newcastle to Arklow, being a tract of ground more than sixteen miles in length, and a country rich in corn and cattle, from which the county of Dublin and other parts of the Pale were much relieved. By this war also, many of the best bordering towns along the mountains are burnt, being places meet for garrisons, and used for that purpose before. The country of Leix, being the Queen's County, is likewise laid waste, and the county of Catherlogh is in little better case. If the prosecution be not cut off, he sees not but that the King's County, O'Carroll's country, and Upper Ossory, with the county of Wexford, will fall into the same state of ruin. Thus Leinster and the Pale being under the storm, which is fed by the North, the whole state of Ireland is in a manifest peril thereby, if the Spaniards come, who, as they are assuredly expected, so they could never come at a more fit opportunity, the fire being kindled in the heart of the kingdom, and dangerously fed from all the outward parts, especially the North. The lamentable state of the government will run to a further hazard, if the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh continues. Touching the remedy, knows not what to prescribe, the evils are run to such a height; yet they can hardly endure a long time for resolution, either to have them compounded by pacification, or stopped by force. Long delay either way will increase Her

1596. VOL. CXCV.

Majesty's disadvantage. As for force, very few aids to a war will be found in Ireland: and as for pacification, he dares give no advice therein, considering how far they are gone with the Spaniard, and, by that means, how fraudulent they may be touching any conditions of peace contracted with them. Thinks, however, it would be Her Majesty's safest course to try and work them from the Spaniard by time, rather than to run upon them with severity of force. Is driven to keep his bed by reason of sickness. Another Dublin ship has arrived from Spain, and reports that the Spanish fleet, which it was said would winter in Ferrol, has received directions from the King to put to sea with the first wind for Ireland. The Council is sending this advertisement to Burghley.—Dublin, 1596, November 25. *pp.* 3.

Nov. 25. Mellifont. 38. Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and Council. This day M'Mahon, Ever M'Coolye, and Con M'Coll, with 140 horse and 400 foot, burned from the gates of Drogheda downwards. A great booty taken. No show of defence made by the people. Recommends the garrisoning of Drogheda. Two of his towns burned, and three others spoiled. Garrett Moore, with some twenty horse, prevented further damage. His poor people report that 700 cows and garrans were taken from them, beside sheep and swine, to their utter undoing, and to his great hindrance. Others of the Irish burned towards the seaside, and did much hurt. Looks to night for similar doings about Slane and those parts, as his spies so report. Three or four companies daily spoil on those borders.—Mellifont, 1596, November 25. *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 25. Mellifont. 39. Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Chancellor Loftus. For relief of the distressed counties of Meath and Louth. Her Majesty has 10,000 men in pay in Ireland. Thinks it hard 200 of them cannot be employed in defence of the principal members of the kingdom. Yesterday, 40 horsemen and 300 foot did burn and spoil within four miles of Tara, without any opposition. Great distress of the poor subject. "You and yours can find no safety in this kingdom, if the enemy's foot tread in our necks."—Mellifont [1596], November 25. *p.* 1.

Nov. 26. The Navan. 40. Thomas Wackes, Sheriff of Meath, to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Privy Council. On November 14, Patrick M'Art Moile M'Mahon, and others, burned Donamore, Ballymulghan, Harreston, Kingeston, Heyeston, Dollardston, and preyed Ellistonread, Brannanston, Ladirath, Knough and Mollaghae. They made great spoil. Only such as dwell in castles dare keep goods or families with them. The Earl is reported to be at Magheraskiagh.—The Navan, 1596, November 26. *p.* 1.

Nov. 27. Tullagh. 41. The Earl of Thomond to Sir Robert Cecil. To have a charge of horsemen among the rest in Her Majesty's service.—The Camp at Tullagh 1596, November 27. *p.* ½.

1596. VOL. CXCV.

Nov. 27. 42. Examination of Martin Foster and William Flinne, two honest professors of God's word. News of the Spanish preparations against Ireland. It was reported in Bilbao that, within twenty days after the setting forth of the fleet from Lisbon, there would be a Catholic King crowned in England. Inquiries by the Spaniards as to the harbours of Ireland. It was reported that the King of Spain and his son the Prince swore they would lose their crown rather than not revenge the sacking of Cadiz; and the Prince, as was said, gave two or three boxes on the ear to some of the Council, alleging it was their fault that Cadiz was lost. It was also reported that eight days after Her Majesty's navy departed from Cadiz, the India fleet of about thirty sail arrived with 33 or 34 millions. The Spaniards made no account to win Ireland with a white rod, if they had taken Dublin. Their purpose, it seemed, was to land at Waterford, and march by land to Dublin. They account that no town or part of Ireland will withstand them but Dublin.—1596, November 27. *pp.* 2.

Nov. 27. Dublin. 43. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Sir Henry Wallop is recovered. He has found the payments made by Kyffin to the footbands conformable to the warrant. Saw the Lord Deputy before he started against the rebels.—Dublin, 1596, November 27. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

43. I. *Account of Maurice Kyffin, appointed to have the charge of Her Majesty's treasure, for the payment of coat and conduct money and also of the wages and transportation of the bands sent into Ireland in October,* 1596.—1596, *November. pp.* 19½.

Nov. 27. Dublin. 44. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. Since November 8 has travelled 100 miles in Ireland, where is no other exercise but lamentable combustion and depredation. The Earl of Tyrone, who is named among the Irishry the Great O'Neill, shews himself far from any meaning of submission or cessation of war. One of his troops lately burned divers villages and much corn within 12 miles of Dublin. The Earl sends threatening letters to the garrisons of Armagh and other places, and takes in ill part the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. Brian Teig [Burke], brother to the Earl of Thomond, is very desirous to have a foot company. Recommends him. The rebels mortally hate the Earl of Thomond and his brethren.—Dublin, 1596, November 27. *p.* 1.

Nov. 28. Athlone. 45. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Council at Dublin. Advertisements sent very tardily to him. The Lord Deputy had unfurnished the borders of the Pale of such companies as Norreys had appointed to guard them, and had been the occasion of the Earl of Tyrone's return to his bad actions. Thinks his Lordship might see those borders furnished again from the 1,000 men lately come over. It passes his reach to imagine how 2,000 men could be thought fit to be employed against a few poor wood kern. Gave order for three companies to march to Trim, and there await orders from the Council. His treatment at the coming over of the last

1596. VOL. CXCV.

treasure. Refers the deciding of his cause to the Privy Council. His zeal for Her Majesty's service has made him speak plainly. Prays them to help in repairing this broken state rather late than never. His treatment in connection with his proposed meeting with the Earl of Tyrone. The forces in Connaught are not too many for its defence, and that of the adjoining counties, but he will send what men are asked of him, as he himself will not be able for a long time to take a journey in hand. It was out of spleen that the Lord Deputy, in the summer of 1595, purposed to employ him in the causes of the North. Her Majesty's letters have kept him specially in Connaught. Had Norreys had the absolute command of Her Majesty's forces, and the managing of Her Majesty's treasure, he would have suffered neither the soldier nor the country to have endured so much, nor the rebel to have triumphed, as it seems he does. Wishes the Lord Deputy full success against Feagh M'Hugh. Decay of the rebels' forces. Bad character of Piers Butler.—Athlone, 1596, November 28. *Copy.* *pp.* 5.

Nov. 29. Westminster. 46. John Bingley to Sir Robert Cecil. For a few lines to Sir John Norreys to afford him lawful favour on his trial touching two articles in the complaint against his master Sir Richard Bingham.—Westminster, 1596, November 29. *p.* 1.

Nov. 29. 47. Directions for Sir Conyers Clifford. To have the Queen's letters to the Lord Deputy and Council for such commissions to be made to him for the government of Connaught as Sir Richard Bingham had, with such instructions as were given to Sir Richard. To cause by all good means the recovery of the composition rents and their arrears. These rents, with the rents of Her Majesty's lands, and the impost on wines, answered the chief charges of the province under Sir Richard. Directions as to the application of the monies gathered in Connaught. Two of the Council to be joined as Commissioners with Norreys and Fenton, for hearing the complaints against Sir Richard Bingham; and these two Commissioners to be such as shall be thought indifferent both by the complainants and Bingham. The servants of Bingham are also to be tried. Her Majesty's determination to be made known to the complainants. *Endorsed*:—1596, November 29. *Minute.* *pp.* 2½.

[Nov.] 48. Garrett Moore to Sir Anthony Sentleger. Informs him of an intention on the part of the Earl of Tyrone to capture the fort of Armagh.—Mellifont, Sunday afternoon. [1596, November.] *Copy.* *p.* ½.

Nov. 30. Mellifont. 49. Garrett Moore to Sir Anthony Sentleger. Ambush laid by the Earl of Tyrone in person for the surprise of Armagh. Many of the soldiers killed, and some taken alive, but the fort continues still in their hands. Little is left for the enemy to take; but that little they will use their best endeavours to obtain. Report of the arrival of force. Spanish ships in the North. Hears the Earl has gone back to his borders.—Mellifont, 1596, November 30. *Copy* *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCV.

1596. November. 50. Names of all persons that have charge in Ireland, and of others that have had charge, and are meet to have charge. *Endorsed:*—1596, November. *pp.* 3¼.

Nov. 51. Names of the Captains appointed to have the charge of 2,000 soldiers lately sent into Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1596, November. *p.* 1.

[Nov.] 52. Memorandum on the state of Ireland. "The most tyrannous oppression sustained by this country people, through the spoil and outrage committed on them by the English soldiers without any redress of justice had therein, hath driven them at last to open rebellion. In Waterford, and likewise in this town of Dublin, the mayor, aldermen, merchants, and inhabitants generally, are known to be notorious Papists, hating the English nation and government, and, by many speeches which they let fall, do not stick to signify as much.

"If the Earl and rebels shall approach hither (as is greatly doubted and dreaded they will upon a sudden), I do not see any likely means here to make head against them. Only the townsmen are commanded by the Council (now in the absence of my Lord Deputy) to have harquebusses, powder, and bullets ready in their houses; who certainly will take part with the rebel, if they see him likely to prevail.

"The garrisons are so far and so dangerously remote one from another, as neither can they be drawn forth to join in time of need, nor yet any manner of relief or succour to be yielded them in their extremity, the rebel possessing the fields and passages. And be it understood withal that our companies are exceeding weak and few in numbers; yea, and of these few soldiers most be Irish, who daily and generally revolt and run to the rebels with armour and furniture, so as our wants and weakness are thoroughly known to the enemy. The garrison of Armagh is very likely to be lost, because here can be found no means to relieve it.

"The report of a late wreck of certain Spanish ships to the number of 17 (whereof should be four galleons) doth still hold; and that as well those ships as a hundred sail more, full of men, victual, and munition, were bound for these parts. If in that wreck any quantity of victual, munition, or money were lost, it may be a diverting of their purpose for this time. Whereas, if they had landed, they should have found but either very weak resistance here, or else none at all. And it is still thought that the Spaniards hold on their determinate course for Ireland, notwithstanding the loss of so many ships, and 5,000 men in them.

"Our new companies droop and consume as fast as they come over, and many of them run away, because they endure here much misery, having neither victual, money, nor apparel. And certainly, to send men hither, without good order of provision to be taken for them, is but a grievous addition to the manifold calamities here already, the which God of His mercy redress in time.

1596. VOL. CXCV.

"As any treasure is sent over hither, the chief officers are ever first served out of it, besides other defrayments; the remnant, falling out to be small, is commonly shared and assigned for the companies; the which being paid to the captains (who for the most part lie here still in Dublin, pretending to wait and attend for the same), they think such portion too little for themselves, and cease not to murmur thereat. Hereby the soldier remaining utterly unpaid and unprovided, is enforced either to the pillage and spoil, or else to starve. And a general rule it is that the diet of the soldiers, where they are cessed and lodged in this town, and everywhere else, is never paid; howbeit, the captains say that they give their bills for the same.

"Those that are in authority here are divided into factions and disagreements, as is notoriously known, and while every one attends his own particular, the public cause is neglected, which the rebel, well understanding, taketh his most advantage thereof. All sorts of traitors and malefactors have had usually protections, paying so many cows, horses, or so much money as was conditioned, than the which corrupt kind of dealing nothing hath more endangered the state of this kingdom.

"For conclusion, I have not known, read, nor heard, of the like misgovernment in any Province; and assuredly, the present state of things considered, without the great mercy of God and speedy reformation and remedy from Her Majesty and your Honours, all here will be utterly lost within short time."—[Dublin, 1596, November.] *pp.* 3.

[Nov.] 53. The humble declaration and justification of the Musters in Ireland, made to the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the Privy Council in England, by Thomas Chambers, Deputy Clerk for the Musters and Check, under Sir Ralph Lane, the Muster-master General and Clerk of the Check for the realm of Ireland.—[1596, November.] *pp.* 3½.

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## VOL. CXCVI. 1596. DECEMBER.

Dec. 1. 1. Imprests already made for the 2,000 soldiers appointed to be sent into Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1596, December 1. *p.* 1.

Dec. 3. 2. "Observations of matters seeming to be out of order in Ireland." The exposed state of the English Pale. By the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh,—who has such great adherents as the Butlers, the bastard Garrantynes [Geraldines], the Eustaces, and the O'Connors,—the counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, Leix, and Offaly, with Upper Ossory, are like to be lost from the Crown. The Lord Deputy and Council send intelligences of divers dangers in Ireland, but do not signify what remedies are being devised or

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

purposed. Numbers of the forces, and the money and victuals sent to Ireland. It was lately advertised by the Lord Deputy that, upon the killing of Philip O'Reilly, there was a very apt time to have regained the Brenny, but the advice of Sir John Norreys was required, and it was so long deferred that Tyrone "griped" the Brenny into his own power. What the advice of Sir John Norreys was, is not mentioned, nor yet under what colour Tyrone would deal with the Brenny, which is out of the Province of Ulster. [*Here a note is inserted by Burghley, with reference to the book of complaints, made by the O'Reillys of the Brenny in March* 1596, *with respect to the exactions of Sir Henry Duke, the sheriff, and four under sheriffs, with complaints also against Sir Edward Herbert, who had obtained a grant of the shrievalty* ("*shreefwicke*") *for seven years, contrary to law. There were also complaints against the custos of a bishopric there, and against one Patrick Crosbie. The O'Reillys, further, made petition to be restored to their estates, with Her Majesty's pardon, offering to become obedient subjects. What became of the complaints is unknown, but it is too well known that most of the O'Reillys have, since their complaints, wholly adhered to the Earl of Tyrone. It were convenient to be known whether their complaints were heard, and, if they were, why their petitions to be restored were refused.*]

Prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. Contentions between the Lord Deputy and Sir John Norreys: both are to be blamed. Varying action of Sir John Norreys in Connaught, sometimes using force. and oftener treaties: hence great expense and waste of people whereby the rebel is rather emboldened than discomforted. The appointment of captains for the forces sent over. Report that many of the English soldiers fled to the rebels, complaining that, by ill-usage of their captains in not paying them their wages, they had been forced to depart, and they offer very willingly to return to their service, if they are pardoned, and relieved with their ordinary pay. If it may be proved against any captain, that he has received pay for his soldiers, and detained the same from them, he should be capitally punished. The revolting also of Tyrrell, who was a captain, should be reformed with speed, considering he is of a good house, and brother to Sir John Tyrrell, who is reputed a good subject. Complaints against divers under-deputies of escheators, for getting out commissions to enquire of alleged concealed lands. Such busy promoters ought to be called to account.

It is to be remembered how the yearly rent for the composition of the five counties in the English Pale is answered, which was yielded by the country to Her Majesty for discharge of cess. Out of it the Lord Deputy was to have 1,000*l.* a year for his forbearing of cess. It should be understood, also, how the composition assented to in Munster, and how the revenue answerable for the attainted lands, is answered. Especially it should be considered how the English undertakers people their lands with English, and are not to let out

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

their grounds to the Irish, as is generally reported, contrary to the determination made for the peopling of the country with Englishmen, for its better defence against foreign enemies and the rebel. It is reported, also, that divers of the undertakers are absent from the country, and have made deputations to others, taking greater rents for the same, above Her Majesty's rent, so as such deputies are forced to let out the grounds to the Irish, without maintaining of any families of English. Quantity of powder sent to Ireland. It should be known what followed on the great complaint made last summer by the inhabitants of Kildare of extraordinary cess used upon the whole county. The complaint was ordered to be heard by the Lord Deputy, but nothing has been reported. Certain it is that generally through the whole realm such excesses are used by the captains and soldiers to the impoverishing and discomforting of the people. *Endorsed by Burghley:*—1596, December 3. *pp.* 8.

Dec 4. Dublin. 3. The Lord Deputy and Council to Burghley. Send the examinations of certain witnesses relative to the most heinous and slanderous words spoken by Captain John Norreys against the Queen. Justice Thomas Dillon of Connaught committed prisoner to Her Majesty's Castle of Dublin. Captain John Norreys is still close prisoner.—Dublin, 1596, December 4. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

3. I. *Information of Thomas Lestrange and others, touching slanderous words spoken by Captain John Norreys against Her Majesty.*—1596, *September* 12. *p.* 1.

3. II. *Declaration of Thomas Lestrange touching the usage he received from the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton.*—1596, *October* 11. *pp.* 2.

3. III. *Interrogatories ministered to the witnesses, and examinations of Serjeant Richard Savage, Charles Staunter, and John Balhatchett.—Dublin,* 1596, *November* 1. *pp.* 5.

Dec. 4. Dublin. 4. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Fears it will be long before he shall write of any recovery of this broken government, unless Burghley considers how the two principal heads, Menelaus and Scipio, may be compounded, and their emulations stayed. Every one seeking merely self-justification. This is rather to blanch the evil, than to labour at the remedy. Russell is the superior magistrate, and Norreys a great commander at wars; both are high-stomached men. So long as they accord not, the sores of the kingdom will not be cured, but rather further distempered. It is not easy, nor safe, for him to lay down in what points either Russell or Norreys errs most. The state of matters is such that a remedy is wanted, not an inquiry. The first step Her Majesty must take is to reconcile these two heads, or to revoke one of them. If both are still continued in Ireland, they must be severely charged to forbear all private matters of challenge. Begs Burghley to keep his advice secret. Many rumours of the

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

Spaniards coming presently. Still holds his first opinion that the dead of the winter is no time for their invasion of Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, December 4. *pp.* 1½.

Dec. 4. Dublin. 5. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Return of the Lord Deputy, and consultations of the Council. Prevented by illness from being present thereat. The government much shaken and distempered by the projects of Spain. Force appears necessary. The submitters in Connaught all stand still, except Ferdorogh O'Kelly, who has been well scourged of late, and asks to be received again on his first conditions. Connaught now better-tempered than Leinster. The complaints against Sir Richard Bingham. Spread of reports that he is at liberty, and coming back with greater credit than ever. When the incursions were made of late into the Pale, there was not a soldier in place to make resistance. It will be hard to put an army on foot suddenly, to make head against the Spaniards, if they come. Weakness of the companies. Desires some straight commandment to certain of the Council to muster all the horse and foot in Ireland; defective bands to be discharged.—Dublin, 1596, December 4. *pp.* 3.

Dec. 4. 6. Munition sent into Ireland between 31 March 1593 and 30 September 1596.—1596, December 4. *p.* 1.

Dec. 5. 7. Notes of matters in Ireland since May 1595. *Endorsed:*—1596, December 5. *pp.* 1½.

Dec. 6. Dublin Castle. 8. Petition of the Lord Deputy Sir William Russell to the Privy Council. To be means to Her Majesty to revoke him, and to place in his post some other, who is better countenanced and graced in Court, so that he may be able to withstand the imminent dangers that threaten Ireland.—Dublin Castle, 1596, December 6. *p.* 1.

Dec. 6. Athlone. 9. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Was not too credulous respecting the Earl of Tyrone's promises. If he had been well managed, he would not have entered again into rebellion, but might have been made an instrument to ruin all the rest of the rebels, and then himself would have been the easier dealt withal. From the very beginning, the Earl said he would not speak with any one, until matters were better settled. He was wrong in delaying the receipt of his pardon, yet he had given order for the taking out of it, but by some device the same was stayed, and was appointed to be carried to the Earl by certain Commissioners, who were to confer with him on divers matters. The proceedings of the Commissioners bred a beginning of jealousy in the Earl. Although, afterwards, he was much estranged from the appearance of continuing a subject, no means were used by the State to diminish his suspicion, but rather occasions of jealousy were given him.

Denies the charge that he did not receive sufficient pledges from the Earl, O'Donnell, and others. Pledges will not retain the people

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

in obedience. His conduct with regard to the musters. Although he had the name of General, he had no more authority than the "privatest or abjectest" captain in the land. His treatment with respect to the treasure sent to Ireland. Denies that Her Majesty's service has been much hindered by cessations. The greatest part of Connaught has been reduced to obedience by a sharp war, and, if he had not been interrupted, the whole Province would have been brought to as quiet and profitable a state as ever. The ill effects of Feagh M'Hugh's prosecution.

It is not strange that Sir Richard Bingham should exclaim against him, for none in his case can endure those that are appointed to bolt out the truth of their misgovernments. The complaints against Sir Richard. "And herewith I may take occasion to note how far he is from being a soldier, as he would have himself thought, insomuch as he had not, of his own, either piece, pike, or armour, and his companies, which had been many years full paid, furnished rather like *besoigneos* than soldiers." Reasons for objecting to the appointment of Sir Robert Gardener as one of the Commissioners. The implacable quarrel that Sir Robert and the rest of the Judges have with Norreys, because he happened to bring over the letters, whereby they were excluded from participating in the Councils of War. Necessity for appointing a Governor of Connaught. Craves pardon for sending what was written more than six weeks past, but he was so ill that he thought he would no more have troubled his Honour with any letters. Fears his disease is incurable by any air in Ireland.—Athlone, 1596, December 6. *pp.* 6½.

Dec. 6. Athlone. 10. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. His sickness was the chief cause of his not having written earlier. Waited also for some assurance as to the event of his travail. By sharp prosecution he had brought in the chiefest rebels in Connaught, whereof some had been eight years in open action. O'Kelly's rebellion prevented Norreys from suppressing the only left rebel, M'William, the remotest of all. At the same instant he received letters from the Lord Deputy to draw with all the forces in the Province to Dublin, or near it, because the Spaniards were certainly landed. This charge he was willing to obey, and made all the companies ready; but, soon after, learning assuredly that there were no Spaniards landed, he craved further direction from his Lordship. The news of his going away was known by the rebels as soon as by himself, and made them proud, and those that had submitted, fearful. But that matter being cleared up, he set his forces to work on O'Kelly, and brought him to submission. M'William alone now remains, from whom they have pulled many feathers, and who would not have been able to hold up his head for two months past, if there were not a general doubt of the Earl of Tyrone's re-entry into rebellion. The Earl has written to the Lord Deputy, Norreys, and others, that if Feagh M'Hugh be not pardoned like the rest, he [the Earl] will keep no peace, and has drawn all his forces to the borders, which he will find greatly unprovided. The

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

Lord Deputy appears bent on forcing the Earl into rebellion. Rumours about the Spaniards. Recommends the fortification of the principal towns. The Earl seems desirous of another conference with Norreys. Is loath to enter into it, because he is sure he will be crossed as far as device can stretch. Purposes a speedy repair to Dublin, where he must expect very bad welcome, and endure practice and ill report, but presumes Her Majesty will support him in his just causes, and that his past services will be remembered. Hears that Sir Geffrey Fenton is very strangely treated. Most earnestly beseeches his own revocation, or otherwise the usage he finds will soon make an end of him.—Athlone, 1596, December 6. *Holograph. pp.* 5.

Dec. 6. Athlone. 11. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The honest beginnings of O'Connor Sligo, who deserves better countenance and seconding. Has assisted him with a company against M'William. O'Rourke kept at bay by means of his brother. James Blake has importuned much for his pardon. Has granted him a protection to come to him.—Athlone, 1596, December 6. *pp.* 1½.

Dec. 7. Dublin. 12. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Ferdorogh O'Kelly, who entered again into hostility, has again submitted. The supposed M'William is in good towardness to come in. Connaught at present better-tempered than any Province in Ireland, except Munster; yet, even there have been of late discovered tokens of alteration, such as, if a round course be not taken to stop them in their beginnings, will sort to a dangerous stir. The complaints in Connaught against Sir Richard Bingham. It is no safe course in so distempered a government to hold a whole multitude so long in distrust of justice, in favour of one man, so deeply to be charged.—Dublin, 1596, December 7. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

12. 1*a*. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Will not easily be drawn to give credit to M'William, or to any shifts he can use, for he knows him well enough. Hopes (now that he has once again made an end with this foolish fellow Ferdorogh O'Kelly) that it will not be long before he "fatches" in "Mr. M'William," either by fair means or foul, if his intention that way be not interrupted. Has put O'Kelly into the charge of Captain Brett. Hopes to recover his health sooner than he feared he would. Does not think his speaking with the Earl would be to any great purpose, but will put himself upon the way, if so directed. O'Connor Sligo, who is come to Athlone, does not hear of any shipping come into the North.—Athlone,* 1596, *December* 3. *pp.* 1½.

12. 1*b*. *Extract from another letter of Norreys to Fenton, dated 6th December* 1596, *stating that Connaught is in a good way of quiet, but he fears all will be turned upside down again, when he goes away. Knows not how to answer those who have asked him what shall become of them when he departs. p.* ½.

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

12. II. *Captain Theobald Dillon to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Appointed to go with O'Kelly's son to the Callow, and there to execute him and Edmund O'Kelly. Ferdorogh O'Kelly himself came in last night, and is willing to submit, and to deliver the Callow to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Divers of the Costillo people desire the destruction of Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, whose coming is daily expected. Nothing can be done against him because of the great waters and the foulness of the weather. Tibbott Ne Longe at liberty. Greatly improved state of Connaught. Norreys been ready this last fortnight to go to Dublin. "I doubt not but you know the toil, travel, charge, and continual danger, I am in, as God knoweth: cow-keepers live better, and at better ease." Will continue his service as long as he is able to ride or go, though it is his hard fortune to be neither considered nor rewarded. —Athlone, 1596, December 2. pp. 1½.*

Dec. 8. Dublin Castle. 13. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Earl of Tyrone has blocked up Armagh, and himself in person used a stratagem to draw out and kill the soldiers. The rest of his force is on the borders near Dundalk, spoiling, burning, and wasting, with assured expectation of the arrival of the Spanish army. Send Sir Robert Gardener, as one best acquainted with the dangerous estate of the realm, to deliver an account of the same and of the remedies they propose. Reluctance of Sir Robert Gardener to undertake this charge.—Dublin Castle, 1596, December 8. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

13. I. "*Memorial thought convenient to be delivered to Sir Robert Gardener, to be sent from the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland into England, to deliver the dangerous estate of this realm.*" *The Earl of Tyrone, after the receipt of his pardon, said that, unless the men of Connaught might likewise have their peace, "he would put a candle through the tail of that his pardon." He further told Feagh M'Hugh to make his own peace, "for that he had no peace but such as he could break at his pleasure." Spoiling and burning of towns in Meath and Louth, by Henry Oge M'Harry M'Shane, son-in-law of the Earl, accompanied by* 300 *or* 400 *men. The Earl's designs against Armagh. Treachery of Feagh M'Hugh. When informed that Her Majesty had given directions for his pardon, he proudly and rebelliously returned this answer, that he would stand upon O'Neill's peace, and would accept no pardon but as he should direct him, saying that he was on the better side, and terming all those traitors that were of the contrary part. Sir John Norreys encouraged the Lord Deputy to attempt the prosecution of Feagh sharply. Feagh in November last sent a letter to the Lord Chancellor and Council, exempting in the endorsement the Lord Deputy. The state of Munster grows "very ticklish," and the cities and corporate towns there begin to grow doubtful and to stand upon terms. Divers English gentlemen taken prisoners by Rory M'Shea. A traitorous popish priest rescued by the citizens of Limerick. Priests from Spain cherished in Waterford. Unsettled*

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

*state of Connaught. No means to end these broils but by a sharp war with three strong armies in February next. Each army to comprise* 3,000 *foot and* 400 *horse. Victuals for four months. The Lord Deputy for the time being to be sole Commander General. Five hundred men to be left to guard the Pale. Further forces to be in readiness on the sea-coast, in case the Spaniards come. Speech of Viscount Gormanston to the Council of Ireland, in the name of the Lords of the Pale, against the cess, &c. Hostile acts of the Earl of Tyrone. Sir John Norreys now well recovered, and required to relieve Armagh speedily.—Dublin Castle,* 1596, *December* 7. *pp.* 12.

Dec. 8. Dublin Castle. 14. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. The Council has commanded Sir Robert Gardener upon his duty of allegiance to go and inform Her Majesty and the Privy Council of the dangers of Ireland. Asks a favourable hearing for him. Desires Cecil to remember his suit to be revoked. Prays him to hasten the victual, treasure, and munition written for.—Dublin Castle, 1596, December 8. *Endorsed:*—"Received the 20th, by Sir Robert Gardener." *p.* 1.

Dec. 8. Dublin. 15. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Sir Robert Gardener most unwilling to undertake this weighty business, on account of the disgrace he met with at his last being in England. Her Majesty's debt, at the close of the month, will be about 60,000*l.*—Dublin, 1596, December 8. *pp.* 1½.

Dec. 8. Dublin. 16. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. To consider the importance of Sir Robert Gardener's negotiation, and to further his favourable audience.—Dublin, 1596, December 8. *p.* 1.

Dec. 9. Dublin. 17. Commission from the Lord Deputy and Council to Maurice Kyffin to take musters of the army, as well in camp as in garrison, throughout Ireland.—Dublin Castle, 1596, December 9. *Copy. pp.* 3½.

Dec. 10. Dublin. 18. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir Robert Gardener is this day departed for England. Did not so much as hear of his going till he heard of his embarking. Cannot but bemoan the wrong done to himself in being kept from the knowledge of his going, and excluded from all deliberation and counsel thereof, a matter which arises, he thinks, from envy for his late employment with Sir John Norreys in the treaties of Ulster and Connaught. Has been for seventeen years Secretary to the State in Ireland, and always called to the most secret and weighty counsels of the realm. Might have given some assistance in Gardener's instructions, having been lately more specially employed in these great "garboyles" and alterations of the realm. Prays that his credit may be respected, as his long services have deserved. Has none to appeal to but Cecil and his father.—Dublin, 1596, December 10. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCVI.

1596.

Dec. 11. Athlone. 19. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. His severe illness. Good forwardness of Connaught. Prays that he may not be overborne in his just causes. His difference with the Lord Deputy. The State not well governed. Her Majesty's reprehensions breed no amendment. Her forces ruined and almost merely converted into Irish, which is a matter of the greatest danger. All is in confusion. Would like to see Burghley, where he could speak more particularly. Looks for some notable disgrace, so highly is he maliced. If the Lord Deputy would only charge him with anything he mislikes, and then send over the complaint and Norreys's answer, he would think himself very favourably used: but, if surmises secretly sent over should breed irremoveable impressions, he would wish he had been long since in his grave.—Athlone, 1596, December 11. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Dec. 13. Dublin. 20. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. His disgrace in being excluded from the consultations as to Sir Robert Gardener's mission. Knows not what instructions he carrys, and therefore cannot write that which were meet.—Dublin, 1596, December 13. *pp.* 2.

Dec. 14. Chester. 21. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. The careless handling of Her Majesty's special service by young Malbie. He has taken a house 8 miles from Chester, and consumed the money delivered to him for furnishing of the horsemen.—Chester, 1596, December 14. *p.* ½.

Dec. 17. Chester. 22. George Beverley to Burghley. The victualling for Ireland. Is not able to get more grain from England. His sickness by means of his last journey to London. Has ordered a bark to pass with the first wind to Carrickfergus.—Chester, 1596, December 17. *Seal. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

22. 1. *Note of the prices of grain sold at Chester on the* 11*th and* 15*th of December* 1596. *Wheat per London quarter,* 70*s.; rye,* 58*s.* 6*d.; barley,* 43*s.* 6*d.; and oats,* 27*s.* 6*d. Endorsed:*—1596, December 17. *p.* 1.

Dec. 20. Dublin. 23. The Lord Deputy and Council to Burghley. They have passed 17*l.* per annum of concealed lands to the College lately erected in Dublin. Recommend it to the favour of their Lordships. —Dublin, 1596, December 20. *p.* 1.

Dec. 23. Dublin. 24. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Arrival of treasure. Three months' imprest to the Lord Deputy. Sir John Norreys has also been paid the great sums borrowed by him for provision of beeves, shipping, and other necessaries. Further debts, incurred in the apparelling and victualling of some companies, paid. What little relief the residue will yield in this time of the soldiers' nakedness and great scarcity, Burghley may judge. Endures extreme pain with the gout.—Dublin, 1596, December 23. *p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

Dec. 23. Chester. 25. Captain Henry Malbie to Burghley. Sends the bearer, Thomas Carlton, to complain of the Mayor of Liverpool for dismissing his soldiers.—Chester, 1596, December 23. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

Dec. 23. Chester. 26. Examinations of William Pye, and other soldiers of Captain Henry Malbie, relative to their discharge by the Mayor of Liverpool. The shipping provided for their transportation discharged.—Chester, 1596, December 23. *p.* 1.

Dec. 26. 27. Opinions of the Privy Council, written chiefly in Burghley's hand, with respect to the memorials brought over by Sir Robert Gardener.

Sir William Russell to return to England, and to deliver the sword to the Lord Burgh. Sir John Norreys to be allowed to come to England, to answer any charges made against him by the Lord Deputy. The proposal to make three armies for pursuing the rebels rejected. Difficulties as to victualling. Safer, with a competent number, to preserve and defend the English Pale, and the countries that have yielded both obedience and profit, as the Province of Munster. From Ulster there has been no good obedience had, nor any penny in rent or by composition. From Connaught there has been no profit. The pursuit of the rebels into their remote fastnesses will apparently waste the English people, and be without effect in overcoming the rebels. The musters to be strictly seen to, and a competent force to be established with sufficient provision of victuals, money, and munition; and the war to be defensive. No hope of favour to be offered to the Earl of Tyrone, for it is thought he is so far rooted in his treason that he will not yield to submit himself personally to the State, and that it would be a dishonour for Her Majesty to have her favour rejected. A general pardon to be offered to such as will return to obedience. Garrisons for defence of the English Pale to be placed along the sea-coast. The fort at Waterford, and the towns of Waterford, Kinsale, and Cork, to be strengthened. The King of Spain to be offended upon his own coast. The calling of the nobility [in Ireland], to counsel in public causes of the realm, to be referred to the Lord Deputy and Council, to renew the same, as has been formerly accustomed in times of peril and danger. No authority of government to be committed to any one under the Lord Deputy, but such as can be limited and revoked by him, as cause shall require. Means to be taken to restore discipline among the soldiers in Ireland. To be considered, with what charges a force of Scots might be hired to invade the countries in Ulster, where the rebel Tyrone and O'Donnell bestow their "creattes" of cattle. M'Lane offers to be employed for that service. Further forces to be got in readiness for Ireland. The returns of the last 2,000 to be examined. Victualling from foreign parts. The frontier towns, as Carlingford, Newry, Dundalk, and Armagh, to be guarded against the incursion of the rebels.—*Endorsed*:—1596, December 26. *pp.* 5.

VOL. CXCVI.

1596.
Dec. 26. Dublin. 28. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Low survey of certain concealed lands for the College of Dublin. Present poor estate of the College, which for want of maintenance was ready to dissolve and break up, if they had not been relieved at this instant. Her Majesty's grant of 100*l.* per annum to the College will thus be made 600*l.* per annum; a rich gift, but very worthily bestowed. The College's chief suit now is that they may not be strained to make other chargeable journeys into England. Leaves them to Burghley's honourable consideration.—Dublin, 1596, December 26. *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Dec. 26. Dublin. 29. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. His being Surveyor-General of the musters in Ireland much impugned by Sir Ralph Lane. Opposition of the captains and inferior officers of bands. In taking the musters he examined every soldier and took his name apart, and inverted the whole order of the muster-rolls (by which divers borrowed and hired *passevolants* commonly answered to other men's names written). Proclaimed it punishable by death for any to presume to appear at the musters in bands to which they did not belong, and took other needful cautions for discovery of false dealing. Many bitter threats of death and destruction against him. Is resolved to do the best service he can, but desires to be munited with the necessary authority and with sufficient entertainment. The Lord Deputy thinks his allowance should be thirty shillings *per diem;* and, considering the dearth and penury of all things, the charges for servants and horses, the money for guides and spies, and divers other necessary expenses, that sum will hardly suffice, and some days his charges will far surmount it. Large rewards have been offered him, and, if he were to receive them, he would need no other entertainment. Thirty shillings a day is not comparable to the gain that a late deputy of Sir Ralph Lane made of his place in exercising the musters. And, as touching the office of Muster-master and Clerk of the Check in Ireland, as the same has hitherto been held and executed, it will be found to be no better than a mere covin and collusion. Dead pays, perquisites, and extorting profits claimed as due and belonging to the office, serve for sure bulwarks to maintain the frauds and falsehoods long practised in the musters. The patent by which the office was granted is much insisted upon as a thing of irrevocable validity, yet it was only "during pleasure." The deputation of the office was sold for money, saving certain perquisites and profits reserved to the patentee; and the buyer made the uttermost penny of gain and advantage he could, amounting by estimation to a great sum in one year. Proposes to set down a project of these things, showing how the manifold corruptions and enormities in this business may be redressed. In the meantime he is taking his journey towards the remote garrisons, and cannot possibly conjecture when he will be able to return. Prays that his private advertisements may not redound to his prejudice in Ireland. The borrowing and hiring of armour and furniture, as well as of men, for the musters, is very

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

ordinary; and, though he continues to deprehend the same, yet he has no coercive authority to deal therein.—Dublin, 1596, December 26. *pp.* 2.

Dec. 26. Dublin. 30. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. Steps being taken for the relief of Armagh. Sir John Norreys is to command in person. The rendezvous is appointed at Dundalk on January 16 next, which he fears will be over late. In the meantime the Earl of Tyrone approaches Newry, and the Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall, has written for speedy aid of men. The rebels still continue together very strong, and it is doubtful whether Armagh may be relieved. Hopes his letters to Sir Robert have been duly delivered. —Dublin, 1596, December 26. *p.* 1.

Dec. 27. Dublin Castle. 31. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. The stay of the 2,000 men intended for Ireland. Sends copy of a letter from the Earl of Tyrone, and the examinations of two men come lately out of Spain. Captain Lee has killed thirty or forty rebels in Feagh M'Hugh's country. Marshal Bagenall has found means to thrust forty beeves into Armagh, so they in that place are provided until Candlemas next, before which time he hopes to relieve them. The Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren appointed Commissioners to confer with the Earl. Successes against the Butlers and Eustaces. His suit to be speedily revoked. Thanks for the arrival of treasure. —Dublin Castle, 1596, December 27. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

31. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Expresses disapproval of the late spoils and outrages by the M'Mahons. Says it was owing to their chiefest kinsmen having been murdered in bad sort. Desires commissioners to hear the causes of their griefs. Tenor of his book-oath taken before Captain Warren. Three weeks' truce. Desires that a like course may be holden with Feagh M'Hugh. If the latter refuse, will have no more dealings with him. Offers a convoy to conduct Captain Baker to Armagh. Has undertaken for all the Magennises, as well as for the rest.*—1596, *December* 13. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

31. II. *Examination of Patrick Devenish, sailor, of Waterford, relative to the preparations in Spain for the invasion of England and Ireland. Alaredo* (*Lerida ?*) *burnt. Two hundred at the least die every day of sickness in the Spanish fleet. The Commander of it very ill. Twenty thousand Spanish soldiers. One hundred and fifty sail at Bilbao, to invade England or Ireland. Loss sustained by Devenish in his last voyage.—Dublin,* 1596, *December* 15. *Copy. pp.* 3.

31. III. *Examination of Sir Richard Folan, priest, come lately from Bilbao, committed prisoner by the Council. His travels in Spain, where he had been for about ten years. Names many of the Irish in Spain. Preparations there against England and Ireland. Appointments by the Pope to livings in Ireland English colleges at Seville* (*where Father Parsons was Provisor*

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

*and Valladolid; and Irish colleges at Salamanca and Lisbon. The Earl of Tyrone's correspondence with Spain. Report that he had made peace with the Queen of England, and meant to keep it. Tyrone's request that Edmund Oge might be sent over for that, by reason of the death of two of his brethren, his lot was now to be chief of the Earl's galloglasses. The said Edmund reserved for some special message to the Earl.—Dublin*, 1596, *December* 16. *Copy. pp.* 6.

31. IV. *The Earl of Ormonde to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Is credibly informed that Sir Edmund Butler's sons intend to put themselves into poor men's weeds, and to steal into the North to the Earl of Tyrone.—Kilkenny*, 1596, *December* 11. *Copy. p.* ½.

31. V. *Captain Warham Sentleger to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *His ensign, with a few men, making search in the great wood, lighted upon a house, where was Stokes, alias William M'Rorie. The latter fled into the wood, but was overtaken, and his head cut off.—Tymoghe*, 1596, *December* 21. *Copy. p.* ½.

31. VI. *Captain John Chichester to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Has rifled all the strong houses and burnt three towns in the Briskelagh. The Earl of Ormonde had left this task unattempted. Has taken two of the Eustaces, brother's sons to the late Viscount Baltinglas. These, if their lives are spared, have promised some service upon the Butlers. Seven slain and twelve hurt. Mortagh M'Caier seen to fall. The rebels hard pressed.—Tullagh*, 1596, *December* 22. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

31. VII. *Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The Earl of Tyrone gathering all available forces, on receipt of the news of the intended relief of Armagh. All the strength of the rebels will be presently united, and it is much greater than in the time of the last hostilities, because since then there have joined the Earl all the Brenny, Patrick M'Art Moile, O'Hanlon, Magennis, and the rest of Ulster, whereof some did then make show to depend on the State. Then there are the Earl's partakers in Connaught, unless the Lord President has of late taken some good order with them. The Earl means to make the seat of his war near Newry. The grounds between that place and Dundalk are advantageous for him. Desires additional forces speedily. The Earl is at present some five miles from Newry, and to-morrow is moving to about two miles therefrom. He has given Magennis the rule of Lecale, M'Cartan's country, Kilvarlie, and some woodlands. Tyrrell and another were recently sent by the Earl to the borders of the Annaly with* 200 *shot.—Newry*, 1596, *December* 23. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

31. VIII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Magennis. Counsels him to empty all the churches in those parts, to break the castle of Rafcillan without delay, and to join him on the Monday following. Tells him to bring his camp to Knocknenary, a hill in a wood within a*

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

*mile and a half of Newry. He himself will be at Kilnemodagh, the wood by which Sir John Norreys lay, when he last broke up camp from Newry.*—[1596, *December.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

31. IX. *Lieutenant Ro. Gosnould to Captain Baker. Besieged by the Earl's forces. Details of the stratagem employed by the Earl in the hope of capturing Armagh. Loss of soldiers. Straits of the garrison. Are victualled but for eight days, but will live with biscuit and water until they have some news.—Armagh,* 1596, *December* 7. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Dec. 27. Dublin Castle. 32. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Tyrone can be content to have Armagh victualled by way of convoy from himself, but not otherwise. It were most dishonorable to yield that Feagh M'Hugh should be upon the Earl's peace. Commissioners sent to treat with the Earl. Partial relief of Armagh by the Marshal. Captain Lee's success against Feagh M'Hugh. Other successes in Leinster. The Earl and Sir Edmund Butler's sons. Sees such strange courses held for continuing a most dangerous pacification with the Earl, that he most earnestly desires to be revoked.—Dublin Castle, 1596, December 27. *pp.* 2.

Dec. 27. Dublin. 33. The Lord Chancellor Archbishop Loftus to Burghley. The needs of the College lately erected in Dublin. "This people albeit they are still backward in religion, because the High Commission is not executed amongst them, yet I dare assure your Lordship that there is not in any like place in England, more often preaching of God's word (by godly and learned preachers) than in this city, where it little prevaileth." Commends the suits of the bearer Mr. Travers in behalf of the College.—Dublin, 1596, December 27. *p.* 1.

Dec. 29. 34. Things agreed on in Council, before the Queen, at the Chamber of the Lord Treasurer, the 29th of December 1596.

First, it is resolved that the Lord Deputy, according to his request, shall come over after the Lord Burgh be arrived there, and have been in Council four or five days made acquainted with the state of the realm, and have heard a general consultation of all the men of war of Council, concerning the manner how the war shall be made, and this project brought over by the Chief Justice new considered upon. In that point, the impossibility of victualling such armies and garrisons must be remembered.

For providing of victual, bargains to be made, and Low Country ships provided to be stayed.

Sir John Norreys to be at the consultation at Dublin, and to come over hither, but immediately to return.

Sir Thomas Wilford to look to musters, and Mr. Bronkerd. The Earl of Essex to give instructions concerning these.

The rebel to be proclaimed, when more forces are arrived.

For that purpose, these 2,000 last returned would be drawn to "redd" [readiness], and 2,000 more prepared.

VOL. CXCVI.

1596.

Good care to be had in the manner of discharging the Irish, lest they run to the enemy.

Lord Burgh to be called before the Council here, and made privy. *p.* 1.

Dec. 31. Hilbree. 35. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. His extreme sickness. Sir Conyers Clifford is still at Nessonne [Neston,] the winds holding so contrary, that no shipping can depart. As soon as he is strengthened, will cross with the first wind. Prays that he may not be driven further than Dublin for the hearing of his causes. The rebels stand not upon the hearing of them at Athlone, neither was it once mentioned by any of them. Has not been any cause of the stirs, which began in Ulster long before any in Connaught. Sir Robert Gardener will bear witness to this.—Hilbree, 1596, December 31. *p.* 1.

Dec. Westminster. 36. The Queen to the Lord Deputy Sir William Russell and the Council of Ireland. Warrant to cause a new survey to be made of the seignory of the island of Kerry, at the suit of the Lady Florence Herbert, widow of Sir William Herbert, and of Mary, her daughter. A new patent to be granted to the said Ladies, including any escheated lands adjoining the said seignory.—Westminster, 1596, December—. *Parchment.*

Dec. 37. "Considerations of the causes of Ireland." Necessity for obtaining wheat and rye from the parts beyond the seas. Mr. Weston to bring Dansk rye. Sir Henry Palmer to make stay of vessels coming from the East, laden with any corn, and to seize all the corn intended for Spain. Measures for transporting grain into Ireland. Newry, Carlingford, and Dundalk to be guarded. Armagh to be relieved. Hostile conduct of the Earl of Tyrone. The English Pale to be guarded. Waterford town and harbour to be strengthened. The opinions of Sir John Norreys, Sir Richard Bingham, Sir Conyers Clifford, and others experienced in Irish martial causes, to be had touching the armies to be furnished to pursue the rebels. *Endorsed by Burghley*:—1596, December. *pp.* 3½.

Dec. 38. A list of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, and where they are disposed. Horse, 617; foot, 5,732. [*It is noteworthy that Sir Richard Bingham is down in this list as in command of* 40 *horse and* 100 *foot.*] *Endorsed*:—1596, December. *pp.* 3.

[Dec.] 39. Memorandum on the state of Ireland. Nothing but a general conquest by war can prevail to settle and establish its forlorn condition. The Earls of Ormonde and Kildare must be recalled, and kept in England altogether. Either the Lord Deputy [Russell] or Sir John Norreys must be speedily revoked: the contrary courses held by them have most dangerously hazarded the whole kingdom. No manner of discipline maintained among the forces. Rapine by the soldiery. The horse companies live beyond all bounds and limits. The English footbands are reduced to much weakness and

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

misery, every band taking in Irish to supply their defects at musters. There is nothing more pernicious to this State than the Irish soldiers. They live all together, *à la pecorée*, and will acknowledge no commandment or government: being drawn to service, they commonly revolt to the rebels. Abuses as regards pay. "Of all the captains in Ireland, Sir Thomas North hath from the beginning kept a most miserable, unfurnished, naked, and hunger-starven band. Many of his soldiers died wretchedly and woefully at Dublin; some whose feet and legs rotted off for want of shoes; and albeit these poor souls were left thus at random, uncared for and unrelieved, yet were their names still retained in the muster-roll. And, no doubt, pay will be duly demanded in England; but great justice it were that the same should be suspended, even as the soldiers in their extremities were rejected. Sir Thomas North, before his going hence, sold (as is said) the piteous, forlorn band to his son, who now forsooth is Captain-in-Chief thereof: and one Hart is Lieutenant, a fellow glorying in his variable and villainous practises of deceit at musters: howbeit his art failed him when time was. It is sin and shame that such companions are permitted to have charge, and that the bands, reduced to such misery and weakness, were not forthwith cassed," and all their serviceable soldiers appointed to other bands. The great number of knights being captains is most damageable to the service. "They, for their maintenance, must cut out larger collops from their soldiers than other captains. They never endure to march, stay, or converse, with their bands. If they be appointed to guard and make good any place, the ignorant knight, by reason of his knighthood, will look to command all the rest, albeit there be many more expert captains in place than himself. To conclude, the knights within short while after their coming over hither, obtain passports to go back again for England, with allowance of the absence of six men apiece. Divers such knights continue still absent from their charge."—[1596, December.] *pp.* 5½.

[1596.] 40. Draft Warrant for a new military establishment in Ireland, beginning, "Whereas by reason of the rebellion and disloyalty of multitudes of our subjects in our realm of Ireland daily increasing, we are compelled to augment our army with companies both of horse and foot to a larger proportion than hath been at any time heretofore accustomed," &c. The establishment is to be in force from the 1st March next ensuing. *There are numerous corrections in this document, which has been very much injured by damp. pp.* 8.

[1596.] 41. Draft Warrant for the payment to Captain Charles Eggerton, constable of the Castle of Carrickfergus, of an arrearage of 608*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* sterling, out of the treasure in England in the Receipt of the Exchequer, in discharge of his entertainment and of that of the ward under him, from 1 October 1593 to 30 September 1595, and to charge the like sum upon the account of Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland during that time. *p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

[1596.] 42. Note of forces sent into Ireland since March 1594. From England, 4,680 foot and 298 horse: from Brittany, 1,500. *p.* ½.

[1596.] 43. Minute of Her Majesty's letters to the Lord Deputy by Sir Robert Gardener. Has had long speeches with him, and conferences for reformation of divers causes. Has caused sundry things to be put into Articles, in manner of a Memorial for him. Desires the answers of the Lord Deputy and Council in writing. [*This draft has been amended by Burghley.*] *p.* 1.

[1596.] 44. Maurice Kyffin to [Burghley]. The palpable blindness and bribery, which have subverted, and do still subvert, all truth and true proceeding here in the service of the musters. One Chambers, lately deceased, bought the deputation of Sir Ralph Lane's office, and regarded, as it seems, nothing else than how to make corrupt profit thereof. Does not find that any rolls or records of musters are extant. Has often inquired of Sir Ralph Lane, but cannot get any roll, escript, or scrow from him at all. Nor can he find out how the forces sent to Ireland in April last were distributed. Imputes all this to the ignorance and weakness of Sir Ralph in the matter of his charge and office. It is now commonly reported that Sir Ralph is about, once more, to sell his office. No man will buy it, but to the end to make his gain thereof. Trusts that the state of things will not be suffered to "fall to worse." *Unfinished.* *pp.* 1½.

[1596.] 45. A Note of the Lord Deputy's entertainment, with details as to the port-corn due from various counties of Ireland, and of the beeves, hawks, horses, &c. due from sundry Irish chiefs. An estimate is given as to what the cess yielded to previous Lords Deputy. *pp.* 7½.

[1596.] 46. Propositions to be consulted upon as to the course that should be pursued, seeing the King of Spain prepares to feed the rebellion in Ireland. *pp.* 2.

[1596.] 47. Offers of John Newton and other merchants for supply of wheat. *p.* ½.

[1596.] 48. [The Lord Deputy ?] to the Earl of Clanrickarde. Sends him a commission to command all the forces in his own country during the vacancy of the government of Connaught. This disaster occasions great loss. They must think of nothing but revenge. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

[1596.] 49. List of Warrants ranging from 1594 to 1596, from the Lord Deputy and Council to John Sasfield, Sheriff of Kildare, for cess of sundry captains. *pp.* 2.

[1596.] 50. Names of the chief men within the Province of Munster that are now out in rebellion. *p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

1596. 51. Warrant to the Lord Deputy to revoke a deceitful patent granted to Edmund Barrett upon colour of a letter he obtained in recompense of service. To reprehend the Serjeant and Attorney for their privity in assenting to the same. *Endorsed:*—1596. *Draft. pp.* 2.

[1596.] 52. "True causes [eighteen in number] to induce any indifferent man of judgment to be persuaded that Sir Richard Bingham hath not any way provoked the people of Connaught to rebel." "Four causes to move the Irish to take exceptions against Sir Richard Bingham." *pp.* 3.

1596. 53. Genealogies of rebels in Ulster, in Burghley's hand. *Endorsed:*—1596. *pp.* 2.

[1596.] 54. The charges of the fortifications done, and to be done, at Waterford, the Rock, Duncannon, and the Passage. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 55. Note of what lands are to be procured in Munster, for the purpose of building forges upon them. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 56. Petition of Connor Oge M'Dermott to Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Has been induced to come in by Donogh O'Connor Sligo, and to make his submission. Agreeing to the Articles. *Apostilled by the Commissioners. Copy. pp.* 1½.

[1596.] 57. "Dr. Doyley's remembrances for Sir John Norreys." Of the 1,000*l.* ordered to be paid to Sir John Norreys at his going into Ireland, he has received but 89*l.* Other monies due to Norreys. Decay of his company of horse. Norreys desires the government of Connaught provisionally. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 58. Petition of Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor, of Clonyberne, in the county of Roscommon, gent., to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton, Commissioners for Ulster and Connaught causes. His unjust imprisonment by Captain John Bingham, and the false accusation brought against him. Wrongfully deprived of his lands. Asks for redress and satisfaction. Requests that certain specified bonds may be cancelled. *Apostilled by the Commissioners. Copy. pp.* 3.

[1596.] 59. Interrogatories, in Burghley's hand, touching the Castle of Sligo and lands taken from O'Connor Sligo. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 60. Copy of the above. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 61. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain Baker. Has apprehended Kedogh M'Donnell's son, and will detain him till he makes satisfaction. Many like him pretend to procure the Earl a bad name. Art O'Hagan will be forthcoming. Will do what he may concerning the garrans lost by Baker. Will cause proclamation that nothing belonging to the latter be touched. *Copy. p.* 1.

1596. VOL. CXCVI.

[1596.] 62. Petition of Gerald FitzGerald, Theobald Dillon, and Richard Lennan, to Sir Robert Cecil. Craving payment for 266 beeves and 38 muttons, delivered for relief of Her Majesty's forces. *Draft.* *p.* 1.

[1596.] 63. Philip Mowbray to [? Sir Robert Cecil.] Reports Tyrone's anxiety for the release of a gentleman of good account. The latter has great credit with the Earl, and could easily take his life. Spaniards expected to land within a month in the west part of Ireland at Killibeggs. Asks that two post horses may be sent to meet him at Berwick, when he will come with diligence to "his Honour," and show him more of his mind. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 64. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy. Advertisements that the Spaniards intend to attack Waterford and Cork. They might easily land below the Fort of Duncannon. The fortifications of Waterford and Cork to be improved, and the care of those towns especially committed to Sir Thomas Norreys. Dublin Castle to be well guarded. *Draft.* *pp.* 4.

[1596.] 65. A note of such persons as have pensions of Her Majesty, and are fit to be employed in Ireland; also a list of ex-officers fit for service. *pp.* 2.

[1596.] 66. Petition of John Crofton, George Goodman, Gilbert Gardener, Richard Mapowther, Edward White, Martin Leslie, John Mannering, John Birchall, and other "English .and Englished" subjects, lately inhabiting the county of Roscommon, to the Lord Deputy and Council, stating the benefits accruing by their labours in the Province, the outrages committed on them by the rebels, and praying that now, upon a motion of peace to be taken for those parts, they may have restitution of their lands and goods, with meet amends for their great losses and hindrance. *One sheet.*

[1596.] 67. A note of the garrisons for Ulster and Leinster. *p.* 1.

[1596.] 68. A similar note. *pp.* 1½.

[1596.] 69. [Captain Warham] Sentleger to [Burghley]. Describes the treachery of Pursell's people in the county of Limerick, and the killing of them by George Thornton, Provost-Marshal in Munster. *Draft.* *pp.* 4.

[1596.] 70. Note of companies placed in garrisons. *pp.* 2.

## Vol. CXCVII. 1597. January—February.

1596–7.
Jan. 4. Dublin.

1. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir John Norreys is going to re-victual Armagh. The force assigned to him is not strong enough to perform the service without great hazard. Tyrone's refusal to send victuals to Armagh. He will do all he can to impeach Sir John Norreys in his passage. Abuses in the pay of the army. Confident expectation of the coming of Spaniards. Sir Conyers Clifford has arrived, with Her Majesty's direction to be established Governor of Connaught. He will find all the submittees there stand fast. Ferdorogh O'Kelly, who fell a little into relapse, is long since come home again. High rank of the submittees. Their pledges of the best quality. Prays Sir Conyers may make as good an end with M'William. Connaught better conditioned at present than Leinster. Is sorry to see the envious writing against Sir John Norreys and himself. It belongs to them all to seek to redress the evils of the realm in a spirit of unity. Sir Richard Bingham purposely delays his crossing over to Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, January 4. *Seal. pp.* 2½.

Jan. 5. Limerick.

2. Advertisements from Spain by Thomas Mahown, David Fox, and others, merchants of Limerick. One hundred sail, with 16,000 men, departed from Lisbon, with two months' victuals on board, for Ireland, or, as some say, for the Isle of Wight. Of these two argosies, four gallions, and 20 Flemish hulks, with 4,000 men were lost; certain Irishmen lost with these vessels. The Adelantado, with the rest that escaped, is now at Ferrol. Two armies, to the number of 50 sail, from South Spain and from Biscay have joined the Adelantado at Ferrol. The fleet that came from the Indies has brought 21 millions for the King and the merchants of Seville. —Limerick, 1596, January 5. *Signed. pp.* 2.

Jan. 6. Dublin.

3. List of the forces for the expedition to Armagh. Touching the defence of the borders during the absence of those troops.—Dublin, 1596, January 6. *pp.* 2½.

Jan. 8. Kilmacthomas.

4. Henry Knowlis to William Parker. Incloses a letter for his brother, but, if he is away at Lady Bedford's, desires Parker to open it, and to receive the money on a certain bill of exchange.—Kilmacthomas, 1596, January 8. *p.* ½. *Incloses,*

4. I. *Henry Knowlis to Richard Knowlis, at Kew. Sends a bill of exchange, concerning which he gives directions. Prays him to take pains in collecting money due to him in Warwickshire.—Kilmacthomas Castle,* 1596, *January* 8. *p.* ½.

Jan. 10.

5. Proportion of powder, lead, and match to be sent by sea from the Tower of London to Dublin.—1596, January 10. *p.* 1.

Jan. 10. Kilmacthomas Castle.

6. Henry Knowlis to Sir Robert Cecil. Three or four weeks since there came to his house, from the north, Mr. Fawkner, the priest who brought with him an English gentlewoman, named Ann

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Wilmar, sister to the Wilmar that married the widow of Francis Throgmorton, who was executed. She has been waiting woman to the Earl of Tyrone's lady these four or five years Her intention is to go to England towards Easter next, when she expects a friend of hers to come to her from the north, but who it is he knows not. Will be acquainted before she goes, for he is purposely using all kindness to them at his own house, so that he may find out such things as may be advantageous to the suppressing of these notable rebels, whose pride and insolency is grown to that intolerable greatness, as never was the like in Ireland. About the time she takes her journey for England, Mr. Fawkner, and some other Irishmen of his coat, purpose to go into the north, and are wonderfully desirous to have the writer with them, to bring him to the Earl. Has put off their return till towards Easter. Asks Sir Robert's advice as to what he shall especially inform himself of. There are no drifts or intendments of the Earl, or his confederates, be they once uttered by them, but he can be made acquainted with them, for he knows their most secret agents in Ireland. They have promised him more favour at the Earl's hand than, by the grace of God, he purposes to deserve. But he will always keep the heart of an Englishman, true to his country, and ruin to those who practise its hurt. Has never left his house without either Ann Wilmar or the priest, and this has bred such a sound opinion of him in them, that he may ask what he wills, and learn it. Ann Wilmar has promised him that, whensoever he goes, he shall carry such secret commendations to the Earl's brother Cormack, and to one or two more of his brothers, and others, that he shall be not a little accounted of. Thinks that either she is married already, or else shall hereafter marry some one or other of that crew, and is now going over for her portion, which is in her brother's hands, and withal to see her mother, who is married to Mr. John Newport, of Welten, hard by Daventry in Northamptonshire. Wise she is, as most women, and greatly maintains the Earl in his actions, and no doubt knows as much of them as any other. By her speech it seems that he is not only to manage war in Ireland but likewise in England, when time shall serve. By this they mean when it shall please God to call the Queen, and that the Earl shall be a special man, who shall help to reform religion both in England and Ireland. When the writer is in the north, he will be better acquainted both with that and many other matters, and will inform Sir Robert more at large. But this he thinks will be by word of mouth, for Mr. Fawkner, at his return from the Earl, bends his course for England, to Mr. Mumford, the priest, who has been so long with the Earl, and is already there about some great matter. At Mr. Fawkner's coming to him, some great man is to be had out of England hither, and so from hence into Spain. As the writer will not be able to tell Sir Robert the whole "manage" of this course, except he make one in company, he thinks best to come himself, and the rather for that he would not have the one so dealt in in England, as that it should

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

be a hindrance to the proceeding in the other here. And for that this journey will be long and chargeable, and the writer is not provided for it at this instant, by reason of the stay of traffic into Spain, and the great troubles withal, which cause all things to be so dead as a man can make money of nothing he has, he desires Sir Robert's assistance for supply of monies, both to bear his charge, and otherwise to use as occasion shall serve in so great a matter. Sir Robert is but little acquainted with him, but he will not require much. Sends copy of a recognizance for 160*l.*, due to him in May next, which copy he took out of the office of the Rolls, at his last being in England. Offers to pass this money over to Sir Robert until he has some experience of the writer's true and faithful dealing. All he requires is to be supplied in the interim: he will expend the money in Her Majesty's service, and has no doubt but that he will so bring matters to pass, as to deserve a good turn at Her Majesty's hands and the thanks of Sir Robert. If the latter agrees, prays that the money may be paid to his brother or Mr. Parker [in London], but in such a way as to make them think that it is for some merchandize. Has nominated Mr. Becher in his letter enclosed, and wishes a bill of exchange to be made and sent therein, as though it were from Mr. Becher's man in Ireland. Desires all secrecy, as his life depends upon it. Therefore has sent the bearer, a simple fellow, who will use no words where he has been, and because he would not have his letters opened by the way, a thing commonly used by them that carry letters hence. Desires that the bearer may be returned with an answer as soon as possible, and may be given a passport, so that he be not stayed by the way; also, that he may have money for his journey back, if he wants it, for the writer gave him but 40*s.* in his purse, which is soon spent, if the wind serve not. Delays his journey only until he receive Sir Robert's answer.

Within these few days there came news hither that there should be a parliament holden at Dublin, and my Lord of Buckhurst and my Lord Chief Justice of England should come over, and that thereto should be called the Earl of Tyrone and the rest, as O'Donnell, &c., under Her Majesty's safe conduct, to lay open their griefs, and to have redress therein. And that Sir Richard Bingham should be sent over to be tried, whether he had committed such outrage upon the Irish, as is reported, yea or no, and that he should suffer for it, if he had; upon which the company here took occasion to speak their minds. First, they find that no doubt but the death of Sir Richard Bingham would be a thing acceptable to the Irish in general, but, for the appeasing of the Earl of Tyrone and the rest, it would work little effect or none; for they would rather laugh at it merely, to think how far they had brought Her Majesty to yield unto them, than anywise go about to reform that which they had begun; and, for coming to the parliament, they would never believe that the Earl for his part would ever come; for, said they, at such time as he accepted of Her Majesty's pardon, we heard him say that he had accepted of

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

a pardon in such sort as the Queen and Council had granted it, "that is," quoth he, "to serve my own turn; as they (I know) have done it to serve theirs; but let me be hanged, and confusion come to all my posterity, if ever I trust either to pardon, or aught else that may be offered, for I know the Council of England to be arrant heretics and knaves, to whom there is no more credit to be given than to the veriest infidels in the world. I will therefore keep myself out of their fingers till time serve, and then peradventure they shall have more of me." This he spoke (as they say), and therefore they do presume that he will never come in upon any warrant. And besides they do allege that it is almost impossible for him now to come to any composition, but with the loss of all those who are now his greatest friends, which they are out of doubt he will never hazard for any good that may be expected from England, as the State now standeth; upon which they alleged many reasons too long here to repeat, but yet, after all, the writer might perceive that this news did something stir them, and that they stood upon thorns, till they were gone, as well to let the Earl understand what the minds of the great men are in these parts of Ireland, as also to put a "vye Inn" for reformation of religion, which this Queen must condescend to, or else there shall never be peace in Ireland; and that they flatly said, and no doubt but that shall be made to the outward shew the chief cause, for that it is a thing generally grateful to the whole country; but the only butt they shoot at, indeed, is to expel of might out of their country all foreign government, and to be governors themselves, which they are all persuaded shall or long be brought to pass, and no doubt their fingers do tickle till time serve them to be cutting all the Englishmen's throats in Ireland. Beseeches God in heaven to prevent them, and to turn the mischief they intend upon their own heads. Surely, if the writer were worthy to give advice, there should not one of them be trusted, but even as he would trust a dog with a bone; that is, he would either have their sons as pledges, or themselves in safe keeping; for, before God, they will else play the knaves, and be gone out before the English are aware. The Earl of Ormonde has played the bugbear this winter amongst those that took the part of his nephews the Butlers, and has and will cut off between this and Candlemas next some half hundred of their heads, which has quailed all the rest that dwell here about, so that they dare not stir. But that will not last ever, and there is much policy in the world, and therefore when he [the Earl of Ormonde] had done punishing those whom he liked not, he should begin to make sure [of] the rest that were left, and so should this part of Ireland be quite out of hazard, and the Queen left no more to trouble her than those who are out already.

Touching other matters, is to let Sir Robert understand that old Parsons' kinsman that came over last, whose name is Parsons (but he goes by the name of Fysher) is gone over into England (this was before the writer's coming home for the winds were so contrary,

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

that it was a fortnight after Michaelmas before he could set foot in Ireland), and has carried with him a great many of the books that are set out touching the succession to the Crown of England, and has left likewise a great many of them here. Much labour is made both here and there about the matter, and all [are] in favour of the King of Spain and his daughter, the Lady Infanta. There is another book expected, as soon as shipping can go to Spain, which shall in some sort prick forward men to take liking of the former. And, to make the proceedings that have been in England in the time of Her Majesty's reign seem odious to the view of the world, it shall come forth by the title of the History of England. The Cardinal meant it so, as the writer was told by one that did write the same to the Cardinal's dictation, and who is here with him, and has been in Ireland this twelvemonth. Cardinal Allen left some part to finish when he died, and this is taken in hand by Parsons, and will be brought very shortly, if it is not already, to the press, and so sent over, and through Ireland. It is thought best to bring it, because they come safest this way. There are two gentlemen here, that may expend 500*l.* a year each in Ireland, who are wonderfully forward in furthering these matters, and were at 40*l.* charge with young Parsons in sending him over to England in such sort as might be without suspicion. The Mayor of Waterford, so that young Parsons should go safely by Duncannon, the fort that Sir John Dowdall has in keeping, granted him his passport under his hand and seal, knowing full well what he went about, for he was made acquainted therewith by an Irish Franciscan friar, who lies continually in Waterford. If an officer of such a city, so much favoured of the Queen, undertakes such a thing, Sir Robert may think what the rest of the county will refuse to do, if opportunity serve them. Could certify other matters, but fears he has already been over tedious.—Kilmacthomas Castle, 1596, January 10. *Endorsed :*—"Received at the Strand, the 12th of February." *pp.* 4.

Jan. 12. Kilmacthomas. 7. Henry Knowlis to Sir Robert Cecil. Has made out the bill of exchange for 60*l.*, but will require more, as he has to lend 30*l.* to the one whom he uses in this business. Offers further security. Was fifteen years under the Lord Chancellor at Holdenby. Cannot, by reason of the service he has taken in hand, openly connect himself with Sir Robert.

Since the writing of his letter [of the 10th instant], the gentlewoman at his house, Mrs. Ann Wilmar, has sent for her friend, whose name is Mr. Richard Browne (or at least he goes by that name), to come to her with all possible speed, because she will presently go for England. Her brother sojourns about Holborn, and her portion of money that she is to have of him is 200*l.* Sir Robert may do as he thinks best about staying her in England, or suffering her to go to Ireland again. But out of all question much good may be done by her means touching the Earl. Heard her say that she knew 10,000*l.* would have been given by the Queen to

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

have known the Earl and his confederacy to have been where she had seen them. The Earl, it seems, is used to come into the Pale to some secret friend of his. That would be the best place in the world to apprehend him. When the writer goes there, he will better see the Earl's behaviour, and then knowledge shall be given accordingly. Mr. Fawkner and the rest think how to be going towards the Earl. Prays Sir Robert to speed the messenger back. States how he desires the bill of exchange to be forwarded.—Kilmacthomas, 1596, January 12. *pp.* 2.

*Annexed :*—Draft of the bill of exchange referred to.

**Jan. 12.** **Dublin.** 8. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. His deputy, Charles Huet, sent over for the passing of his accounts, delayed in London. Prays that the authority to the Commissioners for taking his accounts may be given as usual, "according to equity and their discretions," and not worded "according to law and justice." For eighteen years past has laboured zealously and faithfully as Treasurer at Wars in Ireland. Has not enriched himself by means of his office. Declaration of his private estate.—Dublin, 1596, January 12. *pp.* 4½.

**Jan. 14.** 9. "A brief collection declaring by what commissions the particular Accounts of Her Majesty's Treasurer at Wars for the Realm of Ireland from time to time, either by instruction or commission, successively have been determined, from the thirty-second year of King Henry the Eighth unto the twenty-sixth year of the Queen's Majesty's reign that now is, with the names of the Commissioners, as by their several Accounts remaining with me of record appeareth." [*Referred to in the preceding letter by Sir Henry Wallop.*] *Endorsed :*—1596, January 14. *pp.* 7½.

**Jan. 12.** **Mallow.** 10. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Loss of the Spanish fleet at its entrance into Ferrol. Certain merchants of Limerick having lately arrived from Cadiz, he sends their report, and also some Spanish letters which they brought with them. [*These latter are wanting.*] Has dealt with a merchant, who has gone to Lisbon, to observe carefully the state of matters there. Has another man in readiness to employ as Sir Robert shall direct. Mr. Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, has suddenly gone into England. Desires sterling pay for the thirty horsemen and their officers, annexed to the Presidency of Munster, as all others in Ireland have.—Mallow, 1596, January 12. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

10. I. *Advertisements concerning the preparations of the Spaniards to come into Ireland. The place determined for their landing is within the river of Limerick. Sir James Lindsay, brother to the Earl of Crawford, is lately come from Rome and departed from Cadiz for Scotland. He is the Pope's pensioner of 500 crowns a year. Presents to him from the Bishop of Boulogne, and the Abbot of St. Omer.*—[1596–7]. *p.* 1.

**Jan. 13.** **Moyallo.** 11. Sir Thomas Norreys to Burghley. Recommending the sovereign and townsmen of Clonmel, by reason of their loyalty and

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

dutiful carriage during the war time and ever since.—Moyallo, 1596, January 13. *p.* 1.

Jan. 13. Grange. 12. Gilbert Gardener to [? the Lord Deputy]. Had thought to have come to his Lordship, but O'Donnell, Teig O'Rourke, M'William, and others, are burning and spoiling the country towards Clanrickarde and Galway. It is reported they do mind to return by this way homewards. This kind of peace will breed no good to Her Majesty's subjects, and unless some speedy order be taken, they will be driven to leave.—Grange, 1596, January 13. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 13. Dublin Castle. 13. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. The 16th of this month is appointed for the forces to meet at Dundalk, and thence to march to the relief of Armagh. Opposition of the Earl of Tyrone. Doubts the "piece" will be lost before the supplies come thither. Gives all the furtherance he can to the expedition. Only three companies left in the Pale. Prays for his speedy revocation. Encloses letters with news from Leinster. — Dublin Castle, 1596, January 13. *pp.* 1½. *Sends,*

13. I. *The Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren to [the Lord Deputy]. Captain Baker and Captain Guest made prisoners by Tirlogh M'Henry, the Earl's brother. Sent a messenger to the Earl. Bad practices at Armagh. The Earl is out of hope to recover it.—Newry,* 1596, *January* 1. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

13. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren. Has commanded severe punishment for the parties that offered them abuse on the* 30*th December. Will meet them on Monday next. Has given straight order that the two Captains should be enlarged.*—1596, *January* 2. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

13. III. *The Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren to the Lord Deputy and Council. Met the Earl on Monday at Lissimon, six miles from the Newry. Send copy of letter from him. Their dealing with the Earl. He would by no means hear talk of Armagh. In other matters he was very reasonable. Obliged to remain at Newry. Armagh is yet safe, but they have great fears for it.—Newry,* 1596, *January* 5. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

13. IV. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy, in answer to his of* 12 *December. The quantity of victual he consented that Captain Baker should convey to Armagh. Owen M'Collo M'Mahon was indirectly cut off, whence proceeded all the harms which M'Mahon and his adherents have done. The Lord Deputy to cause satisfaction to be made to the Earl of sundry preys and spoils taken in time of truce, a satisfaction ordered by the Commissioners; and then the Earl will perform at full anything promised by him. Meanwhile he will not grant the victualling of Armagh.* —1596, *January* 4. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"This is*

1596-7. VOL. CXCVII.

*quite contrary to his answer made the same day, whereof I wonder."* *Copy.* *pp.* 1½.

13. v. *Answers of the Earl of Tyrone to the several Instructions delivered to him by the Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren from the Lord Deputy and Council. Concerning the incursions into the English Pale and the outrages there of late committed, says the same were done by the M'Mahons unknown to him, in revenge for the killing of Owen M'Collo; nevertheless has undertaken upon his honour that he will see full restitution and satisfaction made, so as he may receive the like measure of justice. As touching the Castle of Carlingford and the taking of Mr. Henshaw's daughters thence, acknowledges it was done in time of peace, and is therefore ready to deliver them, so as O'Hanlon's son, who was taken at that time in like manner, be also enlarged. As for the late attempt to surprise Armagh, and the killing of the soldiers there, does not deny that he was present himself, for which he is most penitent and sorrowful, and is contented to submit himself to Her Majesty's mercy, to lay upon him what fine she shall think good.* [*Sir Robert Cecil writes on the margin:—"A scornful speech of a traitor."*] *Much grieved at the charge of double dealing concerning the victualling of Armagh. Denies that he ever promised that Captain Baker should carry more victuals with him than six garran loads, whereof two were to be of salt. Is ready to permit the victualling of Armagh from time to time, so as all the other articles of agreement passed between him and the Lord General at Dundalk be likewise performed. Will not presume to deal any further for Feagh M'Hugh than was agreed upon at the first treaty at Dundalk. If Feagh refuses to pay his fine, and to put in such pledges as shall be thought meet, will utterly forsake him and leave him to his own care. Utterly denies that he ever meant, or does mean, to have any dealings with the Butlers, so long as Her Majesty accepts him as a loyal subject.*—1596, *January* 4. *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil:—"These answers differ from his letter, both being written on a day."* *Copy.* *pp.* 1½.

13. VI. *Captain Francis Stafford to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The meeting of the Lord of Louth and Captain William Warren with the Earl. Tyrone's truce for three weeks before Christmas was only to win time. Armagh greatly distressed for want of victuals. Tyrone has blocked the place with a great part of his forces. The enemy has possessed a but end of a castle very near the great church, and hourly provokes the garrison to burn their powder.—Newry,* 1596, *January* 5. *Copy.* *pp.* 2.

13. VII. *Captain Warham Sentleger to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Tyrrell is either sore hurt or slain. Faghnie O'Moore, the best gentlemen of them all but Onie, is hurt, not like to live; and another of Onie's best men called Donnell O'Doran. One of the Connors has been once or twice taken up from his grave near the place of skirmish, and great moan made for him. They are very*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

*strong, and daily gather all the forces they can.—Monaster Evan,* 1596, *January* 11. *Copy. p.* ½.

13. VIII. *The Earl of Ormonde to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Went last Thursday to the Briskelagh in pursuit of the traitor Piers Butler, and upon New Year's eve had made an end of him, if the footmen whom he sent had followed his direction carefully, but their greedy desire of garrans and other spoils made them suffer him to escape with the loss of three of his men. He has now with him but seven or eight strangers, who might deliver his head, if the Lord Deputy would proclaim some head money for him. Hears he means to steal to the north, and that one Captain Tyrrell is come to Leix with above three score men, seven of whom have been slain by the company of Captain Hovenden and Captain Sentleger.—Kilkenny,* 1596, *January* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

13. IX. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy. Prays his Lordship to write to Sir Charles O'Carroll, O'Moloy O'Dun, and Sir John Tyrrell to lay the ways to intercept certain traitors going to the North.—Kilkenny,* 1596, *January* 10. *Copy. p.* ½.

13. X. *Nicholas Harman to the Earl of Ormonde. Piers Butler is in the Dullogh. He went over to meet Onie M'Rory and Captain Tyrrell, but these had passed over the ford near the Inch. The Barrow very high. Phelim Reogh O'Connor means, on his return out of Feagh M'Hugh's country, to take Piers Butler into the North.—Laghlen,* 1596, *January* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 13. Dublin Castle. 14. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. They are forced, owing to the Earl of Tyrone's refusal to let Armagh be victualled, to assemble almost all the forces of the kingdom, and to send them under the command of Sir John Norreys to relieve that place. Only three companies left in the Pale to answer all occasions whatsoever. Great danger of the fall of Armagh. Has small comfort in staying in Ireland, considering how untowardly things succeed. Prays for his revocation.—Dublin Castle, 1596, January 13. *pp.* 1¼.

Jan. 13. Dublin. 15. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Understanding of the outrageous actions of the Earl of Tyrone, as well in seeking to betray the garrison of Armagh as in spoiling of the borders, whereby he gave assurance of his purpose to re-enter into rebellion, hastened to Dublin, though in weak state. Since his arrival has scarce been able to come out of his chamber, but, notwithstanding, has been appointed to take in hand the victualling of Armagh. His former counsels concerning the place disregarded. Has undertaken the journey, finding none else desirous of it. Will not spare any peril to perform this, which he has cause to doubt will be the last service he shall do Her Majesty. The danger might have been avoided, if, before the Earl had entered into these outrages, he had been managed with some discreet messenger

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

or letters. When he gave this advice to the Lord Deputy and Council, they wrote back that they knew not what he meant. When too late, they sent the Lord of Louth and Captain Warren, who brought back from the Earl undutiful letters and conditional answers. The issue as to the relief of Armagh is uncertain, the force for that purpose not being great, and consisting mainly of new men and the Irish. Has moved to be assisted with some of the Council in this journey, that, if the rebellious Earl should offer to submit himself, he might proceed therein with their advice. Sir George Bourchier and Sir Geffrey Fenton are appointed to help him, but they can get no instructions. Whether there be peace or war, it is intended to throw the blame on him. Accounts for his slackness in writing. Beseeches that he may continue to importune for license to return from Ireland. [*Sir Robert Cecil writes on the margin:—"In these points he is satisfied by Her Majesty's last despatch of the 9th of January."*] Besides his lack of health, which will not suffer him to do Her Majesty any service, he is sought to be touched in the highest degree, and finds extraordinary courses held towards him by the two greatest men, even in open Council, whereof he will inform Burghley more particularly hereafter. Has delivered in writing, in the presence of Sir Conyers Clifford, the state of Connaught, whereby shall appear the malice of those that have sought to deprave their doings therein. If the forces of the North do not overrun that Province, is assured that Sir Conyers will quickly bring it to a good state. Therein he must have a correspondence from the Lord Deputy. The complaints and assertions made against himself are so far from the truth that it is strange any such should come from personages of gravity and reputation. Sends his particular answer to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Sir Robert writes on the margin:—"I have received no other answer from him than this letter, which is to little purpose."*] Craves that Burghley will suspend his judgment till he is thoroughly informed.—Dublin, 1596, January 13. *Endorsed*:—"Received at the Strand the 27th of the same." *Holograph. pp.* 4.

**Jan. 13.** [Dublin.] 16. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. His dealings concerning M'William. Sir Robert is mistaken in thinking that, during the negotiations for a treaty, there was any truce. Whilst Norreys was in Connaught, no time was neglected for offending the rebel; and if the desperate state of the Province when he took it in hand were justly weighed with its present condition, it would appear there had been extraordinary service performed there, and in the frontiers thereof, as, namely, in the county of Longford, where the most pestiferous rebels in Ireland were killed and hanged, the Queen's castle built up again, and the whole country reduced. But because he did it, it is nothing. Unwise delaying by the Lord Deputy. Where Sir Robert writes that Her Majesty mislikes the long treaty, if it will please her Highness to remember that all the forces in the realm were continually employed, and had their hands full, notwithstanding

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

the conclusion with the Northern men, it will appear that the best course for Her Majesty's service was to deal with the rebels separately. Evil effect of the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. The object of the Earl in approaching the English Pale was to divert the forces out of Connaught. He made no challenge to the proceedings of Norreys there, because he continually entertained the Earl with good letters, alleging sufficient reasons for his doings. As for Sir Richard Bingham doubting of his safety, it will be hard to remove that conceit from him so long as he is in Ireland, but where Norreys is, he assures him he shall take no hurt. It is strange that such complaints as are made against Norreys should come from a Council where truth and integrity should be chiefly respected. Denies that he placed his horse at double rates. Whereas he might have asked for 100 horse, he made the warrant but for fifty, and for these no greater allowance of beef than is given to the basest kern or horse-boys, and without any order for either bread or drink for them, a course never before practised in the English Pale, and one which has made him odious. For, in former times, they were wont to kill hens, geese, muttons, lambs, and porks, at their pleasure, and had also wine, aquavitæ, and bread, or money largely for it. The unaccustomed restraint would be a great ease to the country, if it might be continued. One help only he added in the warrant, because the Lieutenant and divers others in the company were sick, that the Sheriff should levy some few muttons in the county for them, to be paid for, as the beef was. The disfurnishing of the borders was altogether done by the Lord Deputy, as will appear by the warrants. Even when the 1,000 men came over, his Lordship sent none to the borders, but led them unprofitably about the country to their utter ruin. As soon as Norreys heard how the way was laid open to the rebels, he sent, first, 60 of his own horse, and then four companies of foot, which stood the country in good stead. All this he has maintained before the Lord Deputy and Council. His Lordship was acquainted with all that was spoken of for Feagh M'Hugh. Hopes the slanders against himself will not be credited. The bruit of the Lord Burgh's coming to Ireland was there long before Sir Robert gave Norreys advice thereof. Is not sorry, for he is sure that the Privy Council would think it were too great a wrong that his reputation, fortune, and life, should be committed to the discretion of the Lord Burgh, considering the terms in which he stands with Norreys. Trusts Sir Robert will so make this known that Norreys may not attend the Lord Burgh's coming.—[Dublin,] 1596, January 13. *Endorsed*:—"Received at the Strand the 6th of February." [*This accounts for Sir Robert Cecil's last marginal note in the preceding letter. See also below, the letter of January* 15.] *Holograph. pp.* 5.

Jan. 13. Dublin. 17. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the appointment of Sir George Bonsor (*sic*) and Sir Geffrey Fenton to accompany him in his journey. Ill health of Sir Geffrey. They can get no instructions, but are left to their own discretion,

1596-7. VOL. CXCVII.

whereby they are assured that whatsoever shall be done by them shall be subject to controlment and hard interpretation. There is now much contentment that there is assurance of war, though all sorts of people do mightily exclaim against the causers of it. Will speak more plainly of these things when he has the happiness of attending Sir Robert in England.—Dublin, 1596, January 13. *Endorsed:*—"Received at the Strand, the 27 of the same." *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Jan. 13. Dublin. 18. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. That the requests contained in O'Connor Sligo's petition may be granted, in consideration of the good service he has already done, and may yet do, for Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1596, January 13. *pp.* 1½.

Jan. 13. Dublin. 19. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Duplicate of the preceding letter.*]—Dublin, 1596, January 13. *pp.* 1½.

Jan. 13. 20. Sir Geffrey Fenton to [Burghley]. God has not hitherto blessed this government in the hands of Menelaus [Sir William Russell], Her Majesty having in his time reaped but dishonour and disprofit. She has lost holds and fortresses, her armies are tainted in the field, her subjects' hearts altered from love and duty, many Irish countries relapsed to their wonted tyrannical customs of tanistry, God's kingdom grown into exceeding contempt, and not so much as a face of a church seen, and lastly a settled hope conceived of Spaniards to be sent to invade this realm. Cannot tell the causes or motives of all this, but, to stop this bleeding before the body languish to extremity, wishes Her Majesty would not defer any longer to consider the remedy, which rests much in assigning a new man to guide the helm, and he to bring with him Her Majesty's resolution for the Earl of Tyrone, to reclaim him by some assurance from herself (without which his suspicions and jealousies will never be cleared), or else a thorough enabling of the State to suppress him by force. To the latter point Fenton dares give no advice, considering the state of things both at home and abroad, and the further perilous sequels which may ensue thereby. The dangers will increase at the spring of the year, and the longer Her Majesty protracts to supply this government with a new superior commander the more will it be hazarded. Prays Her Majesty may be guided to apply a remedy in time.—1596, January 13. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Jan. 14. Dublin. 21. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Sir Conyers Clifford arrived on January 4. Confess that the forces in Ireland are greater than usual, but the rebels generally are much stronger than in former times, and are widely scattered throughout the kingdom. The want of money and victuals. Have used their best endeavours. Enclose the account of the state of Connaught, delivered in by the Lord President of Munster [Sir John Norreys], whereby the Privy Council may perceive that Ferdorogh O'Kelly

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

has now repented of his former follies, and has submitted and put in his pledges. Sir Richard Bingham is not yet arrived, but they hear he lies very sick at Hilbery. Have signified to the gentlemen of Connaught Her Majesty's severe proceeding against him, and the sending of Sir Conyers Clifford to supply his place. Have commissioned the latter, and sworn him in of the Council. The Earl of Tyrone's refusal to let Armagh be victualled. Measures taken for its relief. Sir George Bourchier and Sir Geffrey Fenton appointed to assist Sir John Norreys, in case of any consultation offered by the Earl. The latter is said to be residing not far from Dundalk, and has sent for O'Donnell and all his confederates in the North to meet him. Have stayed Sir Conyers Clifford's going to Connaught until the return of Sir John Norreys. As to the composition of that Province, will appoint Commissioners as soon as possible to make inquiry and report. The said composition and the other profits there are not now sufficient to satisfy the ordinary charge of the Province and to pay the two companies of horse and foot allowed to Sir Conyers. Shall have to supply what is lacking out of Her Majesty's treasure. In this way Sir Richard Bingham was paid, since the fall of the composition.—Dublin, 1596, January 14. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

21. I. *Account of the present state of Connaught, received of the Lord President of Munster on the 14th of January* 1596. *pp.* 11½.

Jan. 14. Mallow. 22. Sir Thomas Norreys and others to the Privy Council. In favour of the bearer, Donnell M'Carthy, who is minding to repair into England. Recommend that his lands may be confirmed to him, and that he may receive Her Highness's pardon. Think that thus there will be a very good occasion to settle great quiet in the country of Desmond.—Mallow, 1596, January 14. *p.* 1.

Jan. 14. Newtown. 23. Miles Kavanagh to [the Lord Deputy]. O'Donnell is come up through M'Costollo's country, where M'William joined him with his forces. Thence they repaired beyond the Suck, and burned and preyed the countries of Brymingham, M'Davies, and the Kellies, and have bended their forces towards Clanricarde. MacDermond and his have joined O'Donnell. There is no trust to be had in any of them. The wards and castles in the county of Roscommon are like to be distressed, unless speedy remedy be taken. The barony of Athlone in danger.—Newtown, 1596, January 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 14. Milltown. 24. Redmond Fallon to Sir Geffrey Fenton. O'Donnell and M'William, with great forces, are come up into the county of Galway, and are burning and preying as they go along. Fears it will go hard with the barony of Athlone.—Milltown, 1596, January 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 15. Dublin. 25. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Asking for the supply of three falcons, with their carriages and ladles, to

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

replace three belonging to the city of Dublin that were taken by the traitor Maguire when he captured the castle of Enniskillen. Were willing to have given the Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin the value of the said pieces in money, but doubted much they would convert the same to some other use. Prefer to have the falcons replaced from England.—Dublin, 1596, January 15. *p.* 1.

Jan. 15. Kilmallock. 26. Sir Thomas Norreys and William Robinson to Burghley. As to certain parcels of land in Desmond, concerning which they were directed to make inquiries. Think Florence M'Carthy worthy of favour, and that the lands should be granted to him, but without the title of M'Carthy More, or the signory over the rest of the Clancarties of Muskerry and Dwally; a little portion of the lands being left for Donogh M'Carthy and Donnell M'Carthy, base uncle and base son of best reputation to the late Earl.—Kilmallock, 1596, January 15. *p.* 1.

Jan. 15. Drogheda. 27. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends a letter (*the first of the 13th of January directed to Sir Robert Cecil*) left out of the last packet by negligence. Finds that men, victuals, and carriage will fall very short. Doubts not to succeed in his enterprise.—Drogheda, 1596, January 15. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 15. Dublin. 28. Sir George Bourchier to Burghley. The issue of munition from the Office of the Ordnance.—Dublin, 1596, January 15. *p.* 1.

Jan. 15. Moymet, co. Meath. 29. James Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. The Seneschalship of Dillon's country, called Maghericork, in the county of Westmeath, granted by letters patent to the writer's father, the late Sir Lucas Dillon, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, and to his heirs male, paying a certain yearly rent. After his said father's death, he himself quietly enjoyed the office, till now of late he has been greatly disturbed by one Theobald Dillon, sometime a merchant, and base-born, whose father was also a bastard, and son to the prior of Kilkenny. The said Theobald, having a charge of 25 horsemen in Her Majesty's pay, has taken upon him, not only the name and title of O'Dillon, but also the Captainry (*sic*) of Maghericork, and the absolute authority of the Seneschal there. His outrageous conduct to the writer's servant. Prays that letters may be sent to Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Anthony Sentleger, to enquire into these matters, and (finding the information true) to punish Theobald Dillon, and discharge him and his 25 horsemen out of pay.—Moymet, co. Meath, 1596, January 15. *p.* 1.

Jan. 16. Dublin. 30. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. The Lord Deputy, with the advice of Sir John Norreys, has stayed him in Dublin. M'William, and the whole country where he lives, the whole county of Sligo, and the county of Leitrim, where O'Rourke is, are all joined to O'Donnell. The O'Flaherties, in the county of Galway, have not submitted.—Dublin, 1596, January 16. *pp.* 1½.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Jan. 16. Dublin. 31. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Has sought by all means to inform himself of the state of Connaught, and finds that the draining away of the forces thence, before the full settling of the country, has put it again into hazard, O'Donnell being now there. By his power it is generally thought the country will be forced again to revolt, Her Majesty having no forces in the Province to give the poor people countenance against him. The measures to relieve Armagh. After that journey is ended, he is to be sent to Connaught with such power as can be spared.—Dublin, 1596, January 16. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Jan. 17. Dublin. 32. The Lord Deputy and Council to Burghley. There will not be money to buy bread-corn for the army, owing to the excessive rates arising from the present dearths and troubles. Hear that good proportions of rye and other grains have lately come to London. Pray that 2,000 quarters of rye may be sent over at once, and a greater proportion in spring of that which shall arrive in London then. Wheat cannot be had under 40*s.* a quarter. Have appointed the bearer, Samuel Mollenex, the victualler's agent, to attend Burghley's pleasure herein.—Dublin, 1596, January 17. *p.* 1.

Jan. 18. Dublin. 33. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. The gout, having taken grievous hold of him this winter, has given him a knowledge of the exceeding extremity Burghley has these very many years endured. Sends a certificate of the issue of the 20,000*l.* last sent, and of the remain of 3,041*l.* assigned in October last for the charges of the 2,000*l.* men then appointed to be sent to Ireland. As to the complaint that, in his certificate of October last, no allowance is made for the numbers missing in the army, but that Her Majesty is charged for the full numbers, states that it rests not in him to give satisfaction in that point, as the Muster-master delivers in his books only every half-year, when the abatement is made according to the checks then received. Mentions the amounts of these checks for the half years ended September 1595 and March and September 1596. It is impossible for Sir Ralph Lane and Mr. Kyffin to overtake the musters properly, without the aid of Commissaries. Thinks much greater sums might be gained by Her Majesty. As to the complaint that in his said certificate no mention is made of any service done, nor where the many companies in pay are employed, Burghley knows that those things do not appertain to him. Has communicated with the Lord Deputy and Sir Ralph Lane on these points. These fourteen months the course has been rather to reduce the traitors by treaties and cessations than to constrain them by force or fighting. Further details of accounts. Certificates sent by the victualler Newcomen. The price of ordinary wheat in Ireland is about 70*s.* the quarter. Unless provision be made from other places, sees not how the army can be maintained, the country being already overrun by the soldiers' continual passing to and fro, and lying upon the borders.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Even very few beeves are to be had now, and these at very high prices. Failure of the fishing at Waterford. Unless herring come from Scotland, the scarcity in Ireland will be great. The method of victualling the forces. The issue of ordnance: certificates by the Master. Has discharged his part and duty to Her Majesty, and this has bred much dislike to him in the country. The charges for Connaught. No compensation has been received from that Province (excepting Thomond) since September 1595. Neither has any been received from the Pale for a year and a half, but it has been left in the hands of the country people, in satisfaction for the beeves daily supplied by them to the army, which far surmount in value the composition payable. Sends a book of the revenue. Hopes God of His mercy will behold the affliction and lamentable estate of the enduring subject and toiling soldier in Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, January 18. *Seal.* *pp.* 5. *Incloses,*

33. I. *A book containing the issue, as well of* 15,000*l.*, *parcel of a Privy Seal of* 20,000*l.*, *dated the* 11*th of November* 1596, *as also of* 1,509*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.*, *being the remain of a former Privy Seal of the* 13*th October* 1596. *Among the miscellaneous payments is the following:*—"*Thomas Ball, for bringing the heads of seventeen of Feagh M'Hugh's men to Dublin, by warrant xv*^to^ *Decembris* 1596, 15*l.*"—1596, *January* 16. *pp.* 24.

33. II. *A certificate of the issue of the revenues received by Sir Henry Wallop during the year ended at Michaelmas,* 1595.—1596, *January* 18. *pp.* 11.

[Jan. 18. Dublin.] 34. Sir Ralph Lane to Queen Elizabeth. His nephew, William Lane, has delivered to him Her Majesty's gracious leave for him to write to her. Neither his own long sickness, nor any negligence on his part, nor corruption in his officer, has ever been any hindrance to Her Majesty's service, but only and wholly the want of Commissaries. Monthly musters otherwise impossible, the garrisons being dispersed in various parts, and some in remote places, inaccessible without convoys. His method of making the musters, Commissaries being awanting. Beseeches the continuance of Her Majesty's gracious favour.—*No date.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 18. Dublin. 35. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Sends a book of the charge of the army in Ireland during the half-year ended at Michaelmas, 1596. Causes of the delay in its completion. Asks Burghley to acquaint Her Majesty with the sufficiency of his answer, for he will have no rest until he knows she is satisfied. The necessity for Commissaries. Desires that Kyffin may be preferred to some better place.—Dublin, 1596, January 18. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

35. I. *A Book of the charge of Her Majesty's army and garrison in pay in Ireland, for the half-year between* 1 *April and September* 1596.—[1596–7, *January.*] *pp.* 56.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Jan. 18. Dublin. 36. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Lord Burghley is satisfied with his answer to the charges against him, and has signified the same in a letter by John Lane. Prays that Commissaries may be appointed in Ulster, Connaught, and Leinster, the three Provinces where the seats of war are meant to be set down by the rebels. Desires that Kyffin may be removed to some more profitable service for Her Majesty. Kyffin's oversight in mustering Lord Louth's cook and thirteen churls in three several bands. Asks Sir Robert to remind Burghley to speak to the Queen on the writer's behalf.—Dublin, 1596, January 18. *pp.* 2½.

Jan. 19. Waterford. 37. Thomas Wadding, Mayor of Waterford, to [? the Lord Deputy]. In the last shipping that arrived there from Spain, came two scholars. One, named Teig O'Hogan, son of Ogan O'Hogan, of Ardcrome in Ormonde, confessed to have been in Spain and Portugal almost six years, viz., in Lisbon, and at study in Coimbra. The other, supposed to be a base son of the Earl of Ormonde, his mother being named Anasta Walshe FitzAdam, of the county of Kilkenny, confessed to have been in Lisbon two years. He left Ireland, and is returned, chiefly because, as he affirms, his father's son and all the name of the Butlers is hateful to the country, and to their traitorous countrymen in Lisbon. Kept these two men until he had advertised his Lordship of their landing. The Earl of Ormonde has sent for them to examine them. They have confessed nothing concerning the State in any way.—Waterford, 1596, January 19. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Jan. 21. Dublin Castle. 38. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Refer to the book on the state of Connaught sent in their letter of the 14th of January. The persons named in that book are generally poor and mean freeholders, of small account, and such as depend upon other Lords, save O'Kelly, M'Dermott, Dualtagh O'Connor, and O'Connor Roe, and are therefore not much to be respected, because led as others stand affected, whatsoever security they give in the mean time. The pledges taken upon most of them are to very small purpose, or none at all. The four chieftains above-named have either underhand agreed with O'Donnell, or at least must take with him when he calls for them, and may not regard their pledges with the State, any more than the Earl of Tyrone and he do. The Earl's agreement to "reasonable" pledges. Through the joining of O'Donnell and M'William, M'Dermott is said to be fallen away, and O'Connor Roe already little better, so that the Province is as bad as it was before, or worse, without any good by the late treaty. This appears further by the letters sent thence within these few days, straight after the forces left the Province to be employed for the relief of Armagh. The Almighty has prevented the voyage of the Spaniards. But these are not suffered to disbark, being kept ready to set forth again on the sudden; the commanders only go ashore to take the air. Hostile conduct of Feagh M'Hugh and the Earl of Tyrone in expectation of the

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

landing of Spaniards. Nothing but force will serve. Pray for men, treasure, and victuals, as of late they desired by Sir Robert Gardener. Besides the common dangers threatened, many subjects are like to famish for lack of meat, if they be not relieved out of England; the dearth being otherwise grown so great that they see not how victuals can be had to keep the inhabitants from starving, even if all the forces were away. Declare that, if an honourable peace could be effected, they would consider it the greatest happiness that might befall this distressed realm and themselves. The danger of the loss of Armagh. The state of Connaught worse than the Lord President's book makes show of. Have caused the book to be transcribed, and have apostilled it for their Lordships' information. Cannot answer their Lordships' letter of the 9th inst., just received, until the Lord President returns.—Dublin Castle, 1596, January 21. *pp.* 5. *Inclose,*

38. I. *Hugh O'Donnell to O'Connor and to O'Connor's sons. Their pledges nothing dearer than those of the Earl and himself. Demands O'Connor's son as a pledge. Requires O'Connor and all his people to hasten presently to the North. The chiefs that are with him. Teig O'Rourke also has sworn to the confederacy. Endorsed:—"Received* 13 *January* 1596, *after the letters were sealed." Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 21. 39. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. O'Donnell is still in Connaught, and has, it is said, forced many to revolt. Critical condition of affairs in that Province. Prays for men, money, and victuals for two months, whereby he may presently take the frontiers, and stop O'Donnell. Desires 2,000 men to be sent to the port of Sligo, where he would meet them. If they landed at Dublin the march is long, and many of them would be lost before they did any service. The Pale is miserably poor, and the people of it desperate by the famine they fear to endure. It is no policy to discontent them, when already so many parts of the kingdom are in arms.—1596, January 21. *pp.* 1½.

Jan. 23. Dublin. 40. The Lord Deputy and Council to Burghley. Ask for a further proportion of grain. Also, that out of the next treasure to come over, there may be some portion assigned for the provision of salted herrings to be prepared in Ireland, and for butter and cheese in London. Cheshire and Wales cannot afford a sufficient supply. Lack of salted beef for the army, and the season now too late for making it.—Dublin, 1596, January 23. *p.* 1.

Jan. 23. Dublin. 41. Robert Newcomen, the Victualler in Ireland, to Burghley. Concerning Her Majesty's losses in victualling. The rye asked for by the Lord Deputy and Council much needed. Wheat, 70*s.* a quarter. The demand in the Lord Deputy and Council's letter of this date for herrings, butter, and cheese. Will send shortly the particulars of issue of the 4,000*l.* last sent over for victualling.—Dublin, 1596, January 23. *pp.* 2.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596–7. Jan. 24. Drogheda. 42. Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. Left Dublin on the 16th, and came to Dundalk on the 18th. Much of the victuals and munition for the expedition had not come up. Knowing that the Earl had made a gathering of all his forces near Dundalk, to impeach their passage in the straits [passes] between that and the Newry, advised the State to write to him that he should better bethink himself. Considered it requisite to have him tempered withal beforehand, considering how dangerously the realm stood, not only for present garboyles, but also for a further breaking out of sundry others ill-affected. The Earl was content to change his purpose, especially when he saw that Sir John Norreys had taken the field against him, and sent one of his principal followers, Art Bradagh O'Hagan, in the company of Captain Warren, to express his loyal desires towards Her Majesty, and his willingness either to let Armagh be victualled by the Queen, or to do it himself, Captain Warren being present to see it done. His offers, however, they rejected, because he interlaced them with a condition that Feagh M'Hugh should be received to mercy. So the next day he consented to the victualling of Armagh as they required, and sent Art O'Hagan as a pledge until it were performed; by which course the garrison has been relieved without stirring the realm. Good effect of this among the rebels, and probable good effect in Spain, when they see the yielding of the Earl in the pride of his forces. The companies of the expeditionary force have also been sent back to their wonted places of service. The Earl, contrary to the minds of his brethren and chief followers, who would have him still to remain Irish, as all other O'Neills have been, moved for a conference with them, which they granted, and he met them, first of all, at a little "vame" of a shallow brook, not three feet over, and not a musket shot from the camp, and afterwards, for a further show of his duty, came over and saluted them. His vehement protestations of loyalty, taking God and heaven to witness. Have sent the particulars of the parley to their Lordships [*some of the inclosures are wanting*]. Have appointed the 1st of March next for another meeting with the Earl at Dundalk on the causes of the North. He has promised to deliver to them there all the pledges of Ulster, and to exchange his own pledges for others. Meanwhile he has undertaken, for the M'Mahons and others, that no offence shall be done by them to the borders of the Pale, and that he will disperse his forces. Have written to the garrisons of Knockfergus and the Newry, that no provocation be made on their side. Forbore to assure him any pardon, but left him to Her Majesty's pleasure. His outward shows are fair, and his oaths deep and vehement, but they cannot tell if his heart and inward meaning are agreeable, considering how often he has slipped before.—Dredagh [Drogheda], 1596, January 24. *pp.* 4½. *Inclose,*

42. I. *A List of the forces employed for the journey of Armagh, and how they are again sorted to their garrisons.*—1596, *January* 23. *pp.* 1½.

1596-7. VOL. CXCVII.

42. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Is content to stand to such Articles as were formerly agreed upon. The exchange of his pledges. Will have ready those that Norreys has chosen, viz., two of his brother Art's sons and two of Henry Oge's sons for pledges. Meanwhile will give O'Melan, chief of his name, as a pledge for sending the victuals to Armagh in safety.*—1596, *January* 19. *Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 24. Drogheda. 43. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Will not say whether peace or war is most expedient with regard to the Earl. All such as have born affection to him, whilst he was loyal, and such of his followers as are known to be best affected to the quiet of the country, affirm that his meaning is to be a subject. The "most inwardest" with the Earl say that, if he might be assured of his life, and be governed by such as he durst trust, he would put in his son for pledge. The Lord Deputy and the most of the Council are of another opinion. The Earl and his say that the Spaniards have promised to come in such strength that they will care neither for the English nor Irish. Thinks they will not come in the summer. Some say that if the Earl be well dealt with for himself, he will have nothing to do with O'Donnell, M'William, or Feagh M'Hugh. Others say that he will never retire from his confederacy with the Spaniards, and that his offers are all to gain time, seeing the country weary of the war and that many will leave him. If the state of Her Majesty's affairs will endure a royal war, such as may impeach foreign invasion and suppress the rebel at home, it is both the most honourable and assuredest course, but the misery of Ireland will offer many difficulties. This journey to Armagh will be interpreted as all their other actions have been. The scarcity of victuals. The unguarded state of the English Pale. Town of Kells burnt. House of Baltinglass taken and spoiled. O'Donnell's action in Connaught. Reported burning of Athenry. Want of a Governor of capacity in Connaught. Prays for license to retire before the arrival of the new Lord Deputy, who has long professed to seek his ruin.—Drogheda, 1596, January 24. *Holograph. pp.* 5.

Jan. 24. Drogheda. 44. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Importunately intreats to have liberty to retire before the arrival of Lord Burgh. The Privy Council have with good reason impugned Sir Robert Gardener's imagined discourse, arising out of fancies put in his head by Sir Richard Bingham. Never had one penny profit of anything appertaining to the government of Connaught. The slander that he could not endure any superior or equal. Has served in Ireland under three Deputies. How the Duke de Montpensier and M. de St. Luc used him on the Continent. The next 2,000 men to be sent over without captains.—Drogheda, 1596, January 24. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596–7.
Jan. 24. Drogheda. 45. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Tyrone's protestations. His facility to be led by his brother Cormack and by O'Donnell, two malignant adversaries to Her Majesty's government. Complains that Sir Robert Gardener's despatch was kept from his knowledge, and also from Sir John Norreys. The kind of persons employed in respect to the sending of that Councillor.—Drogheda, 1596, January 24. *Seals. pp.* 1½.

Jan. 24. Drogheda. 46. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir John Norreys showed himself a commander of great judgment by suddenly drawing his army out of Dundalk, and taking the field against the Earl, who was within two musket shot of him, and all his forces. Thinks some comfortable letters ought to be sent to Norreys for his honourable service. The Earl's protestations not to be relied on. Whether there be peace or war with him, wishes Feagh M'Hugh could be taken in on honourable conditions, for he is more hurtful to Leinster and the Pale than all the rebels in Ireland. The prosecution of him these last four months has had no other result than a lamentable wasting of towns and people, and the increasing of pride in his barbarous mind, since he has stood out so long against Her Majesty's forces, led by the Lord Deputy in person. The Earl's forces in the recent affair were reckoned at about 3,000 horse and foot; those of Norreys were about 1,700 foot and 300 horse. The Earl seemed to make O'Donnell further gone with the Spaniards than himself was. Their negotiation with the Spaniards about Michaelmas last. The Earl reigns by his name of O'Neill over O'Donnell and all the rest. Thinks that neither will the Spaniards hazard an army in Ireland sufficient to invade the realm, nor that the Earl and the rest of the Irishry will consent to receive such a force as shall be able to overtop them. Thinks that Her Majesty should assure the Earl by letter against the fears he has for his person if he submit, and that some person of credit should be sent with the letter.—Drogheda, 1596, January 24. *pp.* 3.

Jan. 24. Dublin. 47. Donogh O'Connor Sligo to Burghley. Has been lately in Connaught, attending the Lord General as far as Sligo. Mightily impoverished condition of the country by reason of the incursion of O'Donnell at two several times. Would have endeavoured to interrupt him, had he had the power or ability. By his persuasion, O'Connor Roe M'Dermott and divers others of estimation in Connaught have submitted. Has made petition to the Lord Deputy and Council to allow him the house of Ballymote, for his better safeguard whilst he is in the county of Sligo, until Her Majesty should re-edify the castle of Sligo. He has also asked for some men in pay. The petition has been referred to the Privy Council. Asks for Burghley's support.—Dublin, 1596, January 24. *p.* 1.

Jan. 24. Dublin. 48. Donogh O'Connor Sligo to Sir Robert Cecil. *To the same effect as the preceding letter.*—Dublin, 1596, January 24. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596-7. Jan. 25. Drogheda. 49. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. At my departure from Dundalk, I received your Honour's letter of the 8th of this month, expressing your honourable regard of me, to support my credit in the disgrace offered me touching Sir Robert Gardener's despatch; for the which it bringeth no small grief to me that I cannot answer you with that gratitude which I ought and would; but, howsoever through present impediments I cannot yet do that which is meet, yet I will not always err that way, humbly beseeching your Honour to respect me, not according to my fortune, but according to my heart. And touching the answer which Sir Robert Gardener made there, namely, that I was very sick, and kept my chamber all the while his despatch was in consultation, and that I had been twice sent to, but by reason of sickness not able to be present at the deliberation, and therefore he was despatched away with expedition, I assure your Honour upon my faith, and as I look to continue in your favour, I was present at Council with them six or seven several times of sitting, whilst his despatch was in working, and yet, whilst I was present, no mention made thereof; and to secrete it the more from me, it was managed for the most part at their private houses for five or six days before his departure, and yet in all that time a Council held in the Council chamber, where I was still present. And where Sir Robert Gardener said that I was sent to twice in the time of the deliberation, I think he made that answer, because he had not a better ready upon the sudden, otherwise he would have bethought himself better than to have made an answer contrary to truth. And that which touched me most in disgrace was, that they drew together as it were in private conventicles to deliberate upon his despatch, knowing that I was up, and at Council, every day with them, and, for my further disgrace, they used the service of mean persons therein, such as were not sworn to Her Majesty, nor never had intermeddling in her weighty affairs, and, for their known unsoundness, ought not to be called to so grave a business, specially Her Majesty having a sworn officer, to whom, more than to a stranger, belongeth the charge of all her despatches for matters of Council. [*In the margin it is stated*:—"One Richard Cooke, sometimes servant to Fraunces Mills, attending the late Mr. Secretary Walsingham, was used as an instrument in this despatch, being the Lord Deputy's man."] This is a true report, which I will stand to upon my credit, whatsoever may be surmised or informed to the contrary.

And where it was alleged that I was committed to prison by Sir John Perrot, it is true, but that was not done for any exception taken against me in my public calling, or for any crime committed in Council, or Council matters, but only for a debt of 50*l.*, which I owed to him upon my bill, as Her Majesty, and my Lord Treasurer, and many other of the Council do know, for that their Lordships have been often made acquainted therewith. And therefore, how far that resemblance failed, that I might be sequestered from Council by one Deputy because another Deputy committed me to prison upon an action of debt, I humbly leave to your Honour's

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

consideration, being not a little grieved that, after so many years that I had spent in Her Majesty's service, not to serve mine own turn, but to serve hers, such a matter should be so hardly strained against me, to deject me, and bear up those that did me the wrong. And therefore I most humbly beseech your Honour that some letter may be procured from thence for the reparation of my credit, and to premonish the State, that the like be not offered again to my place.—Drogheda, 1596, Jannary 25. *pp.* 2.

Jan. 26. Dublin Castle. 50. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Earl of Tyrone contented to yield to the victualling of Armagh. Glad of this, but compare his course thercin with other his proceedings, which they find treacherous and full of strange disguisings. His bringing his forces to the borders, when the Spaniards were expected to arrive. His assistance of Feagh M'Hugh. Incursions by Feagh, the Butlers, Eustaces, O'Reillys, and others. O'Donnell with the forces of Connaught is passed even to the walls of Galway, where he has burned the suburbs of that town, and intends to go on to Limerick. The Earl cannot be more treacherous than he has been, and less treacherous he intends not to be, if the Spaniards come. The Earl's agreement to the victualling of Armagh was a stratagem to draw away the Queen's forces from Connaught, so that O'Donnell might, as he has done, be possessed thereof, and draw that whole Province to his dependency. —Dublin Castle, 1596, January 26. *pp.* 4. *Inclose,*

50. I. *Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. The Earl's shifts. Their conclusion with him for the victualling of Armagh. Art Bradagh O'Hagan put in as a pledge. Distribution of the companies in various garrisons. The Earl visits Norreys and the Commissioners after they had taken the field at Faugher. Fifty-six beeves sent to Armagh. Insufficiency of the supply provided for the army.—Dundalk,* 1596, *January* 22. *Copy. pp.* 3.

50. II. *Sir John Norreys and Sir George Bourchier to the Lord Deputy and Council. Have passed their words to Tyrone that his pledges now in Dublin Castle shall be delivered back upon his sending in such as they have made choice of.—Dundalk,* 1596, *January* 24. *Copy. p.* 1.

50. III. *The Earl of Clanricarde to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Yesterday Hugh Roe O'Donnell, Tibbott Burke M'Walter Kittagh, and* 3,000 *foot and* 200 *horse have spoiled half his country and assaulted divers castles. "Doubtless they will not leave any corn or cottage, within three days, unburnt within the whole country." Will never swerve for any losses and afflictions whatsoever. Has sent to the Earl of Thomond for assistance. Asks for help.—Lough Reogh,* 1596, *January* 16. *Copy. p.* 1.

50. IV. *G. Fitton to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *O'Donnell and M'William, after burning and preying in Clanricarde, came this day in their own persons to the walls of Galway. They are*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

*burning the suburbs, which is likely to put the whole town in danger. Burning of Athenry. It is said the enemy will go into Thomond, and thence to Limerick. News that the remnant of the Spanish fleet is prepared for Ireland, and that divers of Galway are stayed to be pilots.—Galway,* 1596, *January* 18. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

50. V. *Oliver Oge French, Mayor of Galway, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Hugh Roe O'Donnell and other the rebels of Tyrconnell have come into Connaught and made Tibbott M'Walter Kittagh Burke, M'William. They have destroyed almost the whole county of Galway. Burning of Athenry. Details of the attempts on the town of Galway. Devastation of country by the rebels. Their threats.—Galway,* 1596, *January* 19. *Copy. pp.* 3.

50. VI. *Captain Henry Streete to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *The traitors of the Brenny, being* 800 *foot and* 80 *horse, have burned many houses. They were driven from the town by his company, leaving* 35 *dead in the streets. Mr. Richard Betaght is hurt, and some of the town killed.—Kells,* 1596, *January* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

Jan. 26. Dublin Castle. 51. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. If the Earl of Tyrone's disguisings may be taken for good payment, thinks Ireland is accursed, for undoubtedly the Earl continues his practice with Spain, and still expects the arrival of the Spaniards. Cannot answer the Privy Council's letters of the 9th instant, until the return of Sir John Norreys.—Dublin Castle, 1596, January 26. *Endorsed:*—"Received at the Strand, the 30th of the same." *p.* 1.

Jan. 26. Dublin. 52. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Understands by public report that there is an intention to send more forces to Ireland, and to invade the north with three armies. The divulging of it at this time will do much hurt by stirring the minds of some that hearken after alterations; but, chiefly, it will make the Earl of Tyrone and his side suspicious to the uttermost, and what he will do to distress the Pale, upon the bruit of this resolution, is not almost to be doubted. Left him at Dundalk, seemingly well minded to be a subject, whatsoever his inward mind was. But now, hearing of so great a preparation of force made against him, at a time when he expected the contrary, he will break out to do the uttermost mischiefs he can, before they shall be well prepared to resist him. Is assured that all the State can do, will be done, for the prevention of harms.

Touching the change of Governor, thinks that if the sending of the Lord Deputy's successor had been deferred for this year, and the service of Sir John Norreys used, it would have been to good purpose to prepare and settle this government, which, after it had thus been drawn into the way of recovery, might more easily have been perfected by the successor. "For a ship, that hath been so long tossed with storms and tempests, cannot so easily be fashioned

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

to a good course, when a raw man upon a sudden is put to guide the helm. But I see Ireland must run the destiny assigned unto it, and advices of mean men are too weak to contend or alter a resolution already grounded." After the next day's deliberation, Sir Robert shall understand what is conceived of the state of all things in Ireland. Prays that he may be covered and secreted in all his advices.—Dublin, 1596, January 26. *Endorsed:*—"Received at the Strand the 6th of February." *Seal. pp.* 1½.

Jan. 27. Kilkenny. 53. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Did not receive Burghley's letter of the 9th of November last until nine weeks afterwards. Will answer it when he has more leisure. His willingness to do Her Majesty all the service he may. The miserable estate of this unfortunate country.—Kilkenny, 1596, January 27. *p.* ½. *Incloses,*

53. I. *Gerrott Comerford, Attorney-General in Connaught, to the Earl of Ormonde. The distressed estate of the county of Galway at this present were too tedious and most lamentable to be written. Burning of Athenry, and defacing and preying of divers towns and castles "by that faithless arch-traitor and nurse of all mischief, Hugh Roe O'Donnell," who thence took his way to the suburbs of Galway without the walls, burned the same, and took an immense prey. Was at Galway the day before his coming, and went to the Earl of Clanricarde, who requested his aid. Strength of the rebels. Assistance urgent. Has written to the Lord Deputy and the Lord General. His daily imminent danger. Has few to trust to (the nobility excepted). Enforced for his own guard to keep a company about him, at his own charges, having no allowance other than the yearly fee of* 20*l., whereof he is unpaid these three years past. Fears not to hazard his life to prevent further mischief. The Earl of Thomond omitted no opportunity to draw all the forces of Thomond to their succour; but before his Lordship's return from the seaside, where he had been to withstand by sea the traitorous attempt of the Mallys, the enemy, overladen with movables, besides cattle, were "gone out of his danger." Was in the heart of the country, and an eye-witness of all that he writes. Arrival at Galway of a ship from Spain. One Dermot O'Moran, arrived at Galway, was at Lisbon when the Spanish fleet set out for Ireland, to the number of one hundred and odd ships. Twenty-six were lost at Cape Finisterre. Divers of the Irishry, both men and women, were in the fleet. The arch-traitor, Cahill O'Connor, and one Lacy, the titular Chancellor of Limerick, were drowned. The commander of the fleet had, since the wreck of those ships, returned from the King with a straight commandment to omit no time in performing his direction. The remnant of the fleet was at Ferrol in Galicia. O'Moran says that the galleass that was lately in the north of Ireland was, at her return, met at sea by some of the English fleet, and her captain slain, but that she reached Lisbon. Arrival of a bark from France. The Spanish loss confirmed. God send them all bad success, for those unnatural and false*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

*forsworn traitors are wholly animated by them. His Lordship, or one of his experience, would, with a thousand men, make no reckoning to overthrow those rascals, for they were slenderly weaponed. And God no doubt was against them, having procured the "coorsse" of thousands of poor children and women, who are by their traitorous means harboured under hedges in the field, wanting food or relief. Is glad to hear of his Lordship's success in the daily cutting off of rebels, doubtless through great travail and unexpected journeys. Connaught was left naked, and hence its being overrun. Prays the Almighty to confound the Queen's enemies both by sea and land.—Ardragh,* 1596, *January* 17. *pp.* 2½.

Jan. 27. Beaumaris. 54. Sir Richard Bingham to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks him for the great favour of having his causes tried at Dublin before the whole Council. Is most anxious to come to his trial, but is prevented by his sickness. Put to sea before he had well recovered, was driven back by a storm, and is now suffering a grievous relapse. As soon as he is able to embark without endangering his life, will omit no time for his repair to Dublin, as directed by Sir Robert.—Beaumaris, 1596, January 27. *p.* 1.

Jan. 27. 55. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Burghley. The weariness of his late journey. Prays that the causes concerning justice and the reformation of the government may receive speedy order.—[London (probably)], 1596, January 27. *p.* ½. *Incloses,*

55. I. *Advertisements to Burghley by William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster. Considers that John FitzEdmund, of Cloyne, in the county of Cork, within the said Province, accused of high treason, should be tried in England, otherwise justice will take no place, be the evidence never so plain. Also that James Goold, second Justice of Munster, accused of divers treasons, should be tried in England, else he will never receive justice in his own country.*

*In Munster, the good subject receives not that expedition of justice that is convenient, nor the rebel his condign reward with fit celerity. The rebels and malefactors commonly escape out of gaol before their trial, and become more dangerous than before. The chief of the Irish seduce the subjects from their allegiance. The Irish tenants are made apt to all rebellion and mischief. The rebels and Irish malcontents have opportunity to enrich themselves, and to conspire in matters hurtful to the common quiet. The English are subject to the trial of the Irish in all causes concerning their goods, lands, and lives. The cities and towns are insolent and like to fall away. Violation of the instructions for the better government of the Province. Abuse of the Justice in time of general session of gaol delivery.*

*Is ready to set down at large these defects and their remedies, as soon as he is commanded. Craves relief that justice may not be interrupted, that law may not be crossed, and that Her Highness's*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

*authority and Justices may not be disgraced or discountenanced. Endorsed:*—1596, *January* 27. *One sheet.*

Jan. 28. 56. The Queen to the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Directing them to inform her most particularly with respect to the claims made by the Earl of Kildare to certain lands in Ireland. Is inclined to grant his petitions. *Endorsed:*—1596, January 28. *Draft. pp.* 2.

Jan. 29. Dublin. 57. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Five hundred and seventy-five pounds borrowed of Dublin merchants to pay for beeves, taken up in Munster. The sum repayable out of the next treasure sent over to Ireland. Six hundred pounds to be imprested to Sir Conyers Clifford. Nearly two thousand pounds due to Sir John Norreys. Three or four thousand pounds due to the inhabitants of towns for diet of soldiers.—Dublin, 1596, January 29. *p.* 1.

Jan. 29. 58. G. Nicolson's opinion as to the employment of Scots in Ireland. Advises letters and presents to the king and divers others. Estimated rates of pay for the officers and men. *Endorsed:*—1596, January 29. *p.* 1.

Jan. 30. Dublin Castle. 59. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. Sends translation of letter from the Earl of Tyrone to O'Donnell, shewing that the Earl was privy to the "gryping in" of Connaught by the latter. Prays that the coming of Lord Burgh may be hastened.—Dublin Castle, 1596, January 30. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

59. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone ("O'Neill"), to (Hugh) O'Donnell. You shall understand that the Commissioners came unto us the 17th of January, and that we and they have broken off, by reason that we and the better sort of Tyrone have not thought good to yield our consents that Armagh should be victualled. And as I guess and have had intelligence, if we may defend the town ten days, it will with God's grace be left void for us. The Lord Deputy and Lord Norreys are without doubt assembling of an army to come hither. There is nothing we rather wish you should do than to have a care of them of Connaught, until you bring again to your side and party such as have already left you; and having done your business there, to come to these parts, if possibly you can, whereof we shall be glad, for here you shall have some good to do. And if it be God's pleasure that I and you do overtake them, I think they will not return in like state again. And, if time give you leave to come, bring with you a month's victual and beeves. Endorsed:—Received* 26 *January* 1596. *Translation. p.* 1.

Jan. 31. London. 60. Sir William FitzWilliam to Burghley. His sundry infirmities make him unable to enjoy so great a contentation as waiting on his Lordship. Acquaints Burghley with a disloyal imputation laid upon the writer by one Jonson, an Irish attorney. It came to his hand but yesterday. "I do humbly pray that he may

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

be speedily sent for, and commanded upon his allegiance to touch me as deeply as he can, for I loath to live if I have deserved to be called capitally into any question."—"From my house near Aldersgate," 1596, January 31. *p.* ½. *Incloses,*

60. I. *Speeches uttered by one Jonson, an attorney of the King's Bench in Ireland, against Sir William FitzWilliam. That the services of Sir William in general were not to be respected, for he was observed to be a man that doted in all his actions. That, if he were disposed, he could make Sir William hold up his hand at a bar; saying that a thousand pound land a year was a matter to be reckoned of, and that Sir William should haply once hear of; for, said he, I have "a web in his girt," that was not yet spoken of. That Sir William had paid a thousand pounds to be made Lord Deputy. Many other speeches he used, tending to the disgrace of Sir William and his service. Jonson's assertion that he was sent to Ireland as an intelligencer for Spain, Edmund Palmer, of St. Jean-de-Luce, being the man with whom he was to have intercourse of letters.—Waterford, Sunday,* 1596, *October* 17. *A note states that these advertisements were sent to* [? *received by*] *Sir William out of Ireland from Zachary Pierce,* 30 *January* 1596. *p.* 1.

Jan. 61. Certificate of such companies of horse and foot as were mustered by Maurice Kyffin in December 1596 and January 1596–7. *One sheet.*

Jan. 62. Chronological list of events in Ireland, 1553–1596, headed, "A memorial of the manner and charge of the government in Ireland 'since the first year of Queen Mary." *Endorsed by Burghley:*—"January 1596. Delivered to the Lord Burgh for his information." *pp.* 14½.

Jan. 63. The Victualler of Ireland's declaration of his receipts from 1 October 1595 to 30 September 1596, and of the issue thereof. *Endorsed:*—1596, January. *Two sheets.*

Jan. 64. List of Captains of 2,000 men for Ireland, and the places where they were to have been embarked. *Endorsed:*—1596, January. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 4. 65. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. His pledges, Harie M'Art, and Harie Oge, M'Art's eldest son by the Earl's daughter. The victualling of Armagh. His letter to Feagh M'Hugh. Divers spoils. Has written a reprehensive letter to O'Donnell.—1596, February 4. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

65. I. *Letter referred to in the preceding:*

*Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Feagh M'Hugh. Peace is concluded between him and the Lord General Norreys, who has promised that Feagh shall have peace. Bids him keep it well, do no hurt to any of the Queen's subjects, and make his submission as the*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

*Earl has done. If Feagh does the contrary, the Earl will no further maintain him.*—"*At the Maghure,*" [*Maghery*] 1596, *January* 5. *Copy. p.* ½.

Feb. 4. 66. The prices of victuals in Ireland, together with the rates that the soldier answereth Her Majesty for the same. The prices are given for various weights of the articles. The following are the chief:

Wheat, per quarter, 70*s.*
Barley-malt, per quarter, 60*s.*
Oat-malt, per quarter, 40*s.*
Oats, per quarter, 30*s.*
Peas and beans, per quarter, 40*s.*
Biscuit, per 1,000 lbs., 11*l.*
Cheese, per 1,000 lbs., 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*
Butter, per barrel, 4*l.*
Herrings, per barrel, 26*s.* 8*d.*
Salt, per hogshead, 26*s.*
Beer, per tun, 56*s.*
Casque, per tun, 16*s.*
Beeves on foot, 26*s.* 8*d.* "le piece."
Sacks, iij*s.* "le piece."

The rates answered by the soldiers are much lower. *Endorsed:*—1596, February 4. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 6. Dublin. 67. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir Robert Gardener's mission. Exposes certain capital maims and imperfections in the plot for the invasion of the North. The march alone in February would ruin the English army, without stroke of the enemy. Inexpedience of drawing in 3,000 Scots, both because of the greatness of the force, and because of the old intelligence of the Scots with the O'Neills. "It hath been always a rule of policy in this government to keep the Scots out of Ireland, as a people that have wild pretences to Ulster, and have long time footed in some parts thereof, and yet the Crown of England cannot expel them." How Munster lies open to the Spanish revenge meant against Her Majesty. Delays in respect to Sir Richard Bingham's case.—Dublin, 1596, February 6. *pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

67. I. "*So much of Sir Robert Gardener's despatch as hath been now exhibited to such of the Council as were not made acquainted with his going.*" *Endorsed:*—1596, *February* 6. *p.* 1.

Feb. 7. 68. Instructions for Thomas, Lord Burgh, Knight of the Garter, Governor of Brill in Holland, appointed to be Lord Deputy of Ireland. His investiture. To inquire of the Bishops as to the notorious neglect of religion. To aid the Officers of Justice. The musters and checks. Pensioners. Concealed lands. Case of John Rawson. Leases. Wards. Arrearages. Concordatums. Knighthood. *Endorsed:*—1596, February 7. *Draft, with corrections and additions by Sir Robert Cecil. pp.* 14.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596–7.

Feb. 8. Dublin Castle. 69. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Earl of Tyrone's cunning and strange disguisings to win more time. Send copy of intercepted letter.—Dublin Castle, 1596, February 8. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

69. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone* [*" O'Neill "*] *to* [*Hugh*] *O'Donnell.* [*Duplicate of inclosure to the Lord Deputy's letter of January* 30.] *Endorsed :—Received 26th January,* 1596. *Translation. p.* 1.

Feb. 8. Dublin. 70. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The barrenness of the plot for the war in Ulster. The Lord Deputy very forward in preparing for his return to England. Begs that himself may have license to leave before the arrival of the next Lord Deputy. Remains in Ireland, but as a sport for such as hate him, and consumes himself without hope of anything but heaps of disgrace for his reward. Armagh is victualled for four or five months, and the Earl writes as though he meant well. Her Majesty's resolution should be received before the first of March, so that matters might be settled either for war or peace before any arrival of Spaniards, who are generally expected in very great numbers. Recommends, for the drawing in of the Earl, some composition for Armagh, either by fine or rent, and to urge therein the rebuilding of the fort and bridge of the Blackwater. But all matters of pacification are so odious in the Council. Has assisted Sir Conyers Clifford to his uttermost, and advised him to begin with O'Rourke. If he can give a blow to O'Rourke, the rest will the more " apprehend " him. Twenty-two companies of foot, and nearly 200 horse with Sir Conyers. Complaint by the Earl. The depredations by O'Donnell in Connaught. None of the submitters joined him, except M'Dermott, and he only until Her Majesty's forces are in the Province again. Sir Richard Bingham's lingering at Liverpool, and then at Beaumaris. Thinks Sir Richard had better not come over, as his matter will be so handled as to discontent the Irish in Connaught, and many others who expect what will be the end of his usage. Nobody does Feagh M'Hugh any hurt, yet he burns and spoils every night, although for his cause there are employed upon those borders above 800 men. Divers other petty packs of rebels have made means to him to be received as subjects, but dares not meddle with them, seeing that few promises that he makes to the Irish are kept.—Dublin, 1596, February 8. *Holograph. pp.* 5.

Feb. 8. Ballinacor. 71. Feagh M'Hugh to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. To know whether he and the rest of Leinster that take his part are to enjoy the benefit of the peace concluded with O'Neill.—Ballinacor, 1596, February 8. *Copy. p.* ½.

Feb. 8. 72. Petition of William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. [*Virtually a duplicate of that addressed to Burghley in Saxey's letter of January* 27.] *Endorsed :*—February 8. *pp.* 2.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Feb. 8. 73. Particulars of the matters contained in the bill exhibited by William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Burghley. *Endorsed:*—1596, February 8. *pp.* 9.

Feb. 9. Dublin. 74. The Lord General Sir John Norreys and Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the bearer, Mr. Danett, a suitor for his continuance in the Constableship of Limerick Castle. Necessity for the keeping of a good ward in the said Castle.—Dublin, 1596, February 9. *p.* 1.

Feb. 9. Mullingar. 75. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Touching the numbers requisite for settling again the Province of Connaught.—Mullingar, 1596, February 9. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Feb. 9. Mullingar. 76. Sir Conyers Clifford to Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports. Will be glad to do him service. Finds Mr. Brook to be well affected to Ireland, and a most worthy gentleman. Recommends him for employment upon any new supply of forces. —Mullingar, 1596, February 9. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Feb. 10. Dublin. 77. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. For his son-in-law Sir Henry Warren to be joint patentee with Sir Ralph Lane in the office of Mustermaster.—Dublin, 1596, February 10. *p.* 1.

Feb. 10. Dublin. 78. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Strongly recommending the bearer, Lord Delvin, to his favour, and praying that he may be sent back to his country as soon as possible.—Dublin, 1596, February 10. *p.* 1.

Feb. 10. Dublin. 79. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter.*] — Dublin, 1596, February 10. *p.* 1.

Feb. 10. Mullingar. 80. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. His dispatch to Connaught. The project of three armies. Wishes for 600 English to fill up the companies in Connaught. Also that 300 foot may be sent over for Captains Anthony Brabazon, Nathaniel Smyth, and Robert Blunt. Further, that the horsemen may be strengthened from the people of Connaught; and that victuals and munitions may be sent to Galway by the beginning of April next. Then he would not doubt by the end of summer of quieting the Province, by building again of Sligo or taking of Ballyshannon. Will not be able to make head against all the North, unless he be reinforced. The supply of carriage horses. Although Her Majesty has lately transported horses into Ireland, she is served generally with Irish men and Irish horses. Thinks forces should be on the sea coast of England, in readiness to be sent over when the Spaniards land.—Mullingar, 1596, February 10. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 11. London. 81. James Nott, sometime Secretary to the Earl of Tyrone, to Burghley. Could not, with safety to his life, stay longer with the

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Earl. His petition delivered to Burghley twelve days ago by Mr. Smyth, the clerk of the Council. Craves relief.—London, 1596, February 11. *p.* 1.

81. I. *Petition referred to in this letter:*
*Sum of the services done by James Nott to the Queen. He, being Secretary to the Earl of Tyrone, did, before the Earl was proclaimed, withdraw himself. The messages of the King of Spain to the Earl and O'Donnell intercepted by him. Other services. His great charges. Desires some recompense.*—[1596–7, *February.*] *pp.* 2½.

Feb. 12. Dublin. 82. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Prays that Mr. Saxey, the Chief Justice of Munster, may receive some public reproof for his contemptuous manner in departing without any license. His intemperate and "undecent" proceedings against John FitzEdmund. Have appointed Commissioners to go to Munster and inquire into the matter. Mr. Saxey unmeet to supply so high a room. His conduct in many causes "far dissonant from the duty of a learned, sincere, and wise judge." Think it convenient for the service of Her Majesty that he be stayed in England, and no more returned to his office, being a person that has incurred so general a "mislike."—Dublin, 1596, February 12. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 12. 83. The Bishop of Ardfert and divers gentlemen to the Privy Council. Against Florence M'Carthy's suit for the lands and honour of the late deceased Earl of Clancarty. Their suit is, that these may be divided among such as have been, and are likely to continue, good subjects.—1596, February 12. *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

83. I. *A note of such as are lords of countries, being kinsmen of Florence M'Carthy and followers of the Earls of Clancarty.* *p.* 1.

[Feb. 12.] 84. Memorandum by Florence M'Carthy to [Sir Robert Cecil]. His suit to Her Majesty is for the demesne lands of his father-in-law, the Earl of Clancarty, and especially for two parcels thereof.—[1596, February 12.] *p.* 1.

[Feb. 12.] 85. Memorandum by Florence M'Carthy concerning his suit to Her Majesty for a parcel of land mortgaged by his father-in-law to Sir Valentine Browne. Nature and state of the land there.—[1596, February 12.] *p.* 1.

Feb. 12. 86. Decree by the Lord Deputy and Council to restrain extortions by Captains and soldiers.—1596, February 12. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

Feb. 13. 87. Certificate of certain imprests advanced to the Lord Deputy Sir William Russell, before his going into Ireland.—1596, February 13. *p.* 1.

Feb. 13. 88. Copy of a Privy Seal, dated May 16, 1594, for the issue of 4,000*l.* to Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, at the

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

time of Sir William Russell proceeding thither as Lord Deputy.—1596, February 13. *p.* 1.

Feb. 13. Dublin. 89. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Being now returned to Dublin from mustering the garrisons in the North part of this kingdom, and the forces lately assembled there for the victualling of Armagh, I find the difficulties and confusions here such and so unspeakable as will scarce be believed. The gross ignorance and shameful corruption in the officers of musters so long continued, together with the infinite and inveterate art of falsehood here practised (and as it were authorised by general custom), has irrecuperably damnified this State. Divers places, where the bands reside, are so inaccessibly distant, and the ways and passages continually infested and possessed by the rebels, besides the inevitable spoil and loss of horses in travel, with the insupportable dearth and famine everywhere, by reason the land is left waste in most parts (without any food for man or forage for beast), that there is no journeying up and down the country, but with good provision, made beforehand, of change of horses, victual, and forage, to be carried along; which how chargeable, and in a manner impossible, it is, in this time of extreme misery and penury of all things, no man here but knoweth.

There can no company be mustered, either in camp or garrison, but an incredible number of hired and suborned *passevolants* of the inhabitants thereabouts, mingled with the rest, do ordinarily appear, and answer by wrong names. By strict examination has discovered many such. Although he declared the offence punishable with death, yet they, being rewarded by the Captains and assured of impunity, finding Kyffin's authority to be rather inquisitive than coercive, keep on still their wonted course with all the insolence and contempt that may be.

His open remonstrances to the soldiers at musters, in presence of the Captains. This has already taken deep impression, but divers of the soldiers say that they dare not, for their lives, deliver the plain truth to him at musters, for that, after his departure, they would be sure to be hanged as mutineers. Many of the Captains are about to sell their companies, and some have passed their bargains already.

More than half Her Majesty's forces here, both horse and foot, are Irish, who, commonly, are retained, dismissed, augmented, and decreased when and where the Captains will, at their own pleasure and profit, without any restraint, order, or discipline. And because he has proceeded, publicly and faithfully, without respect of persons, to redress these enormities, he is much detested and "injuried," which makes his life most bitter and wearisome to him, whereof it is not unlike but he will be despatched, since there be plots already laid to kill him.

During this last most miserable journey and circuit, which he made, by the space of six weeks, in the extremity of winter, he mustered about 40 companies of horse and foot. No certificates of

1596-7.

checks can be set down until the half-year's account, "according to the custom here, differing from all good order observed in other countries." Meantime, is making up the rolls of those he has mustered. Reasons for the insufficiency of his entertainment. Both gold and horses have been offered and pressed upon him by way of reward, yet he has refused them. Does not suffer his clerks to receive one penny of fee, but gives them entertainment out of his own purse. Sends a project as to how the musters should be executed, and a certificate (*wanting*) of the companies he has mustered since his coming to Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, February 13. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

89. I. *A brief project for the due execution of the musters in Ireland.*—1596, *February.* *pp.* 3.

Feb. 14. Dublin.

90. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The plot for the invasion of Ulster. Reasons against employing 3,000 Scots. Difficulty of "cautioning" so many with good pledges. Their previous connections with the Ulster men. "They are a needy and beggarly people, and not easily expelled out of a country, where they have once taken footing." It has always been the policy to keep them out of the north of Ireland. The expense of their maintenance. "There is so great unlikelihood that the rebels of Ulster can be pulled down by the Scots of Cantire or the Islands, for dogs will not eat dogs' flesh."

The Earl of Clancarty being dead, and Florence M'Carthy, by marrying his heir general, having an apparent pretence to the earldom, fears some alteration will grow in those parts by the said Florence, who is more Spanish than English. Has received advice from Munster that he "begins already to stir coals," and considers some special letter should be sent to the Vice-President of that Province to lay hold of Florence M'Carthy, or to see him assured upon good pledges. Without one of these two preventions, looks that he will be a dangerous Robin Hood in Munster.—Dublin, 1596, February 14. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 14. Dublin.

91. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. State of Ireland. "Never was there poor kingdom, bearing any shew or shadow of government, so miserably afflicted and distressed as this is. It were lamentable to consider whether the outcries of the soldiers, everywhere, for want of pay, or of the country people, extremely robbed and pillaged by the soldiers, be the more grievous. Whole counties, even within the English Pale, be left waste without habitation or tillage. And now, as the inhabitants of the land go generally a begging with their wives and children, so the soldiers having left, neither for others nor yet for themselves, any further mean of relief, do by the just judgment of God most miserably starve and famish in many places. Between the rebels on the one side, and our own soldiers (being for the more part Irish, and living altogether on the spoil), all is devoured and destroyed. The people, universally, both in the towns and country, are drawn into

1596-7. VOL. CXCVII.

dangerous murmur and meeting hereat, and very many of them already entered into open acts of rebellion."

Bruit that certain Commissioners were to be sent over, generally spread and gladly received, but nothing has come of it.

"Though the expense of her Majesty's treasure sent over hither from time to time be exceeding great, yet is there, here, no manner of appearance thereof. The Captains (for their parts) exclaim; our soldiers die wretchedly in the open streets and highways; the native subjects spoiled and brought to extreme beggary; no service in war performed; no military discipline or civil justice exercised; briefly, the whole kingdom ruined and foraged."

Has written to Burghley about the great misery and dearth in the country, and as to the utter insufficiency of his entertainment of 10*s.* a day. Prays Sir Robert's favour in the matter. "If I would have received but half the bribes and rewards, which have been hitherto offered me, I should not need to be careful for supply."—Dublin, 1596, February 14. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 14. [Dublin.] 92. Christopher Peyton, Auditor of Ireland, to Burghley. Sends a brief declaration of the revenues for the year ended Michaelmas, 37 Eliz. [1596]. The great charges he has been put to. Prays that he may have the allowances granted to his predecessors in office. His property of Rathecoole, but six miles from Dublin, pillaged by the soldiers and burnt by the rebels, "whereby my poore towne lyeth wast and unmanured." Craves relief.—[Dublin,] 1596, February 14. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

92. I. "*Brief of the account of the revenue of Ireland*" *for the year* 37 *Eliz.*—1596, *February* 14. *Endorsed:*—1596, *March. One sheet.*

Feb, [1]4. Dublin. 93. Christopher Peyton, Auditor of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter.*]—Dublin, 1596, February [1]4. *pp.* 1½.

Feb. 14. 94. A proportion of corn and victuals, set down by Robert Newcomen, the Victualler in Ireland, for 1,000 horse and 5,000 foot, for six months. The corn and victuals to be provided in England, Denmark, and Flanders. Great want of carriage horses. —1596, February 14. *One sheet.*

Feb. 16. Dublin. 95. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Burghley. The bearer, the Lord of Delvin, has license for six weeks to repair into England. Recounts some of his services, and recommends him as one principally to be favoured.—Dublin, 1596, February 16. *p.* 1.

Feb. 16. Dublin. 96. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Complaints from the Earl of Tyrone of preys and spoils made upon him by some whom the Lord Deputy has protected. Letters have been written, but no redress follows. Discredit to those who are employed to deal with the Irishry. These provocations no doubt will again draw on a general war, and so the services that might

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

have been done in Connaught will be interrupted. Has told the Lord Deputy and Council that he will join with them in opinion, that the most honourable and safest course is to proceed with a thorough war. A general prosecution must be made, without considering whether the misery of the time, as well by scarcity of victuals as incommodity of weather, will not bring a greater ruin to ourselves than to the rebel, as that of Feagh M'Hugh has hitherto done. Feagh would be glad of any conditions, but that may not be allowed by those that have got good entertainments by setting that war on foot. Rumour that the Lord Deputy is making another journey against Feagh. The letter Norreys received from him. Advertisement from the North of the arriving of the same Spanish ship that was last in O'Donnell's country, "which should bring to that place many friars." The Spaniard will seek to entertain the rebellion, until he is ready to invade. If Waterford and Dungannon were better fortified, Her Majesty need not fear any descent in the west of Ireland. Would wish no greater plague to the Spaniard than to be sent into the North. Begs to receive some speedy comfort for his revocation. Has Court and country combined against him. Protests he is not able almost to buy himself bread.—Dublin, 1596, February 16. *pp.* 3.

Feb. 16. Dublin. 97. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. The Lord Deputy and Council have sent to the Privy Council a new project for the suppression of the rebellion, being, in effect, the same as that sent over in February 1595, with some alterations touching the force of 3,000 Scots to be waged by Her Majesty. His objections to the employment of Scots. No good advice considered upon, to be imparted to the new Deputy on his arrival. Thinks the state of the realm might have been debated, and the war reduced to but one place, and against one enemy, namely, the Earl of Tyrone. The true mean to remedy the great stirs and alterations in Ireland is not taken, but Her Majesty is still kept engaged, not in one war, but in many. His opinions work no impression in the Council; the coming Deputy might be directed how to fashion his course accordingly. He should be hasted away, for Her Majesty's danger increases the more his coming is lingered.—Dublin, 1596, February 16. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 17. Dublin. 98. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Sir Robert Gardener's mission. The project for the prosecution of the wars. Alteration of the time for the armies to be on foot from February to May. The method of victualling. The rebels' remote fastness. Send a fresh project, partly taken from the plot made in February 1595. Men, money, munition and victuals to be put in readiness to be in Ireland before the appointed time of action. The corn promised not yet arrived. Great scarcity. The people clamorous. The state of Her Majesty's forces. Have sent for the noblemen concerning the guarding of the Pale, as the Privy Council desire, but think they will draw from there little advice and less help in these great matters. Have despatched Sir

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

Conyers Clifford into Connaught with instructions and full authority to execute all services during Sir Richard Bingham's suspension. Have given directions for all unjust provocations of the Earl of Tyrone to be forborne, and will send to have the stay made with him prolonged until the last of March, hoping by that time to procure Her Majesty's resolution in these matters. The declining state of the realm. No way to reduce the rebels but by a sharp, resolute, and royal war. If the Spaniards come, as seems likely, a special force must be sent from England to make head against them. The Lord Deputy's thanks for the license of his revocation. Forces assembled to no good purpose by Florence M'Carthy. Have given instructions for him to be watched, and seized if possible.—Dublin, 1596, February 17. *pp.* 5. *Inclose,*

98. I. *A project for certain armies and garrisons to be forthwith put in readiness for suppression of the rebellions in Ireland.*—1596, *February* 17. *pp.* 7.

98. II. *A list of the forces sent with Sir Conyers Clifford into Connaught, to assemble at Athlone,* 12 *February* 1596.—[1596, *February.*] *pp.* 2.

Feb. 17. Dublin Castle. 99. The Lord Deputy Russell to Burghley. Right glad to hear that Her Majesty has agreed to his revocation. Prays that Lord Burgh, his successor, may be hastened over. If the rebels can take any advantage, they will not be restrained by their pledges, as will appear by the two letters enclosed. The treaties and cessations do no good. The last made with the Earl was said not to stretch to any of the rebels in Leinster, and yet Feagh M'Hugh claims the benefit of it. Complaints of extortion and other abuses by the soldiers. Has committed and discharged some of the Captains. Has agreed to stay in the Treasurer's hands fifty pounds of each company so complained of. Feagh M'Hugh's policy in calling the Earl his Lord O'Neill. Intends to lie at Catherlagh, to prevent any rising in those parts.—Dublin Castle, 1596, [February 17. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

99. I. *Sir Henry Bagenall to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Sends information* (*see next*) *from a man of very good credit, by the bearer Mr. John Morgan. Two practices contrived for the surprising of the Newry.—Newry,* 1596, *February* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

99. II. *Thomas Kyming, a Scottish merchant of the town of Eirwin* (*? Irvine*), *to Marshal Bagenall. A ship of the town where dwells captured on the* 25*th of August last, and taken to Santander. There were forty of the Spanish ships "drowned" at Cape Finisterre. Eighty-seven ships in the Groin meant for Ireland. The ship that was last in with the Earl, is commanded presently with news to him again.—Carrickfergus,* 1596, *February* 4. *Copy. p.* 1.

99. III. *Feagh M'Hugh to the Lord General Sir John Norreys* [*Duplicate of letter above, under date of February* 8.] *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596–7.

Feb. 17. Dublin Castle. 100. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter of this date to Burghley.*]—Dublin Castle, 1596, February 17. *pp.* 3.

Feb. 17. Dublin. 101. Sir John Norreys's particular opinion touching the 3,000 Scots to be employed for the war in the North. The difficulty of victualling.—Dublin, 1596, February 17. *p.* 1.

Feb. 17. Mellifont. 102. Sir Edward Moore to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Can have no satisfaction from the Earl for the goods taken in time of the last cessation. The coming of Burke of Castlebar, who has left Tyrconnell, and gone into Connaught. Mortagh O'Toole, a kinsman of Rose Toole, wife of Feagh M'Hugh, has returned out of Spain through Scotland; his passport was under the King's own hand. Mortagh now lies sick at Dungannon. Suggests his own son Warren be sent to pacify the Earl for the spoils committed upon him, and to learn the object of the coming of the above men. —Mellifont, 1596, February 17. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Feb. 17. 103. Certificate by the Mustermaster, Sir Ralph Lane, touching the army in Ireland.—1596, February 17. *pp.* 8½.

Feb. 17. 104. Certificate of the imprests made to Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy, before his going into Ireland.—1596, February 17. [*See also February* 13.] *p.* 1.

Feb. 18. Dublin. 105. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Abuses in the musters. Outrageous conduct of the Captains. Use of Irish soldiers in the various bands. Frauds by Sir Ralph Lane and his deputy. Some companies of horse and foot in Ireland have not, it is said, been mustered from the beginning.—Dublin, 1596, February 18. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 21. 106. Intelligences from the Brenny, sent to the Lord Deputy through the Bishop of Meath. The coming of a friar from Spain to the Earl of Tyrone. Promise of Spanish forces against the spring. The Earl preparing for war. His messages to the O'Reillys and M'Mahons. The Earl at Monaghan on his way to the Brenny. *Endorsed*:—1596, February 21. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 23. Moyallo. 107. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of the suit of Florence M'Carthy to be enabled to live a settled course of life on somewhat that his deceased father-in-law left behind him.—Moyallo, 1596, February 23. *Endorsed by Sir Robert's Secretary*: —"Received 17th May 1597." *p.* ½.

Feb. 23. 108. Examination of Ro. Corneish of Plymouth before Sir Thomas Norreys, touching the capture on the coast of Spain, by English pinnaces, of a ship of Hamburg, going with corn and munition to Lisbon.—1596, February 23. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Feb. 23. Dublin. 109. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. His danger in executing his place honestly. That the Lord Deputy may be specially com-

1596-7. VOL. CXCVII.

manded to assist him, and to punish such as wrong him.—Dublin, 1596, February 23. *pp.* 1½.

Feb. 24. Dublin. 110. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Arrival of six ships with powder, munition, and grain. Before they came the price of the markets had risen higher than had been heard of within the memory of man. Has asked the Council (in the Lord Deputy's absence) to send a good proportion of the corn to Galway by sea, for the use of the army in Connaught. Prays for instructions from England for the meeting with the Earl of Tyrone on the last of March.—Dublin, 1596, February 24. *pp.* 1½.

Feb. 26. Dublin. 111. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Craves some help towards his living, having spent in the service of Ireland seventeen years without recompense. Would not ask even now, were it not for his infirmities and his sixty years of age. No hope for him to be rewarded in Ireland, as he has stood against all the Deputies in his time for Her Majesty's profit, and has not reaped from them all to the value of twenty pounds. Begs Burghley's furtherance of his suit, as his Lordship was the first to lead the writer into the doings of the world, and he has always been careful to discharge his calling faithfully to Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1596, February 26. *p.* 1.

Feb. 26. Dublin. 112. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays to be furthered in the matter of his recompense, as he has been commanded to perform many dangerous services. Begs that his servant, the bearer, may be speedily dispatched.—Dublin, 1596, February 26. *pp.* 1½.

Feb. 27. 113. Francis Shaen to Sir Robert Cecil. The time he has spent in the repeal of a fraudulent patent procured by one Edmund Barret, as also in petitioning for the renovation of three letters patent formerly granted upon the priory of Clary *alias* Loughsewdye. The increased rent he offers Her Majesty. His whole estate in Ireland has suffered shipwreck by the rebels. Refers to Sir Robert Gardener in support of the truth of these assertions.—1596. February 27. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

113. I. *A breviate of Francis Shaen's proceedings in the repeal of Barret's patent, with the proof of every particular ready to be shown.*—[1596, *February.*] *p.* 1.

Feb. 28. Dublin. 114. Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Privy Council. They cannot comply with their Lordships' instructions to meet Tyrone on the 1st of March. The Lord Deputy's journey to the Glynns. The chief purpose of their last repair to Dundalk was to revictual Armagh. The short cessation then assented to on account of the urgent necessity of the state. Her Majesty's just conceit of Tyrone's unsoundness. Her disposition to give him mercy, if he seek it as he ought. Doubt whether they can get him to Dundalk, owing to his fears about

1596–7. VOL. CXCVII.

his safety. Will use their best endeavours to gain Tyrone's submission. Pledges will not secure his loyalty. "The Irishry of this realm are now so altered, as they are not to be cautioned with any pledges, how good soever they be." Tyrone's pledges. Her Majesty's commandment touching the Northern urraghs, who have offended since their pardon, shall be performed. When they met Tyrone the last time, they had pledged themselves to let him return in safety, and so could not have detained him. Ill-grounded advertisements regarding them.—Dublin, 1596, February 28.

[*Postscript.*]—Have received answer from the Lord Deputy, remitting all matters concerning the meeting with Tyrone to the Council. The Council have again written for his Lordship's speedy repair to Dublin. See much time will be spent.—Dublin, 1596, March 7. *pp.* 4. *Inclosè,*

114. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Can have no restitution, notwithstanding letters written by the Council. Detention of Phelim Oge O'Hanlon. The promise of Her Majesty's pardon to Feagh M'Hugh and others, upon their submission. Will meet Norreys the first of April, to conclude all things.—Dungannon,* 1596, *February* 25. *Copy. p.* 1.

114. II. *The Lord Deputy and Council to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. To enlarge the cessation concluded with the Earl of Tyrone till the end of March next.—Dublin,* 1596, *February* 19. *Copy. p.* 1.

Feb. 28. Dublin. 115. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The employment of two of Mr. Weston's servants as spies in Spain. A small bark of his to be let slip, although the shipping in Ireland has been stayed. Her Majesty's danger will be greater if things be left to a course of war and force. Mourns in his heart at seeing the sores of Ireland continue and increase by the contrariety of opinions in those that should temper and apply the remedies. Some neighbour princes have quenched great burnings in the heart of their own realms by sprinkling a little water in the beginning. Does not see that it will be dishonourable for Her Majesty to show mercy to her rebellious subjects, after she has made them feel her power. Condoles with Sir Robert in his late loss.—Dublin, 1596, February 28. *pp.* 2.

Feb. 28. Dublin. 116. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The reason for letting the Earl of Tyrone depart after the last conference. Their word and promise had been given, in Her Majesty's name, for his safety. Prays for the success of the next meeting with the Earl, but has small hopes of it. Tyrone's pledges.—Dublin, 1596, February 28. *pp.* 1½.

Feb. 117. H[enry] Maynard to [Sir Robert Cecil]. Sends, in obedience to Lord Burghley's command, the draft of a Privy Seal for 3,600*l.* for wheat and 1,000*l.* for a certain proportion of butter and cheese, to be sent into Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1596, February. *pp.* 2.

VOL. CXCVII.

1596–7. Feb. 118. Note of Commissions for taking the accounts of Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer of Ireland, in 1589 and 1591. *Endorsed:* —1596, February. *p.* 1.

[Feb.] 119. Portion of the instructions given to Lord Burgh, appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. Commissions to him. His entertainment. —[1596–7, February.] *Endorsed erroneously:* —"1598." *pp.* 3.

## VOL. CXCVIII. 1597. MARCH—APRIL.

Mar. 1. Tully. 1. The Lord Deputy to Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. They may proceed to treat with Tyrone, with the advice of the Council at Dublin. Will send such of the forces with him as Norreys shall write for.—Tully, 1596, March 1. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Mar. 3. Dublin. 2. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council at Dublin to the Lord Deputy. Necessity of a serious consultation concerning things of importance in the treaty with Tyrone. Desire his speedy repair to Dublin. The forces for the journey to Dundalk. —Dublin, 1596, March 3. *Copy.* *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

2. I. "*Difficulties to be thought on and explained by the Lord Deputy and the Council.*"—1596, *March* 3. *p.* 1.

Mar. 4. Galway. 3. Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council. His dispatch to Connaught on the 8th February. Difficulties as to munition and victuals. Weakness of the companies sent with him; half of them, at least, Irish. Submissions of O'Byrne, O'Connor Roe, and O'Connor Don. Relieved Tulsk, the Abbey of Boyle, and the Castle of Ballymote. Supplied his army with beeves in MacCostilloe's country. Took John M'Morris, a confederate with M'William. Captured the Brees, a castle of some strength. Marched into M'William's country, and was greedy to revenge the disloyalty of him and his, but, having travailed for fifteen days on beef and water only, the munition being spent, and the soldiers worn and wearied, was forced to disperse his men into garrisons, partly in the county of Sligo, and partly in M'William's country. Retired himself to Galway. Begs for the relief of his men with victuals and munition. Destitute condition of the town of Galway. Desolate state of Roscommon and Mayo. Prays for reinforcements. Three new companies to be assigned to Captains Anthony Brabazon, Nathaniel Smyth, and Robert Blunt, who have had long experience in Connaught. Great need of grain. John Moore, who married Lady Mary Burke, mother of Teig O'Rourke, has sent him a letter of Teig O'Rourke s

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

tendering his faithful service, if he may have the seignory of his father's country by patent. Will encourage this inclination; desires further instructions in the matter.—Galway, 1596, March 4. *pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

3. I. *Teig O'Rourke to his father-in-law. Will serve Her Majesty to his utmost, if he may have that which he ought to have under the Council's hand. Prays that the bearer may be returned in all haste with news.—Newton,* 1596, "*this Saturday*" [*March* 1 *was on a Saturday*]. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 4. 4. Wheat, butter, and cheese sent into Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1596, March 4. *p.* 1.

Mar. 5. Galway. 5. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Endurance of the Irish in hopes of Spanish aid. The great difficulty he had in feeding the army, all parts being so wasted where any subjects live. Sad want of munition.—Galway, 1596, March 5. *p.* 1.

Mar. 5. Galway. 6. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. The province fast tied to Tyrone and O'Donnell. Is of opinion they will never be subjects but by force. Asks for further assistance.—Galway, 1596, March 5. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Mar. 6. Catherlagh (Carlow). 7. The Lord Deputy Russell to the Privy Council. The meeting with the Earl of Tyrone. He would not have petitioned to be revoked from the government if he could have found any good tokens of desire in Tyrone to be a subject. The Earl abuseth the Commissioners to win time till the Spaniards come. Is earnestly pressed to return to Dublin, and to draw all the forces towards Dundalk, which he holds most unfit, till he understands that some time of meeting is agreed upon. Such a course would greatly harass the companies and exceedingly impoverish the country. The Council in Dublin can do what is necessary.—Catherlagh, 1596, March 6. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

7. I. *The Lord Deputy to the Lord Chancellor and the rest of the Council. Directs them to take order for the dispatch of Sir John Norreys and the Commissioners appointed to meet with the Earl of Tyrone ot Dundalk. Victualling the soldiers who shall accompany them. The Earl of Ormonde's pursuit of the rebels. Provision for Carrickfergus. If a time of meeting with the Earl of Tyrone is fixed, will not fail to repair to Dublin. Is promised special service by some of the rebels.—Tully,* 1596, *March* 1. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 6. Newry. 8. Sir Henry Bagenall to the Privy Council. Has committed no spoil whatever on any of the Earl of Tyrone's friends or dependants. His care in observing the truces. The advantages that would accrue to him by a firm peace. The Earl's desire to root Sir Henry out of Newry, so as to accomplish his own designs there. False reports about Sir Henry.—Newry, 1596, March 6. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

8. I. *Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Is glad of the courses taken by his Lordship with the Earl of Tyrone for the victualling of Armagh. The change of the garrison. No reduction thereof advisable. Scarcity of victual.—Newry,* 1596, *January* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

8. II. *Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Touching restitution of stealths to the Earl of Tyrone. Stealths on his own people.—Newry,* 1596, *February* 23. *Copy. p.* 1.

8. III. *Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. The whole garrison has been without bread for these four or five days. His care to observe the peace. None of the Earl's men has been taken prisoner. Preys made on Sir Henry's tenants. Tyrone has taken new pledges of all his principal men in Clandeboy. Hears he is now going to Lough Foyle, which argues no good meaning of a peace in him. The horses very weak for want of oats.—Newry,* 1596, *March* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

8. IV. *Such restitutions as have been made at the Newry to the Earl of Tyrone's people and others, from the first cessation in October* 1595, *to the last meeting of the Lord President Sir John Norreys with the said Earl at Dundalk in January* 1596–7. *Copy. pp.* 5.

8. V. *Restitutions made at the Newry to the Earl of Tyrone's people and dependants, since the last meeting of the Lord President with the said Earl at Dundalk to this present 6th of March* 1596–7. *Copy. pp.* 2.

8. VI. *Preys, stealths, and spoils committed by the Earl of Tyrone and his followers and dependants, since the cessation in October* 1595, *till this present 6th of March* 1596–7. *Copy. pp.* 10½.

Mar. 6. Newry. 9. Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. The false reports about him. Prays him to be a mean that he be not condemned upon any sinister information, before due proof of the cause be made. The Spaniard still expected. The Earl of Tyrone and Clandeboy.—Newry, 1596, March 6. *p.* 1.

Mar. 6. 10. Estimate for transportation to Ireland of 1,500 quarters of wheat, to be sent from Portsmouth, and of certain butter and cheese from London. *Endorsed*:—1596, March 6. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 8. Dublin. 11. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Recommends Sir Geffrey Fenton's motion for some consideration for his service. Sir Geffrey has had no grace with the Lord Deputy since his employment in this joint service, and it may be doubted he will find no more with the Lord Deputy's successor. His services sufficiently speak for him.—Dublin, 1596, March 8. *Holograph. p.* 1.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

Mar. 8. Dublin. 12. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Laments that he is trodden to the ground with bitter disgrace, and the memory of his former desert defaced; and this upon a mistaken information. Thinks his grief will bring him to an expected wretched end. Is now set to an impossible task, whereat his enemies do laugh in their sleeves. Makes no doubt but that all that Her Majesty has written will be made known to the Earl. Begs that they may be assisted by the Lord Deputy and Council in the matter of the treaty. The Lord Deputy will not repair to Dublin. Sufferings of the soldiers on the Northern borders. Prays that he may be paid, at his leaving Dublin, the money due to him by the Lord Deputy's warrant, or he and his creditors will be undone.—Dublin, 1596, March 8. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

[Mar. 8.] 13. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Tyrone's warnings not acted upon. Pestilent advertisement of Lord Burgh's disposition. Disregard of Norreys's advice. Fears of Tyrone as to his person. Crossing of Norreys's actions. Tyrone's exception, saying, if Norreys and Russell seek to cross one another, to which of them shall he trust? Never looked to be Lord Deputy, though many in England thought he was like to be made so. If the Lord Deputy could have been persuaded to follow a peaceable course, neither soldier nor subject had been wronged by the Earl. The meeting with Tyrone in April. Desires further instructions. Will leave no spirit unused that may further Her Majesty's desire in this pacification.—[1596–7, March 8.] *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Mar. 8. Chester. 14. George Beverley to Burghley. Sends a declaration of corn and victual sent into Ireland since 31 May 1596. Wheat, "near unto" 60*s.* a quarter, London measure; butter, 4*d.* a pound; cheese, 2¾*d.* a pound. Will render his particular accounts when he receives the certificates from Ireland.—Chester, 1596, March 8. *p.* ½.

Mar. 8. 15. Bill of lading of 50,000 lbs. of cheese, shipped in the *Flying Hart* for Her Majesty's service in Ireland.—1596, March 8. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 9. Dublin. 16. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Council to Burghley. The arrival of six London ships with certain munition and 2,300 quarters of wheat. Desires more may be sent ere this be clean spent. Ireland will yield none, whatever extremities happen. Great lack of money. Sums borrowed. Dearness of corn in Munster. A prize, laden with grain and muskets, said to have been taken on the coast of Spain, brought into Kinsale. Have ordered the corn to be conveyed to Galway, and have promised that it shall be paid for.—Dublin, 1596, March 9. *p.* 1.

Mar. 9. Dublin. 17. Instructions given by Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Captain Warren, employed to the Earl of Tyrone.—Dublin, 1596, March 9. *Copy. pp.* 2.

1596-7. VOL. CXCVIII.

Mar. 9. Dublin. 18. Duplicate of the foregoing. — Dublin, 1596, March 9. *pp.* 2½.

Mar. 11. 19. Bill of lading of eighty barrels of butter, shipped in the *Peter Bonaventure* for Her Majesty's service in Ireland.—1596, March 11. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Mar. 11. 20. Note of the moneys to be paid for eighty barrels of butter and 50,000 lbs. of cheese, for Her Majesty's service in Ireland.—1596, March 11. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Mar. 13. Dublin. 21. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Lamentable accident of the burning of six lasts of Her Majesty's powder on the quay at Dublin. The ruin of the town is exceeding great; by estimation twenty houses next adjoining thrown to the ground; not any one house or church within the walls, but in the tilings, small timbers and glass marvellously endamaged; many in like sort in the suburbs. It is supposed that there are slain of all ages and sexes, nearly 200; few English. Little appearance of this having happened by any practice, the time being so short that the powder lay in the place, and the same guarded; but it is guessed that some nail in the bark struck fire. No hindrance can come to Her Majesty's service, there being sufficient store of powder till more may be sent; yet is the mishap to be pitied, and accounted a just plague of God for the sins of so impious and ungrateful a people. The Lord Deputy not yet returned from the Glynns. Sir Conyers Clifford unable to spare any forces from Connaught. The prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh. Thinks the despatch about Sir Robert Gardener's plot is yet on this side the sea.—Dublin, 1596, March 13. *pp.* 3.

Mar. 16. Dublin. 22. Sir George Bourchier to Burghley. Gives details of the powder explosion on the quay at Dublin. The under-officers of the Tower were to blame for not sending the powder in double casks. Bad calivers also sent. Inconvenience of the lead being sent in such great pieces that the carriage horses cannot bear it in journies.—Dublin, 1596, March 16. *pp.* 1½.

Mar. 17. Dublin. 23. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. O'Connor Sligo has possessed himself of the Castle and Abbey of Sligo, and remains there with such companies as Sir Conyers Clifford appointed for the garrisons of those parts. O'Donnell's arrival there. The enterprise was very well undertaken, and, if want of victual does not force them hastily to abandon it again, the war of Connaught is in effect at an end, how desperate soever it has been made. Sir Conyers Clifford shews that he will not easily let slip that hold. No forces are to be taken from him; will rather advise that, if requisite, more may be sent. Nothing received yet from Captain Warren, whom they sent to the Earl of Tyrone. The Lord Deputy is returned from the Glynns, *re infecta*.—Dublin, 1596, March 17. *Holograph.* *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

23. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council. The companies he sent into Sligo are engaged. Will do his utmost against O'Donnell. Begs for powder, money, and corn, of all which they are in great want.—Ballinasloe,* 1596, *March* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

23. II. *Donogh O'Connor Sligo and Captain Humfrey Willis to Sir Conyers Clifford. Skirmish with O'Donnell near Sligo. Now he is encamped some two miles from them, and expects the coming of Cormack M'Baron Maguire and O'Rourke, with their forces. Desire munition and victuals. Lead and match wanted. Great need of horse, in which the rebels overtop them. How the companies are placed. O'Donnell seeking to intercept convoys and letters.—Sligo,* 1596, *March* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 18. Dublin. 24. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Complains that only ten companies have been assigned for the journey to Dundalk, whereas formerly they had thirty, at least. Looks within two or three days to hear from Captain Warren, by whose advertisements he will be able to decipher what is to be expected of the Earl. If he comes to Dundalk, considers he will not stick to give his son as pledge; but dares not even make a conjecture, knowing their barbarous uncertainties, and fearing contrary working underhand. Will impart whatever occurs, with the best speed he may. If the troubles of Leinster could be temporised or compounded, sees no reason why the matters of the North should not be more easily accorded. So long as alterations are nourished in the North or Leinster, being the two main grounds to bring in Spaniards, the reconcilement of the realm is out of hope, and a project entertained to keep Her Majesty engaged in unnecessary charges. Hopes that, at the coming of a new Deputy, some course will be set down, how Ireland may be restored in the principal part, which is Leinster, to the end to have a better hand against the Ulster rebels, who, as they are the ground and root of all the confusion in the kingdom, so they, being once severed to themselves and taken off from Leinster, cannot long stand, neither will the Spaniards then minister to them. Leinster is the heart and seat of the Government. Ulster, by itself, cannot cover the Spaniard with town or castle, nor yield him any property of comfort, other than raw beef; which is a nourishment contrary to his humour and complexion.

Forbears to write of God's late admonition sent upon Dublin by powder, for such a subject is sour, and has in it no savour of sweetness. Prays that "my Lords of the clergy" may be more careful to countenance the Word, and the people brought more to reverence it, for in both those estates there is a lamentable remissness, such as cannot but draw on a more heavy judgment. And as the backsliding of the Church here is lamentable, so is it made more fearful by the carelessness of England, from whence comes not so much as an advice, either to the magistrates or my Lords the Bishops, to enter into the reduction of it; but way given so far as it may be said that idolatry is almost countenanced by authority. If Her Majesty were rightly informed of this, I know her Highness would give order for

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

the remedy; and no doubt the way to repair and confirm the politic kingdom is first to begin to countenance and bear up the kingdom of God. This belongs more to divines than to him; yet, being an eye-witness of God's house in the way to ruin, has an interest to speak for its preservation, before it be suffered to fall altogether to the ground. Recommends the bearer, Sir Robert Gardener's man. —Dublin, 1596, March 18. *pp.* 2.

Mar. 19. Dublin. 25. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. The corrupt and confused state of the musters. Sends another short discourse (*wanting*) shewing the true reasons for the weakness of the bands, with the means for the redress of the same.—Dublin, 1596, March 19. *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Mar. 20. Dublin Castle. 26. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. The companies sent with O'Connor to Sligo already engaged by O'Donnell. Thinks that, as on the occasion of the former meeting at Dundalk, the Earl is joined with O'Donnell, and means not to come to Dundalk at all, but "dallies out the time" in expectation of Spanish aid. Has returned from Catherlagh to further the intended treaty as desired by their Lordships. The meeting with Tyrone appointed for the second of April. Fourteen companies to attend the Commissioners. Has not been a hinderer of the peace. Desires Lord Burgh's coming may be hastened. The explosion of the powder at Dublin. Sends some examinations taken before the Mayor. Has committed Allen, the Clerk to the Ordnance, to the Castle. Treasure indispensable for the relieving of the companies like otherwise to disband.—Dublin Castle, 1596, March 20. *pp.* 4. *Incloses,*

26. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council. No provision at Athlone either of victual or munition for the companies with him. Sent the greatest part of the forces through Longford into O'Rourke's country to recover some beeves. Galway too poor to yield any relief to the camp. Journal of his doings since his coming into the Province.—Galway.* 1596, *March* 4. *Copy.* *pp.* 3.

26. II. *Sir Conyers Clifford to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *See inclosure* I. *to Norreys's letter of March* 17.—*Ballinasloe,* 1596, *March* 12. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

26. III. *Donogh O'Connor Sligo and Captain Humfrey Willis to Sir Conyers Clifford. See inclosure* II. *to Norreys's letter of March* 17.—*Sligo,* 1596, *March* 9. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

26. IV. *Examinations before Michael Chamberlain, Mayor of Dublin, touching the powder explosion at Dublin. The witnesses are:—James Fox, Richard Loben, Patrick Dixon, Neale O'Molan, Rorie Dowgan, Thomas Walshe, John Walshe, and Patrick Morihoe. Divers of these, being porters, deposed to having worked whole days, and having received no pay from John Allen, Clerk of the Storehouse.*—1596, *March* 16. *Copy.* *pp.* 6½.

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

26. v. *Examinations of John Shelton and Alexander* (sic) *Palles, Sheriffs of the city of Dublin, and others, relative to the purchase of munition from John Allen, Clerk of the Storehouse.*—1596, *March* 18. *Copy. pp.* 4½.

26. vi. " *We the Mayor and Sheriffs of the City of Dublin, upon inquiry and examination, do find that there is of persons known, who fortuned to be in the last misfortune happened within the City of Dublin, lost to the number of six score, besides sundry headless bodies, and heads without bodies, that were found and not known, and thus much for this time we do certify, this* 18*th of March* 1596.

" *Michael Chamberlain, Mayor.*
" *John Shelton.* } *Sheriffs.*"
" *William Palles.* }

*Copy. p.* ½.

Mar. 20. Dublin. 27. The Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Have received a despatch from Captain Warren at Dungannon. Will take the advice of the Lord Deputy and Council. The Earl of Tyrone, in his letter sent with Captain Warren's, has shown his humour in the point of the change of government more amply than were requisite. —Dublin, 1596, March 20. *p.* 1.

27. i. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Perceives by Captain William Warren that Norreys is determined to make a thorough conclusion with him at the meeting now appointed. Has always desired to know what he might trust to. Fears all things will fall out contrary to his expectation, for it is reported that Lord Burgh is coming over as Lord Deputy. Wishes it were made known to the Lords of the Council in England, that it would give great contentment in Ireland if Norreys were appointed Lord Deputy. The detaining of the Earl's pledges. Stands in doubt, if Lord Burgh comes over, that he will always be subject to that kind of dealing.—Dungannon,* 1596, *March* 15. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Mar. 20. Dublin. 28. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Has received letters from the Earl of Tyrone and Captain Warren. Craves directions how to proceed. Can get no advice from the Lord Deputy and Council. If every step is to be referred to England, there will be great loss of time and prejudice to Her Majesty's service: thinks the Lord Deputy and Council should be told to assist. Neither directly nor indirectly did he procure any such matter as is in the Earl's letter concerning him. Prays for an answer with all possible speed. Will cause a boat to stay ten or twelve days at Holyhead.—Dublin, 1596, March 20. *Holograph. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

28. i. *Captain William Warren to the Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Tyrone's*

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

*unwillingness to put in his eldest son as pledge. Tyrone has not received any messengers out of Spain, since Norreys last met him. Garret and Mortagh Kavanagh, that came out of Scotland, are two proper men, and go in English apparel. If Sir John Norreys had the government, the Earl and the others would yield to anything. The coming of Lord Burgh has put them in great fear, and they are as yet very doubtful what cause they shall hold. The Earl has sworn, that unless his first pledges are released, he will not come into Dundalk. Hears that the Brenny and Carrickfergus have been spoiled. If these dealings be not stayed, no good will be done at this time of treaty.—Dungannon,* 1596, *March* 15. *Copy. pp.* 2.

28. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Is most willing to accomplish whatsoever he has promised. Marvels that his first pledges are not released, and the second pledges changed according to agreement. Unless they are, it will be a breach to their meeting. Complains that there has been no restitution made of the several spoils and preys upon his people.—Dungannon,* 1596, *March* 15. *Copy. p.* 1.

28. III. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton.* [*Duplicate of inclosure* I. *to preceding letter.*]—*Dungannon,* 1596, *March* 15. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 20. Dublin. 29. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copies of letters from the Earl of Tyrone. (*Probably the same as the inclosures in the preceding letter.*) The calumnies against him. Does not affect the government of Ireland. Prays their directions may be hastened, with an explanation of all doubts. —Dublin, 1596, March 20. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Mar. 20. 30. Henry Hovenden to the Earl of Tyrone. Touching the business of the bearer, a Spanish agent. He is to pass as a man of Galway. If England fear no foreign invasion, it is the likelier to go hard with Tyrone. Wishes the Earl to procure a thorough peace, or else to labour that help betimes, which at length he must be driven to, if the wars endure. If it pleased the Earl, O'Donnell would meet him at Strabane.—1596, March 20. *Copy. pp.* 2.

Mar. 20. 31. A declaration of the corn and other victual shipped from Chester into Ireland between 31 May 1596 and 20 March 1596–7. *One sheet.*

Mar. 24. Dublin Castle. 32. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. His doubt as to the Earl meeting the Commissioners at Dundalk. Encloses divers letters confirming his doubt. Arrival of a Spanish and of a French ship in O'Donnell's country. The Earl thereupon would go to Liffer. Shipping to be set out to sea. Lord Burgh's coming to be hastened. Great want of treasure. The Earl, having seemingly

1596–7. VOL. CXCVIII.

treasure out of Spain, offers by proclamation 12*d.* the day to such as will serve him.—Dublin Castle, 1596, March 24. *pp.* 2.
*Incloses,*

32. I. *Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Deputy. Concerning the Earl of Tyrone's proclamation to receive men into his pay.—Mellifont,* 1596, *March* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. II. *Captain Thomas Wingfield to Sir William Clarke. His being detained at Dundalk by reason of the rebels' intended preying of that town. Intelligence sent to the Earl from O'Donnell that twenty Spanish ships had arrived at Killibeggs. The Earl said to have gone towards Strabane to speak with the Spaniards, leaving Captain Warren at Dungannon. Weston, who is come thence, tells but of two ships. Proclamation by the Earl to receive men into his service. Morgan Kavanagh, who served long in the Low Countries on the Spanish side, is lately come to him through Scotland, and is reported to be now made chief commander of the Earl's "beggarly army."—Dundalk,* 1596, *March* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

32. III. *William Gelle to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Arrival of two Spanish ships at Killibeggs. The Earl gone down to meet them.—*[1596–7,] *March* 22. *Signed, "William Gelle, who indeed is Richard Weston of Dundalk." Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 24. Dublin Castle. 33. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Prays that Lord Burgh's coming may be hastened. Also, that a present portion of treasure be procured for the army, which has been without money already for almost four months. The excessive prices to which all things are grown. Knows not how to provide for his household, unless he is supplied with money beforehand as heretofore. Has appointed Smyth to solicit answer hereof.—Dublin Castle, 1596, March 24. *pp.* 1½.

Mar. 24. Dublin. 34. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl and the Spanish ships. Improved prospects in Connaught. Desires instructions for their doings with the Earl, and that the Lord Deputy and Council may be ordered to join with them in advice. Draws down to the North this day, to be ready to hasten the meeting. Till it pleases Her Majesty to deliver him out of this servitude, will remain in those parts, for no man can possibly endure the causes of offence that the Lord Deputy, in the extremity of his malice, offers him. Prays for the paying to him of his due, at the coming of the next treasure. The least favourite of the Lord Deputy is full or over paid. Sends an advice (*wanting*) of their small fleet, which he prays God may be true, and if the fleet arrive, beseeches Sir Robert to be one of their protectors, and to take upon him to be an adventurer with them.—Dublin, 1596, March 24. *Holograph. pp.* 2½.

Mar. 24. Dublin. 35. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Weston's intelligence as to the arrival of the Spanish ships. If the ships have

1596-7. VOL. CXCVIII.

brought money, and the Earl be disloyal, it will be a great mean to draw from Her Majesty most of the Irish soldiers now serving in her wages, who in number contain two parts of her army: at least, such has been either the remissness or corruption of some officers, who ought to have seen Her Majesty better served. Is still of opinion that the Irishry will not suffer the coming of any army from Spain to invade Ireland; and yet, till they are received to mercy by Her Majesty, they will entertain the Spaniards, and hold correspondence with them.—Dublin, 1596, March 24. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

35. I. *William Gelle to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Duplicate of inclosure* III. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of the 24th March.* *p.* ½.

Mar. 24. 36. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Without the appointment of Commissaries, the musters can never be duly executed. The weak companies must be cassed. As touching the Irishry, whereof Her Majesty's forces in Ireland do most consist, they run daily with armour and furniture to the rebels; they most lamentably waste and destroy the country where they pass; and they deceive, disorder, and confound all, being the very instruments of all fraud and false dealing at the musters, and, moreover, of all treason and rebellion. The mortal hatred to himself. His lack of maintenance. Cannot but reiterate his complaint. Packets of letters sent by him to Burghley. Is shortly to start for the North, whither Sir John Norreys is repairing.—Dublin, 1596, March 24. *Seal.* *pp.* 2.

Mar. 24. 37. "Advertisements delivered to Sir Henry Wallop by A. B." The Earl could not get restitution for a prey taken from Donogh Bradagh O'Hagan, one of his men. Angus M'Connell and some eight or ten Scottish gentlemen with the Earl. It was given out that Angus had taken to foster the Earl's eldest son, and that the Earl of Argyle would marry the Earl's daughter, formerly wife to O'Donnell. The Earl of Argyle amongst the Northern is called James M'Connell, Lord of the Irish Scots. Report that Captain Warren was coming from the State to conclude a peace. Great joy of the Earl and his people. Conference of the Earl and A. B. The former complains of promises broken to him; expresses his regret for the accident at Dublin, in respect of the hurt to the city, but not for the loss of the powder. The Earl said he understood of preparation to land men in his country. If this were done, and the Scots performed promise to him, he would come to see Dublin, and graze his creates in the Pale, whilst the Queen's forces ranged his country, where they would find some few left to keep them occupied. A. B. at Armagh. The Earl said, if wars continued, he would make Feagh M'Hugh's glynns more hot for the Lord Deputy than they were for Lord Grey. Captain Tyrrell and Donogh Bradagh O'Hagan sent by the Earl to the borders of the Brenny. Misconduct of O'Hagan, whom the Earl recalled and committed prisoner to Dungannon, where A. B. saw him in irons.—1596, March 24. *Copy.* *pp.* 2.

VOL. CXCVIII.

1596–7. [Mar. 24.] 38. "The present state of Connaught." Signed by the Lord Deputy and several of the Council.—1596–7 [March 24]. *pp.* 15.

[Mar. 24.] 39. Memorandum concerning the insertion in the instructions to Lord Burgh of a clause respecting Florence M'Carthy, and also of another regarding the defences of Waterford and Limerick.—[1596–7, March 24.] *p.* ½.

1597. Mar. 25. 40. "An estimate of the charge for forces demanded for Ireland," and, "Alteration of the project for Ireland." *In Burghley's hand, and endorsed by him,* "25 *March* 1597." *pp.* 4.

Mar. 25. 41. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. O'Donnell, after he had tried to resist the forces at Sligo, was driven back again over the Erne. M'William stopped from doing harm by reason of the garrisons left upon him. Reinforcements wanted in Connaught. Will send what aid they can. The Commissioners appointed to draw to Dundalk for the matters of the North can have only nine or ten companies. Have sent corn and powder to Connaught. Arrival of Spanish ships at Killibeggs. The Earl gone towards them. Will provide for the worst as far as their slender means allow. The Earl's proclamation to receive men into his service. Have written to the Mayor and Corporation of Waterford to be careful of the safety of that city, and "to put their people in strength" for the defence thereof. Pray that, "for the better securing of this kingdom against the attempts of that foreign tyrant," some ships of war may be in readiness to be put to sea. Beg that more money may be speedily sent. "Such of us as have served longest here never saw the like extremity amongst the soldiers, nor so little means of comfort by the country, which is impoverished even to the bones, and for the soldiers, if present help of money be not had out of England, we doubt that many places of garrison will be abandoned, and many of the companies will forsake their colours, for want of means to put clothes on their backs; a matter most grievous to us, who see them daily called out to answer service from one place to another, and so worn for want of clothes, as they have almost nothing left upon their bodies to keep them from the cold, having had neither victualling nor imprests these three months." Great sums due to the country and towns for dieting of soldiers, &c.—Dublin, 1597, March 25. *pp.* 3. *Inclose,*

41. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *See inclosure* I. *to Norreys's letter of March* 17.—*Ballinasloe,* 1596, *March* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

41. II. *Donogh O'Connor Sligo and Captain Humfrey Willis to Sir Conyers Clifford. See inclosure* II. *to Norreys's letter of March* 17.—*Sligo,* 1596, *March* 9. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

41. III. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council. Appointed the Earl of Clanrickarde, with his country and the rising*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*out of Thomond, to meet him at the Abbey of Boyle. The skirmishing between O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo at the bridge near Sligo. O'Donnell retired over the Erne. Forces expected by him. M'William and the garrisons. Chose with weak forces to go to meet O'Donnell, rather than suffer M'William to join with him. Sends letters of Captains Mostyn and Pettit* (wanting). *Expects to be joined by Tibbott Burke, and has great hopes of him. "Ferriaghe" M'Hugh is out, and has done mischief about Athlone. Some of the Kellys with him, and generally all the country, stand to see Sir Conyers' good or bad success. No one man of any name that submitted offered to go with him. The good or bad for Her Majesty's service depends upon his meeting with their "great master"* [O'Donnell]. *The great wants of his forces. If O'Donnell enters once again into the Maghery,* 20,000*l. will not get so much of Connaught as Sir Conyers will keep possession of, if six more companies, powder, corn, and some money are supplied to him.—Abbey of Boyle,* 1596, *March* 19. *pp.* 2½.

41. IV. *Rowland Argall and Thomas Dodd to Sir Conyers Clifford. "Ferragh" M'Hugh out. Details of the mischief done by him. Danger of Athlone. Dualtagh O'Kelly of Tolrush has taken Coll Oge M'Collogh O'Brien, and delivered him over at Athlone. Dualtagh desires Her Majesty's mercy. The rebels' intention to have burnt Ballinasloe.—Athlone,* 1596, *March* 15. *Copy. pp.* 2.

41. V. *Captain Gifford to Sir Henry Wallop. The skirmish with O'Donnell at the bridge near Sligo. Losses on both sides. O'Donnell has, it is thought,* 3,000 *men near Sligo. All available forces are being sent against him. Endorsed:—*"16 *March* 1596." *Copy. p.* 1.

41. VI. "*An advertisement without any name of the author touching xx. Spanish ships,*" *&c. This is really an extract from Captain Wingfield's letter to Sir William Clarke. See inclosure* II. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of March* 24. *p.* 1.

41. VII. *Captain William Warren to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Concerning the arrival of a Spanish and of a French ship at Killibeggs. The Earl intends to deal with O'Donnell for his pledges, and will write to Norreys as to the meeting at Dundalk. —Lungannon,* 1596, *March* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

41. VIII. *William Gelle* [*alias Weston*] *to Sir Geffrey Fenton.—See inclosure* III. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of March* 24. *p.* ½.

41. IX. *Note by Sir Geffrey Fenton, testifying to the credibility of Weston's intelligence. Written below Gelle's note.—*1597, *March* 25.

41. X. *Sir Edward Moore to the Lord Deputy. See inclosure* I. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of March* 24.—*Mellifont,* 1596, *March* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

41. XI. *James White, Mayor of Waterford, to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *News from merchants concerning Spanish preparations at Ferrol. Irish rebels at that place. Spanish assistance to the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and O'Rourke. A Scottish ship, retained at the King of Spain's charges, is appointed to bring news from time to time from the Earl and his adherents to the King, and from him to them. Intention of the Spaniards to invade Ireland, landing at Limerick and Galway. Reported pressing of men over all Spain. No stay of shipping in Spain now.—Waterford,* 1596, *March* 22. *Copy. pp.* 2.

Mar. 25. Dublin. 42. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The "woefull accident" of the blowing up of powder on the quay at Dublin. Impossible as yet to tell the cause of the explosion. John Allen, Clerk of the Ordnance, committed to Dublin Castle. Great omission on the part of the officers of the Tower in sending the powder in single, instead of double, cask.—Dublin, 1597, March 25. *Inclose,*

42. I. *Certificate by the Mayor of Dublin of the number of persons killed by the explosion. Citizens,* 76; *strangers, "as Scottishmen and others,"* 50. *Signed. No date. p.* ½.

Mar. 25. [Dublin.] 43. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Thinks it unnecessary to put Her Majesty to further charges until the certainty of this Spanish shipping be discovered. *Endorsed:*—1597, March 25. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Mar. 25. London. 44. James Nott to Sir Robert Cecil. His object in asking to be recommended to the Lord Burgh. The good service he can do for Her Majesty against the Earl of Tyrone.—London, 1597, March 25. *p.* 1.

Mar. 25. Dublin. 45. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. His singular comfort at Burghley's honourable remembrance of him. Necessity that Commissaries be appointed for the musters. How Maurice Kyffin has been deceived. Stations of various garrisons. Sends certificate (*wanting*) respecting the horse and foot in Ireland.—Dublin, 1596, March 24.—Maurice Kyffin's faulty musterings of the twenty companies sent into Connaught with Sir Conyers Clifford. Her Majesty charged for 2,000 men, whereas Sir Conyers could never find more than 1,200.—Dublin, 1597, March 25. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

45. I. *Maurice Kyffin to Sir Ralph Lane. Declines Sir Ralph's offer to assist in the mustering of the companies assembling for the service in Connaught.—Drogheda,* 1596, *January* 16. *p.* 1.

Mar. 25. Dublin. 46. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter to Burghley.*]—Dublin, 1597, March 25. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

46. I. *Maurice Kyffin to Sir Ralph Lane.* [*Copy of inclosure to preceding letter.*]—*Drogheda,* 1596, *January* 16. *p.* 1.

VOL. CXCVIII.

1597.

Mar. 25. Beaumaris. 47. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. His lengthened sickness. His loss and charges, having received no entertainment since the first of January, when Sir Conyers Clifford took the government of Connaught. Will put over for Ireland as soon as he has recovered a little more strength. Prays for trial before competent judges.—Beaumaris, 1597, March 25. *Seal. pp.* 1½.

Mar. 26. Drogheda. 48. Maurice Kyffin to Sir Robert Cecil. The intercepting of letters is much practised in those parts. His service is so inextricably accompanied with difficulties and most miserable inconveniences that an honest man cannot possibly live to undergo the same. In travelling up and down the country there is no kind of food for man or beast to be had, but what one buys at unreasonable rates and carries along with him. The countries remotely scattered. His entertainment, if paid, would not defray half his needful expenses, but, as it is unpaid, it is impossible for him to continue in the course he has begun. Appearance of good reformation in the musters. Has refused divers liberal rewards offered him. God forbid but that such sincere honesty should be regarded.—Drogheda, 1597, March 26. *Seal. p.* 1.

Mar. 27. [Dublin.] 49. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires to know whether Mr. Weston's servants are to be employed again in Spain for intelligence. Thinks a cipher should be used. Advises the preparation of a fleet in England, "to make a countenance to set upon" some parts of the Spanish dominions this year, as was done last year. No further news of the Spanish ships at Killibeggs. The Earl not yet returned from Strabane.—[Dublin,] 1597, March 27. *Holograph. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

49. I. *Nicholas Weston to Sir Robert Cecil. His servant, who arrived the previous day from Bilbao, was robbed of some of his goods by English men of war. This is the fourth time Weston has been robbed by them this year. Sends the intelligence procured by his factor, but begs that it may be kept secret. His servant threatened with the rack by the Corregidor. The time very dangerous now to venture abroad, by reason of so many English men of war, which spare nobody that comes. If Sir Robert has further occasion to employ his servants, it will be necessary to have the Admiral's pass for two barks severally. A cipher ("syfyr") also will be required. Has informed none of the Council, but Sir Geffrey Fenton, as Sir Robert directed.—Dublin, 1597, March 27. p.* 1.

49. II. *Intelligence by William Fyan. Arrived in Bilbao, 8 January* 1596. *Threatened by the Corregidor with the rack, but escaped through the good offices of the merchants. Twenty-seven ships of the Spanish fleet lost in the storm, and ten thousand men by estimation drowned. The fleet was bound for Ireland, where all the English in the country were to have been put to the sword. There should be a strong garrison kept in Galway. On the voyage from Lisbon to Ferrol, the greater part of the ordnance and munition was lost, and also some store of treasure towards the*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*Cape [Finisterre]. This summer they pretend they will try and recover a portion. The fleet cannot be set out this year, the soldiers being dispersed, and the vessels divided between four different stations. Great fears that the Spanish shipping will be set fire to by the large English fleet, which is reported to be preparing. The Spanish men are dying of the sickness; "at Santander there is not any creature left alive, and at Castro very many dead, and all of the plague and by hunger." The gates of Bilbao kept fast and guarded, and no person whatsoever suffered to come in without a pass from the Governor of the Province. At Ferrol arrived last January three Irishmen, "which were very clean, and went after the Spanish fashion." It is reported that the Spaniards intend to visit England next year with a strong fleet. Endorsed:*—1597, *March* 27. *p.* 1.

Mar. 28. 50. Memorandum by Burghley of the numbers of soldiers requisite to be maintained in Ireland this summer. *Endorsed:*—1597, March 28. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Mar. 29. Knockfergus. 51. The Bishop of Down and others to [? the Lord Deputy]. Information by Neale M'Hugh, now prisoner in Knockfergus Castle, concerning the arrival of Spanish ships at Killibeggs.—Knockfergus, 1597, March 29. *Copy. p.* 1.

Mar. 30. 52. "A consideration had of the plot and project sent out of Ireland for the manner of prosecuting and vanquishing the rebellion there." *With corrections and additions in Burghley's hand.—Endorsed:*—1597, March 30. *pp.* 5.

Mar. 30. 53. A paper similar to the preceding. *pp.* 5½.

Mar. 30. Dublin. 54. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Has sent him twenty-four tons of touch-stones, whereof three are great in the form of tombstones.—Dublin, 1597, March 30. *p.* ½.

Mar. 30. Drogheda. 55. Bartholomew Elcock, Mayor of Drogheda, to [the Lord Deputy.] One John Bullen of St. Malo, lately arrived from San Lucar, reports the stay of strangers in Spain, and that he heard a navy was being prepared for Ireland. Further, that forty at least of the Spanish ships were lost, with 4,000 men; and that twenty galleons are preparing in the river of Seville, said by some to be bound for the Indies, and by others for the fleet at Ferrol.—Drogheda, 1597, March 30. *Copy. p.* 1.

[March.] Trolathe. 56. Captain William Warren to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. A merchant, named Thomas Dowdinge, who was with the Earl and O'Donnell at Liffer on Thursday last, has just arrived, and reports that the Spaniards are gone; that but one ship came, which landed at Donegal; that O'Donnell would not speak with them, until their chiefest men came to the Earl, upon whose coming the Earl told them that he had made a peace with Her Majesty, which he would not break. Whereupon the Spaniards went away.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

The merchant was present at the interview between the Earl and the Spaniards, and heard all that passed between them. Will remain at Mellifont until he hears of Norreys's further pleasure.—Tredathe, Wednesday night.—[March.] *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

[March.] 57. Account and issue of ready money had from the Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, between the first of October, 1596, and the last of March, 1597. *Signed by Robert Newcomen.* *pp.* 2.

March. Dublin. 58. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. His letters to Burghley delayed by contrary winds. Sends some view of the checks he is to certify for this half-year, touching so many companies as he has already mustered. The danger he is in from his enemies. If present order be not taken to repress villanous outrages and insolencies, the land will be ruined. "I am somewhat entered into discovery of one of the most foul and shameful abuses that ever was heard of in any state, namely, the sale and purloining of the soldiers' victual by the clerks and inferior officers of bands, whereby the poor soldiers are most lamentably hunger-starven. It is not credible what misery and extremity they are put to. They die wretchedly and woefully in the streets and highways, far less regarded than any beasts. Nothing were more needful than good authority to be conferred on a faithful man, who should surely look into these enormities." His poor entertainment, and that not paid. The explosion in Dublin.—Dublin, [ ] March, 1596. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

58. 1. *Estimate of checks for one half-year, ending March* 31, 1597. *pp.* 3.

[March.] 59. Draft warrant for the sending over to Ireland of some treasure with Lord Burgh, appointed to succeed Sir William Russell as Lord Deputy.—[1597, March.] *p.* 1.

[March.] 60. "The names of some notorious traitors executed by course of common law, put to the sword, executed by martial law, by the Right Honourable the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, of such as combined with Piers Butler, son to Sir Edmund Butler, and other traitors."—[1597, March.] *pp.* 3.

[March.] 61. A brief of Lord Delvin's suit to Her Majesty. To grant him and his heirs lands to the value of 100*l.* per annum: and also to grant him such company of horse and foot in pay, as Her Majesty shal' think convenient. His services during the last thirty years.—[1597, March.] *p.* 1.

April 1. 62. Estimate of the charges of 560 men to supply the wants in Ireland.—*Endorsed by Burghley*:—"p° April, 1597." *p.* 1.

April 3. Slane. 63. The Baron of Slane to the Sheriff of Meath. Before leaving Atherdee, heard that there were great forces purposing to invade the county of Louth or the borders of Meath, either this night, or to-morrow. Order is left with the Sheriff of Louth and the garrisons in that county to be in readiness to resist any such

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

attempt. Directs him to give like warning to Captain Street and the garrison of Kells, and to the horsemen at the Navan, to watch on some hill, or other convenient place, and be ready to resist, if occasion so require.—Slane, 1597, April 3. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

April 3. "Killmayham-keals." 64. James Barnewell to ———. Was credibly informed by Ferdorogh O'Dally that twelve Spanish vessels had arrived. Ferdorogh had met the Earl of Tyrone's messenger going with letters to O'Reilly. The Earl had sent his servants to take up a great number of beeves for victualling the Spaniards. Prays God to confound all Her Majesty's enemies.—"Killmayhamkeals," 1597, April 3. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

April 3. 65. "Taff" to Rice ap Hugh. The Earl has secretly threatened a great penalty on all those that shall declare anything of the coming of the Spaniards. But one thousand of the latter have come, and with them bishops and priests, and great store of armour and munition. Many ships are to follow. Desires him to post a man to Kells, and to be in readiness, fearing the worst. The Earl and the northern men have determined that, unless they have their will at the next meeting with the Lord General, they will proceed "in action of wars." These news "may be true, they may be otherwise." —1597, Low Sunday [April 3]. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

April 4. Dundalk. 66. Advertisements of the Earl of Tyrone's proceedings. It was reported to the King of Spain that the Earl had been received into favour, and so no Spanish forces were to come, until the return of the King's messenger. The Earl has assured the Spaniards that he will continue in the truce with Her Majesty until they come, which the messenger said will be out of hand. Henry Oge's son has made a prey and burned in the Baron of Slane's country.—Dundalk, 1597, April 4. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

April 4. Dublin. 67. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Earl, who desired the meeting at Dundalk to be put off until the second of April, did not appear on that day, and has asked the Lord General to defer it for a fortnight longer. No report has come from the Earl touching the Spanish ships. Still hold their former opinion of his unsoundness, and that, by labouring to put off the time of the meeting, he foreshews some further practice, either to frustrate the meeting altogether, or, at least, to win time, to fit himself the better to work his combinations with the Irish, and to expect the succours of Spain. Six sail seen on the coasts of Connaught, bearing to the north and north-west. The Earl would not allow Captain Warren to go with him to O'Donnell's country, but sent him back to the Pale. The pursuivant they sent with letters to the Earl was not allowed to go after him, but was dismissed back again, and in his return robbed of all that he had. Lastly a soldier, sent by Captain Wingfield to hearken after the Earl's dealings with those Spanish ships, was not suffered to go further than Dungannon, and there he learned that the Earl had given secret warning that no speech should

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

be made about the ships. Have great suspicions against the Earl. Need of men, money, and victuals. Some of Her Majesty's ships should be in readiness to be employed against the Spaniards. Cannot think the Earl other than a cunning, dangerous rebel. The soldiers in great extremity, having neither pay, nor clothes, nor victuals, other than the relief of corn lately sent out of England, which cannot be transported to all places to sustain them.—Dublin, 1597, April 4. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

67. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *Sends a letter written to the Mayor of Galway by Roger O'Flaherty, who is a gentleman of very honest conversation. Thinks it most necessary for some of Her Majesty's forces to be in readiness to draw towards him, seeing the companies with him are very weak.* —*Athlone*, 1597, *March* 31. *Copy. p.* 1.

67. II. *Roger O'Flaherty to the Mayor of Galway. Intelligence from Moyler M'Tibbot Boy, who was in one of the Spanish ships, that two boats were sent ashore, and bought certain provisions, for which they paid in Spanish money. The Malleys and the Spaniards. The ship then sailed to the north-west of Innisboffin, where they saw three ships afore and two after, sailing in one course. These confessed that they were Spaniards, and that they were in company with an army sent by the King unto the Earl of Tyrone, and gave those Irish many comfortable braggs. Six brass pieces seen in the ship his informant was in.—Moycullin*, 1597, *March* 27. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

April 5. Dublin. 68. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. This delay of the Earl is more suspicious than all the rest. Ere long this fine thread of his will be spun to its full length. The need of preparation against the Spaniards. Beseeches him to favour the writer's poor suits, solicited in England by his servant. Finds Sir Robert Gardener has a standing allowance of thirty shillings a day, during the continuance of his mission. Thinks the latter might be dissolved, to ease Her Majesty's purse.—Dublin, 1597, April 5. *pp.* 2.

April 6. Dublin Castle. 69. The Lord Deputy to the Privy Council. The arrival of Spanish ships. Incloses letters. The Earl of Tyrone's delays. Prays that Lord Burgh's coming over may be hastened, for the good of Her Majesty's service. Growing discontent. The companies exceeding weak. Very many Irish among them, who will probably revolt, when brought to the brunt of any service. Shipping and forces to be provided for the worst. The want of treasure perilous. James Butler, a notorious traitor, killed. Hopes soon to clear all rebellion from Leinster, if the forces be not drawn from that prosecution.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 6. *pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

69. I. *Report of William Fyan. The great fear of the Spaniards lest the English should fire their fleet in Ferrol. Their heavy loss of ships and men. Great pestilence in the Spanish fleet. Endorsed:*—"*Received* 30 *March* 1597." *Copy. pp.* 1½.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

69. II. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council. Has a special message out of the North from Hugh O'Connor Don of two ships arrived in O'Donnell's country; one with powder and munition and not above 50 Spaniards; the other, a ship of Spain, from France with wines. The messenger says that there is no likelihood of any more ships coming to Ireland from Spain this year. O'Donnell had asked the Earl to keep Easter with him, but the Earl had refused.—Athlone,* 1597, *March* 29. *Copy. p.* 1.

69. III. *The Bishop of Meath to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *News that eight Spanish ships had arrived in Loughfoyle. Another account says three or four. Will send out three intelligencers to make certain. Suspicions of Tyrone's meaning. — Ardbraccan,* 1597, *March* 31. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

69. IV. *The Bishop of Meath to* [*the Lord Deputy*]. *Great store of treasure and munition come to the Earl and O'Donnell. Some three or four score Spaniards landed, who say that a great number are coming after them. Cormack M'Baron and Tirlogh M'Henry sent for in such haste to Strabane, that Cormack durst not tarry to bury his wife, who is dead.—Ardbraccan,* 1597, *April* 2. *Copy. p.* 1.

69. V. *Intelligences delivered by Cahil Ogonan to the Bishop of Meath. — Messenger from Spain to the Earl. The latter makes ready provisions for the Spaniards. Five Spanish ships, and one ship more, in Loughfoyle. Divers persons in rich apparel come ashore to confer with O'Donnell. They assured him of great numbers of Spaniards coming after them with plenty of treasure and munition. The Earl and O'Donnell intend to turn the greatest bulk of the Spaniards into Munster. Irishmen reported to have come among the Spaniards. Endorsed:—*1597, *April* 2. *Copy. pp.* 2.

69. VI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir John Norreys, "the Lord President of Munster and Lord General of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland." His repair to the Spanish ship that came to O'Donnell's country. Cannot meet Norreys on the day appointed, April* 2. *Desires it be deferred a fortnight longer. Prays him to write to the Governor of Connaught not to set forward upon either M'William or O'Rourke till after the meeting; and O'Donnell will write to M'William and O'Rourke to keep quiet.*—[1597, *March.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

69. VII. *The Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys, to* [*the Lord Deputy and Council*]. *The proclamation at Dungannon was made, with the Earl's permission, by O'Hagan the Seneschal's son, who was appointed to carry some men into the Glynns. Knew Morgan Kavanagh in the Low Countries as a very arrant villain. Probable futility of the proclamation. The two ships that arrived in O'Donnell's country. The Earl's answer, with great oaths, to Captain Warren that, if all the Spaniards in*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*Spain should come into Ireland, they could not alter his mind from being a dutiful subject to Her Majesty, if promise were kept with him. He also said that he would not stick to put one or both his sons into her Majesty's hands, to be used as should please her, if he were assured that he would be well dealt with. Desires instructions as to further treating with the Earl. Daily complaints of spoils and killings.—Drogheda,* 1597, *March* 28. *Copy. pp.* 2.

69. VIII. *The Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys, to [the Lord Deputy]. Desires further instructions as to treating with the Earl, who wishes to postpone the meeting at Dundalk.—Drogheda,* 1597, *March* 31. *Copy. p.* ½.

69. IX. *The Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys, to Sir George Bourchier and Sir Geffrey Fenton. Sends copy of the Earl's letter, by which he seeks to delay the meeting for a fortnight. Has written that they cannot condescend thereunto, and asking for his resolution. Expects Captain Warren back again with all expedition. As soon as he arrives, intends to send for them.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 1. *Copy. p.* 1.

69. X. *The Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys, to the Lord Deputy and Council. Tyrone's delaying. His message of a great army in Spain, ready to be sent into Ireland, under the command of the Adelantado Major de Castillian. The Earl swears he does not know where they will arrive.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

69. XI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys. Hears from Captain Warren of his Lordship's intention to make a final conclusion, both with himself and all the rest. Desires the others may be warned. As Feagh M'Hugh cannot come, wishes that a safe-conduct may be given to Feagh's wife or any other appointed by him as his agent. Has agreed with Captain Warren to receive payment for the cows taken by Captain Baker.—Dungannon,* 1597, *April* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 6. Dublin Castle. 70. The Lord Deputy to Burghley. Very great want of victuals, especially of butter and cheese. Money much needed to provide necessaries and to give contentment to the soldiers. Unsatisfactory state of the companies. The Earl's conference with the Spaniards in Donegal. His delays. Prays Burghley to further the despatch of Lord Burgh. — Dublin Castle, 1597, April 6. *pp.* 2.

April 6. Dublin Castle. 71. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. The changing of the Earl's pledges. [*The rest is to the same effect as the preceding letter.*]—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 6. *pp.* 2.

April 6. Dublin Castle. 72. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends letter (*see inclosure to next*) from Sir John Norreys, showing how small hope there is of a good conclusion, but rather that the Spaniards will

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

arrive in Ireland. Holds it necessary that forces, shipping, and provisions be in readiness forthwith at the seaside, to answer the worst that may befal.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 6, "at night." *p.* 1.

April 6. Dublin. 73. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends letter from Sir John Norreys. The Earl's delays. Will ask the advice of the Council, and move that Norreys be sent for. The Earl's advertisement of an army to be sent presently from Spain to Ireland. [*Postscript.*] The Council would have nothing to do with these matters of the North. Will start in the morning for Drogheda, to confer with Norreys. The Earl a "cunning traitor." —Dublin, 1597, April 6. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

73. I. *Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Captain Warren is returned from the Earl bringing with him a letter full of shift and delay. Since this meeting fails, does not think their commission stretches any further. The Earl's message about the army from Spain. Will not reply to the Earl until he hears further from Fenton.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 6. Dublin. 74. Sir Henry Wallop to his servant, Jeffrey Johnson. Perceives by Sir John Dowdall that he has received a warrant from the Privy Council to restrain all shipping from carrying pipe and hogshead boards out of the river of Waterford; for that Her Majesty has need of those wares for provision of her navy. Has never known any store to come down that river. If Her Majesty be not furnished for her navy this year, will furnish her within a very short time with a hundred thousand of each sort, to be delivered either at Bristol or Plymouth, so as the price be accordingly. A former offer of the Privy Council to him. If the Privy Council want any proportion of boards, desires to have a speedy answer. These kind of wares are "pesterous" to carry.—Dublin, 1597, April 6. *p.* 1.

April 6. 75. An abstract of some of the disloyal and corrupt practices of William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster.—1596, March 24. *Endorsed:*—1597, April 6. 4½ *pp.*

April 6. Newry. 76. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to [the Lord Deputy]. Since the Earl's going to meet the Spanish ship, he and O'Donnell are thoroughly agreed, and their league of friendship is more apparently confirmed, for the satisfying of their followers and dependants, by O'Donnell's receiving of the Earl's base daughter [in marriage]. He had formerly refused her, in hope of getting the Earl of Clanrickarde's daughter, and thereby driving the most part of Connaught to have luck fast with them. Touching the Earl of Tyrone's treaty with the Spaniards, is informed that the chief among them was brother to Don Alonso de Cano, who came last summer. His principal demand was to have both the Earl's sons delivered as pledges to the King of Spain. "Unto which the Earl made answer, that albeit both himself, children, life, lands, goods,

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

friends, followers, and all that ever he had in the world, was and should be at the commandment and disposition of his Catholic Majesty for the maintenance of his cause, whereunto he was entered already against his own Prince, the ground whereof proceeded only from his conscience for the restoring of the Catholic Religion to his country," yet, because he had made a submission and peace with the English to gain time, until the forces of his Catholic Majesty should arrive for his defence, if he were to deliver up his children as pledges to the King, it would make the English utterly desperate of him, and cause the Queen of England forthwith to send her army against him, which he could not of himself withstand. The Earl asked that the demand for his children might be forborne until the King's forces were upon the coast of Ireland, and then, before they landed, they should have not only his children but himself also, if they so pleased. Sundry presents were brought unto him by them, and he bestowed among the gentlemen that were there nine "hobbies," whereof one principal fine nag, which he took from Sir Arthur O'Neill, he gave to Don Alonso's brother.—Newry, 1597, April 6. *Copy. pp.* 2.

April 7. Dublin Castle. 77. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The probable arrival of Spaniards. Norreys's letter to Fenton (*see inclosure to Fenton's letter of April* 6). What heretofore they had advertised is now come to pass, that the Earl would in the end prove a most ungrateful and dangerous traitor. His delays and devices. Are led in reason to believe that the Earl, assured of the coming of Spaniards, is grown to such a height of pride, that he scorneth any further course of mercy. Urge his speedy chastisement by force, and that preparations be made against the Spaniards. The weak state of the companies. One of them, for example's sake, has been discharged, its number not exceeding twenty. The delays have been to the great advantage of the traitors, and to the great charge and loss of Her Majesty. The misery of the country.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 7. *pp.* 4. *Inclose,*

77. I. *The Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys, to the Lord Deputy and Council.* [*See inclosure* X. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of April* 6.]—*Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

77. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys.* [*See inclosure* XI. *to the Lord Deputy's letter of April* 6.]—*Dungannon,* 1597, *April* 3. *Copy. p.* 1.

77. III. *Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton.* [*See inclosure* I. *to Fenton's letter of April* 6.]—[*Drogheda,*] 1597, *April* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 7. Dublin. 78. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of the bearer, James Bellew, an Alderman of Dublin, who has rendered great services in respect of the supplies to the army.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

Bellew's house, which cost him the greatest part of his substance, was thrown down flat to the ground by the late explosion of powder. —Dublin, 1597, April 7. *p.* 1.

April 9. St. James's Park, London. 79. Sir Henry Knyvett to Burghley. Offers to land in Lough Foyle, take Newcastle, and make a settlement in Sir John O'Doherty's country; then to march to Liffer, the heart and centre of the strongest rebels, and there erect and fortify a free town for a President to live in. The rebels of Ulster, "the monsters of the land." Sir Henry brother-in-law to the new Lord Deputy. Craves but one regiment, raised and prepared according to his (Sir Henry's) discipline, two hundred pioneers, and two pinnaces. Will give his reasons in further speech with Burghley.—"At my lodging in St. James's Park," 1597, April 9. *p.* 1.

April 9. Drogheda. 80. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Moved in the Council that Sir John Norreys might be sent for, to be present at the consultation regarding the Earl of Tyrone. The Council thought he had better go to Drogheda and confer with Norreys there. Arrived there on the 7th, and found that Norreys had made no answer to the Earl, but had caused Captain Warren to write back, to draw him to some better resolution. The reply is expected within two days. Is of opinion, in order to leave the Earl without excuse, that seven or eight days of respite might be given him, if he sue for them, to draw his confederates together. The delay would also be useful to prepare against him. Is still of opinion that only one Spanish vessel arrived at Killibeggs, with one French ship which was driven there by adverse winds. The Spaniards endeavour to cross the Irish in any desire for submission to Her Majesty. This will not long hold credit with the Irish, "who in their generation are as wily and subtle as the Spaniard is fine and deceitful." The poverty of the English Pale. It goes daily more and more to waste, in such sort that, if another war be put on foot, the Pale will in most parts be abandoned. The extreme scarcity of food has brought famine already, as well in the corporate towns as in the country, and ere long it cannot but sort to a further rage, even to the dying of people in the streets and highways. "This is a true report, whosoever writeth anything to the contrary."—Drogheda, 1597, April 9. *Seal.* *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

80. 1. *Declaration of William Dowdall, gent. The Spanish ship that arrived at Killibeggs departed before Easter. The coshering of the Earl and O'Donnell for a few days supposed to have occasioned the delay on the part of the former. The Spaniards went away not well contented. Found a general desire for peace in the people of Tyrone, who say that they love the worst Englishman better than the best Spaniard.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 9. *p.* 1.

April 9. Dublin. 81. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. Slanderous reports by his enemies. Mean estate of Feagh M'Hugh. Advises the prosecution to the utmost of Feagh, his sons, and partakers. If the

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

Privy Council will write letters to that effect, will undertake in short time to take, kill, or banish the traitors, if he receive the needed supplies for the soldiers under his command. Which done, he will afterwards desire license to leave the miserable service of Ireland, and be employed by Her Majesty elsewhere.—Dublin, 1597, April 9. *p.* 1.

April 11. Dublin. 82. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The checks upon the various bands have not yet been published, in order not to increase the discontent of the captains and army generally, and particularly of the Irishry therein. The suffering consequent on the extreme dearth. Great arrears of pay. The captains of horse and foot affirm that the new English soldier is, throughout the army, more than one half dead, starved and begging in the highways and good towns, and [a] runaway. Extortion by the soldiers. Delays in payments for the supply of victuals for the soldiers. Risks of disbanding the Irishry. Petition of the captains to the Lord Deputy and Council. The lack of nine Commissaries for the four Provinces.—Dublin, 1597, April 11. *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

82. I. *Checks imposed by Sir Ralph Lane, and also by Maurice Kyffin, for the half-year ending March* 31, 1597. *pp.* 2¼.

82. II. *Petition of the captains in Ireland to the Lord Deputy and Council, regarding the lack of victuals and clothes for the soldiers, the method of imposing checks on the bands, and the want of Commissaries. Endorsed:*—1597, *March* 28. *pp.* 2.

82. III. *A brief certificate of such checks as are to be imposed upon Her Majesty's army in Ireland, for the half-year ending* 1597, *March* 31.—1597, *April* 9. *pp.* 3.

[April 11.] 83. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The difficulties of taking the musters regularly, owing to the lack of Commissaries. Some bands could be checked only "by discretion," it being impossible to muster them. Kyffin uses this method now, as well as others. The want of numbers in the bands grows by reason of the disease of Ireland, which seizes the new English soldiers two or three months after their arrival; and, upon their first sickness, their captains discharge them, stripping them of furniture and apparel. When a journey has to be undertaken, the captains get some Irish in place of the discharged soldiers, and give them the furniture and apparel of the Englishmen, and peradventure the names also of the latter, the better to blurr the muster-master. The Irish in the bands would be assured if there were regular pay. The rise and fall of the checks every half year. Reasons for this. Urges the appointment of Commissaries.—[1597, April 11.] *pp.* 2½.

April 11. Dublin. 84. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as his first letter to Burghley of this date.*]—Dublin, 1597, April 11. *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

84. I. *A brief certificate of such checks as are to be imposed upon Her Majesty's army in Ireland, for the half-year ending* 1597, *March* 31.—1597, *April* 9. *pp.* 3.

April 11. 85. Note of ships for the transport of malt, oats, butter and cheese.—1597, April 11. *p.* ½.

April 12. Dublin Castle. 86. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. Expect the Commissioners' speedy return without effecting anything with the Earl. Need for chastisement of these ungrateful rebels. The evil results of the treaties and cessations. The rebels may no longer be dandled or dallied withal, considering that they are so far bewitched with the love of Spain, and have got so great a party throughout Ireland, that they condemn all grace and mercy offered them. Desire that treasure and victuals may be forthwith sent over in some good measure, and that forces and shipping be held in readiness.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 12. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

86. I. *The Lord President Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton, to the Lord Deputy and Council. Inclose letter from the Earl. He does not mean to be drawn into Dundalk. Little appearance that any conclusion can be looked for. Their commission restrains them from proceeding any further. Desire further instructions. Meantime have sent Captain Warren again to the Earl, to see if he cannot persuade him to come to Dundalk. Pray that timely provision may be made for the relief of Armagh, where there is scarcity.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 10. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

86. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain William Warren. It seems that it is intended to prosecute him, seeing that he cannot get time to confer with such as he might advise himself withal. Is still willing to bring all things to a good end, if promise be kept with him.—Dungannon,* 1597, *April* 8. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 15. Drogheda. 87. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Incloses letter from Richard Weston, who has good means to understand the truth about the Earl, by reason of his own familiarity with him, and correspondence with Brymycham, the Earl's secretary. The latter knows Spanish. Has wrought with Weston to draw Brymycham away, and has almost brought it to pass. Money must do this, but he has none, being already spent "to the bones." Necessity for spies. Craves an allowance to that end. Some small burnings made upon the borders, at which some of the Earl's men were present. Has written to the Earl regarding this. Hopes to return soon to Dublin.—Drogheda, 1597, April 15. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

87. I. "*John Tomson*" [i.e., *Richard Weston*] *to Sir Geffrey Fenton. The object of the Spaniards in coming was to know whether there was any peace concluded, as the King had heard, between Her Majesty and the Irish chiefs. The Earl and O'Donnell answered that there was no such peace. Promise of an army from*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*Spain in two months' time. Will stay a while, and will know all at large, as may be seen by the inclosed, which must be sent back again by the bearer. The Earl sent over three horses with the ship, and O'Donnell three more.* [Appended is a copy of a note from Brymycham (or Bermyngham) to Weston expressing a great desire to see him, and sending greetings to his family.]—*Newry*, 1597, *April* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 17. Drogheda. 88. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Publication of the checks upon the bands. Consequent rage and fury of the captains. Has borrowed and taken up by bills money to supply his need. Cannot receive his pay. Prays for his revocation, and that he may not for his faithful service have to bear need and the malignity of his enemies in so miserable a country; where, however, he could make gain of his place, if he conformed to the general custom and corruption of the land. Her Majesty is extremely deceived, the soldiers defrauded and hunger-starven, the land wasted and destroyed. In Ireland there is nothing more dangerous and detestable than to be an honest man. Great opposition to all reformation. Hopes Burghley has received the many letters and certificates lately sent him by the writer.—Drogheda, 1597, April 17. *Seal. p.* 1.

April 17. Dungannon. 89. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. The only delay that has occurred on his part regarding the meeting, was when he went for five or six days to talk with the Spaniards. The circumstances he will impart to Norreys, when he sees him. Will not fail to meet the Commissioners near Dundalk on the 26th instant, and give full contentment in all demands, as far as he may with his safety. Meantime, has taken order that no harm shall be done until the meeting. Hopes they will do the same.—Dungannon, 1597, April 17. *p.* 1.

[April 18.] 90. Commission for Thomas, Lord Burgh, as Lord Deputy of Ireland.—[1597, April 18.] *Latin. Copy. pp.* 6½.

[April 18.] 91. Another copy of the same.—[1597, April 18.] *Latin. pp.* 7.

[April 18.] 92. Another copy of the same.—[1597, April 18.] *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 1. *pp.* 5½.

[April 18.] 93. Commission to Thomas, Lord Burgh, and others, for leases and wards in Ireland.—[1597, April 18]. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 3b. *pp.* 4.

[April 18.] 94. Commission to Thomas, Lord Burgh, and others, for calling in Her Majesty's debts in Ireland.—[1597, April 18.] *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 5b. *pp.* 11.

April 18. 95. Instructions for Thomas, Lord Burgh, Governor of Brill in Holland, on his appointment as Lord Deputy of Ireland.—1597, April 18. *Copy. pp.* 10.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

April 18. 96. Another copy of the same.—1597, April 18. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 11. *pp.* 11.

April 18. Whitehall. 97. Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and the Council. For conference with Lord Burgh on the state of the affairs of Ireland, and for the delivery of the sword to him.—Whitehall, 1597, April 18. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 16b. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

April 18. Whitehall. 98. Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Russell, the Lord Deputy, and Council. Lord Burgh to have 1,000*l.* per annum out of the composition money in lieu of cess.—Whitehall, 1597, April 18. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 17. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 18. Whitehall. 99. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Henry Wallop. The order of the payment of stipend and imprest to the Lords Deputy Russell and Burgh.—Whitehall, 1597, April 18. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 17b. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

April 18. Whitehall. 100. Queen Elizabeth to Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy, and the Council. The faults of their plot for proceeding against Tyrone. Fourteen thousand six hundred and twenty persons never before kept in wages by England in Ireland. Has caused a new plot to be devised. Lord Burgh was present when it was agreed upon. Allows him and the Council a general discretion in the execution thereof. "And considering the many disasters happened in that realm, whereof we mind not by this our letter to express our opinion in whóse defaults amongst you of our Council the same happened, being such and so notorious as it is but too apparent to the whole world that never any realm was worse governed by all our ministers from the highest to the lowest, yet we have informed the Lord Burgh of divers particular disorders by us observed in that government, which we doubt not but, according to his duty, he will see reformed as time may give him opportunity, and so we expect that all and every of you, being of our Council, will aid and assist him to the performance thereof, whereof we charge you not to fail at your uttermost perils." The pension of 200*l.* to the Earl of Thomond to be continued out of the revenues of Connaught. Has recommended the Earl to Sir Conyers Clifford. Directs that some course be taken to dismiss John FitzEdmunds of his trouble, taking some reasonable bonds for his appearance. The company of horse, apportioned to Sir John Norreys, is to be committed, on his return to England, to his brother Sir Thomas Norreys.—Whitehall, 1597, April 18. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 18. *Copy. pp.* 4.

[April 18.] 101. A consideration of the plot sent out of Ireland on March 20 last; and alterations of some parts thereof. The matters emphasized are, the preservation of the English Pale, the defence of the seaside towns in Ulster next to the Pale, the recovery of Connaught, and the fortification of Waterford and Limerick.—[1597, April 18.] *Entry Book*, No. 194, fol. 20. *Copy. pp.* 5½.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

April [18]. 102. Schedules of men levied in divers English counties, for service in Ireland.—April [18]. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fols. 22b, 23. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

April 18. Drogheda. 103. The Lord General Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton, to Sir Robert Cecil. Find little or no hope of conformity in the Earl and the rest. The Earl still avoids answering directly as to his coming into Dundalk. Think the rebels have received some fresh confidence in the succours of Spain by the ship that was last with them. Have still a messenger with the Earl, to bring his "uttermost resolution." Expect to know within two or three days. Will advertise thereof with the best diligence they can. Consider Her Majesty should prepare at once for war.—Drogheda, 1597, April 18. *pp.* 1½.

April 18. Drogheda. 104. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. No appearance that the rebel will make any agreement, till he see the succession of the Government settled. The expected Spanish help. Thinks the most honourable and safest way will be to proceed to war. The time of the year suitable. Corn must be provided from England. If Her Majesty send an army to the sea, the Spanish aid will not be able to do much. Beseeches that his retreat may be provided for, before the new Governor arrive, and that he may receive [the money] due to him.—Drogheda, 1597, April 18. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

April 18. Drogheda. 105. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Beeves taken by Captain Baker from Art M'Barron for the supply of Armagh. Complaint made to Norreys. Promised to pay for them; yet revenge was taken. Sends copy of the Earl's last letter to Captain Warren (*wanting*). Expects the latter on the morrow. —Drogheda, 1597, April 18. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

105. I. *Captain James Baker to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Con, the Earl's son, sent word to Baker to be on his guard, as the Earl and Norreys could not agree upon the conditions of peace. Doubts not the garrison will perform what is expected. The state of the country a little amended. This humour of the rebels is but a flourish. Is assured the common people cry out, and are almost starved. The Earl has sent up most of his forces to front the English garrisons, remaining very timorous himself, encouraging his people, alleging he could have peace, but the conditions were not such as were for their good. Norreys's letter sent to Baker by way of the Newry was taken by the enemy. —Armagh*, 1597, *April* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 18. Armagh. 106. Captain James Baker to Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall. They have not above three weeks' biscuit, and part of their meal is spent. Hears the Earl stands upon very great terms. Thinks he has some assurance of Spaniards. They [the rebels] are very pleasantly disposed of late. The meeting will be presently; they will end

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

for all them of Connaught, and for Feagh M'Hugh, or else, he thinks, they will not agree to any peace.—Armagh, 1597, April 18. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

April 18. Barry Court. 107. David Buttevant, Lord Barry, to Sir Robert Cecil. The great cost he has been at in his previous service for Her Majesty. Prays that he may have the charge of some horse and foot to enable him to continue his services; and also that the old fine upon him may be remitted, according to the Lord General's letters. Commits the bearer, his sister, and her cause to Sir Robert's honourable furtherance.—Barry Court, 1597, April 18. *p.* 1.

April 18. Limerick. 108. Examination of Edmund Hally, of Limerick, sailor, lately arrived at Kinsale. The *Sunday*, a ship of Limerick, in which he went to Spain, was stayed by orders of the King, and compelled to serve in the Spanish fleet. Describes how thirty-one ships of the fleet that left Lisbon with 15,000 men last November were wrecked. Cahil O'Connor, Captain Blanchfield, Henry O'Mulrean of Ony, and Robert Lacy, pretended Chancellor of Limerick from the Pope, were among the lost. Details of other naval preparations in Spain. Ferrol the *rendezvous*.—Limerick, 1597, April 18. *Copy.* *pp.* 2.

April 19. Dublin. 109. Captain Charles Eggerton to Burghley. Two years' arrears of his pay due. Since then has not for seven months had victuals or diet money for either of the two wards in Carrickfergus under his charge. Has furnished them upon his own credit, without any loss to Her Majesty. Meantime, a private man's castle and the ward of Belfast are victualled out of the store at Carrickfergus, and his two wards, which are Her Majesty's greatest strength in the north, are thus extremely dealt withal. Prays Burghley to send some speedy direction that a better course be taken for their safety. Thinks they should be victualled for three months at a time, to prevent the worst. Abuses of the victualling in those parts. Relies altogether on Burghley for redress of these, as also of the abuses offered to the writer, the offender in which is rather countenanced than punished. Misconduct of the inferior officers. Preys taken from Shane M'Brian, notwithstanding the peace. The latter has burnt a house or two at the east end of Carrickfergus. Continuing these disorders, two officers of Captain Mansel (who is the principal in these outrages, and has promised to cross the writer out of his command) have lately murdered one of the best burgesses of Carrickfergus, in the street, at the Mayor's side. If any articles are preferred against him, prays that he may be brought to his answer in England.—Dublin, 1597, April 19. *p.* 1.

[*Attached to this letter is a draft of another from Captain Charles Eggerton to Burghley, telling of his employment at Carrickfergus since the death of Captain Christopher Carlile, of Captain Mansel's attack upon him, of his being fined and imprisoned whilst Mansel was employed in drawing up articles*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*against him; and praying that he might be brought to his answer in England. p.* 1.

April 21. Dublin Castle. 110. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The Commissioners have no hope of the Earl's coming into Dundalk. His dilatory conduct. His conference with the Spaniards, and exchange of presents with them. Falling away of certain of the O'Neills, who were taken into mercy by the State. Urge a speedy course by force. Ask for treasure, victuals, &c. Norreys's complaint as to lack of advice from the Lord Deputy and Council. Norreys similarly accused by them. Have appointed the bearer, Mr. Cooke, Secretary to the Lord Deputy, to attend and explain matters to their Lordships.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 21. *pp.* 4.

*Inclose,*

110. I. *Hugh O'Donnell to Sir Conyers Clifford. Requests him to forbear making any journey to any place belonging to his friends in Connaught. If he will not grant this respite, it will stop his going with O'Neill to the meeting place.—Donegal,* 1597, *April* 8. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. II. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy and Council. It is not fit for him and the other Commissioners to pass the strict limits of their commission in the difficulties that fall out in the treaty with Tyrone. Desires directions. Prays them to send* 200 *horse loads of corn, and a good proportion of pickaxes and spades, to Athlone, to Sir Conyers Clifford.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 8. *Copy. pp.* 2.

110. III. *Sir Henry Bagenall to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. The Earl's long conference with the Spaniards. His presents to them.—Newry,* 1597, *April* 6. *Copy. p.* ½.

110. IV. *The Lord Deputy and Council to the Lord President Sir John Norreys. Marvel that he should still desire directions from them before writing to the Earl. Advice as to exchanging the Earl's pledges. The instructions from England to Norreys and the other Commissioners sufficient for all purposes. Desire his opinion as to the probable result. Are careful to supply Sir Conyers Clifford.*—1597, *April* 10. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

110. V. *Sir Conyers Clifford to Hugh Roe O'Donnell. Has received his letter of April* 11, *whereby he delivers his purpose to join with the Earl in a treaty of peace with the Lord President at Dundalk, and desires Sir Conyers to forbear following the rebels in Connaught, all of whom O'Donnell calls his friends. Promises not to harm O'Donnell's own border, if the Lord President signifies the same; but as to the people of Connaught, who are delivered to his charge, and who in duty owe no service but unto Her Majesty, he will not forbear them upon any cause, but as he receives commandment from Her Majesty or those who have*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*authority over him in Ireland.—Athlone*, 1597, *April* 11. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. VI. *The Lord Deputy and Council to the Commissioners. As the Earl appears to have no meaning to come into Dundalk, and no good conclusion seems probable, gather that they may very shortly expect the return of the Commissioners to assist in consultation as to what courses are to be taken. Meantime they are to leave the borders strong, and to send such companies as they think fittest to Dundalk and Ardee. Victuals shall be sent them. Are advertising into England the dangers now so apparent. Have written to the Marshal to put some beeves and biscuit into Armagh.*—1597, *April* 12. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. VII. *The Lord President Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy and Council. The Commissioners still concur in the opinion that, as the Earl will not come into Dundalk, they are precluded from proceeding further with him. Is in part satisfied with the advice to leave the making of a war to Lord Burgh. No particular cause objected for the Earl of Tyrone's backwardness, but the breach of promise concerning the exchange of his pledges. Precise directions desired on that point. Arrival of a Spanish ship which stayed not above two days. Miserable estate of most of the companies in Connaught.—Drogheda*, 1597, *April* 12. *Copy. pp.* 2.

110. VIII. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy. No good hope of Tyrone's coming in to Dundalk. A last message to be sent him by Captain Warren. Miserable impoverishment of Drogheda and the country round about.—Drogheda*, 1597, *April* 12. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

110. IX. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain William Warren. Excuses his delay in coming to the meeting, because the Lord General had not limited him a certain time. Could not go, unprovided with victuals and other necessaries. Must also warn his confederates.—Dungannon*, 1597, *April* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. X. *Ed. Brimedghame, the Earl of Tyrone's Secretary, to Captain William Warren. Assures him that no Spaniards have landed since the late ship came, when Warren was at Dungannon.—Dungannon*, 1597, *April* 13. *Copy. p.* ½.

110. XI. *The Lord President Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy and Council. No appearance of conformity in these Northern Rebels. Captain Warren just gone towards the Earl. Send copy of their letter by him. Have sent two companies to Ardee and one to Dundalk. Will return home with all speed when Captain Warren comes back. The conference had by Brian Ne Sawgh with Tirlogh M'Henry can bode no good to Her Majesty's service.—Mellifont*, 1597, *April* 14. *Copy. pp.* 2.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

110. XII. *The Lord President Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Earl of Tyrone. Did not expect he would stand upon a third time of delay for bringing his confederates to the treaty. Desire that he will repair to them near Dundalk on April* 16. *Will not write again.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 12. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

110. XIII. *John Tomson* [i.e., *Richard Weston*] *to Sir Geffrey Fenton. The Spanish ship that arrived came to inquire whether any peace was concluded with England. It was the same ship that had come twice before. The noblemen of Ireland answered no. The Spaniards promised to send an army within two months. Presents made by the Earl and O'Donnell.—Newry,* 1597, *April* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. XIV. *Intelligences delivered to the Bishop of Meath. Three Scottish ships and one ship of Ireland accompanied the Spanish ship. Conference of the Earl of Tyrone, O'Donnell, and Maguire with the Spanish captain. The Earl said that unless the King of Spain's forces arrived by the* 1st *of June, he must conclude a peace. Plate presented to Tyrone, O'Donnell, and O'Cahan. Horses sent by the Earl and O'Donnell to the King of Spain. Hospitality shown to the Spaniards. Conspiracy formed by the Earl, O'Donnell, and others for the spoiling of Connaught and other parts, unless a truce was obtained until June* 1. *Solemn oaths taken by the O'Reillys. Edmund O'Reilly gave to Mulmorey O'Reilly* 200 *polls of land free to himself. Preparation to invade the Pale.—* 1597, *April* 14. *Copy. pp.* 3.

110. XV. *The Lord President Sir John Norreys to the Lord Deputy and Council. Desires to be instructed touching the pledges he is to demand of Tyrone. The burnings and spoilings upon the borders. Recommends the placing of Captain Russell's company, with fit provisions in Ardee; and that Sir Conyers Clifford be supplied in all his demands. Approves the answer of Sir Conyers to O'Donnell (see inclosure* V.). *The Earl has urged the breach of promise touching the delivery of his pledges to be the chief cause of his later defection.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 16. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

110. XVI. *Sir Geffrey Fenton to the Lord Deputy. Sends copy of the Earl's letter to Captain Warren. Futility of the Earl's excuses for delay. Will repair home after Captain Warren's return. No further hope by treaty in this matter with the Northern rebels. Her Majesty should prepare for war. The burnings upon the borders a manifest proof of a flat breach on the Earl's part, though in his wonted subtlety he will say they are but a revenge for former provocations. The burning of Roch and Louth, two places fit for garrison, show the Earl's meaning. It were good that all requisite places for garrison be reinforced out of hand with men and victuals. Warning from the Earl to the garrison of Armagh.—Drogheda,* 1597, *April* 17. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

110. XVII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Captain William Warren.* [*Duplicate of inclosure* IX.]—*Dungannon*, 1597, *April* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

110. XVIII. *Declaration of William Dowdall, gent., concerning the Spanish ship.* [*Duplicate of inclosure* I. *to Sir Geffrey Fenton's letter of April* 9. *Here the declaration is dated April* 17.] *Copy. p.* 1.

110. XIX. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Commissioners. No delay on his part, saving the five or six days when he went to talk with the Spaniards, the circumstances whereof he will impart at his next meeting with the Commissioners. No day has been appointed for him. Offers to meet them near Dundalk on the 26th April. Refers all other matters to Captain Warren. There shall no harm be done till the next meeting. Prays that like order may be taken on the side of the Commissioners.*—*Dungannon*, 1597, *April* 17. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 21. Dublin Castle. 111. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. After conference with Captain William Warren, who has been recommended to them by the Commissioners, they write again to their Lordships. Enclose copy of the causes why the Earl will not come into Dundalk, and also the translation of a letter in Irish sent by the Earl to Feagh M'Hugh. The Earl means to continue Feagh's dependency upon him, expressly against Her Majesty's directions and good pleasure; and by his delays and abuses endeavours to draw the whole kingdom into danger. Beg for a present supply of all things necessary, to be sent over in good proportions, to meet with the dangers which otherwise they conceive are very likely to fall.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 21. *Endorsed:*—"Received at Whitehall the 25th of the same." *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

111. I. *Copy of the causes given by the Earl of Tyrone, under his own hand, for his not coming into Dundalk; received from him at Drogheda on April* 19, 1597. *Truce was not faithfully observed with him. He could not obtain restitution even for spoils admitted to have been made upon him. His pledges were detained in Dublin Castle, although it was agreed they were to be exchanged every three months. It was promised that Feagh M'Hugh should be received into Her Majesty's favour as he himself was; nevertheless Feagh has been prosecuted ever since; which breach of promise has bred a wonderful fear and discontentment in all the Irish The promises made by Sir John Norreys are continually overruled by the Lord Deputy. Any conclusion the Earl may make with Norreys will, he assures himself, avail him little with the new Lord Deputy* [*Lord Burgh*]. *The hostility of the Marshal* [*Sir Henry Bagenall*]. *Desires to be loyal. pp.* 2½.

111. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Feagh M'Hugh. To send Rose O'Toole* [*his wife*] *or such other messenger as he shall like of, to the meeting between the Earl and Sir John Norreys appointed*

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

*for Tuesday sevennight towards the Maghery. The messenger shall have a safe conduct from Norreys. Peace to be observed on both sides until the meeting.—Dungannon, 1597, April* [17-]27. *Copy. p.* 1.

April 21. Dublin Castle. 112. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. Advertisements that the Spanish forces will arrive by the beginning of June. The bearer, his Secretary, will be able to give any particulars.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 21. *p.* ½.

April 21. Drogheda. 113. The Lord President Sir John Norreys, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl's agreement to meet them on the 26th of April. His reasons for not coming into Dundalk [*see* inclosure I. to No. 111]. Cannot deny but that some part of his affirmations are true. Conceive that his meaning is to delay the meeting for his own advantage, either to await the coming of Spaniards, or to see what course will be held with him upon the coming of Lord Burgh. Think he will be glad to see what directions the new Lord Deputy shall bring. The block in their negotiations with the Earl. Have used all convenient means with him. The expediency of Her Majesty's affairs requires that he be yet temporised withal, for the State is not yet fitted to deal with him by force. Mean in the interim to employ messengers for the better fashioning of the Earl to come in to Dundalk. Desire that Lord Burgh may have directions from Her Majesty to deal with these traitors, either for war or peace. The Earl insists still on having Feagh M'Hugh compounded like himself and the rest, and for that purpose has written to him [*see* inclosure II. to No. 111]. Send declaration by Captain Brabazon.—Drogheda, 1597, April 21. *pp.* 2. *Inclose,*

113. I. *Declaration by Captain Anthony Brabazon to the Commissioners, that he had credible advertisement, as well from a gentleman of Connaught as from a rhymer, that the Irish lords, namely, the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, were greatly discontented with the Spaniards, who came in the last ship to Killibeggs. O'Donnell in express speech told them that they were but a deceitful nation, and particularly that they had cosened the Irish. After all his promises, the King of Spain had sent them nothing but a little powder. The Irish knew that all that the King could do was little enough to strengthen himself against the Queen of England, and it were good for them to depend no longer upon the King's succours.*—1597, *April* 22. [*The declaration came after the writing of the above letter.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

April 21. Drogheda. 114. The Lord President Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Mr. Kyffin, who was sent over to Ireland for the execution of the musters, is unable to meet all his charges with the 10*s. per diem* allowed him. All things are raised to excessive rates, and the allowance itself is not regularly paid. Mr. Kyffin has shown himself very diligent, and has much advanced Her Majesty's service.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

Recommends that order be given for the regular payment of the allowance, and that the same be increased, if it seems good to Burghley.—Drogheda, 1597, April 21. *p.* 1.

April 21. Drogheda. 115. The Lord President Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Could not avoid delays, unless they had broken abruptly into a war, by which they would have done more hurt to themselves than to the rebel. The strictness of their instructions; the State will not yield any advice to alter any part thereof. Cannot yet receive precise directions as to the exchange of pledges. It is impossible to obtain those nominated by the Lord Deputy and Council, as they well know. Two of them are of that strength that they cannot be forced but to what they will themselves: another is no pledge for the Earl, being ready to run every day from him, if he might be accepted. Hereby may be noted what wrong was done the Commissioners, when it was reported that they had taken for pledges "but rifraffs and children of little worth," seeing that the same are now put in balance with "the greatest of that rabble." Is at his wits' end what to do. Whilst he strives by all possible means to accomplish Her Majesty's pleasure, the State taxes him with wooing and flattering the rebels, if he seek to entertain the Earl with messages and hopes. Whilst the Lord Deputy and Sir Conyers Clifford might with better success employ Her Majesty's forces, "underhand thieves are set a work to disturb that course, and rumours and deniers spread to breed jealousies, and if any revenge be taken thereupon, though never so little, then it is thundered out what a shame it is" for him to talk of a pacification, when the country is "a spoiling." Will prove that, for one cow taken from a subject during this cessation, there have been five taken from the rebels.

What state the country will be in, if it grow to open war, may appear by this, that the two companies only, which he sent to Ardee for the defence of those borders, were, after one week, forced to come away for extreme want. May not look that any better care will be had to provide for those that he shall direct. "Since therefore I see (though you desire a pacification) you take not the course to have it, I was content to join with the other Commissioners in demanding a speedy preparation of forces, though I know England might well spare the charge of sending them, and this country the difficulty of victualling of them." No doubt the future Deputy must look for nothing but war, Tyrone being, in all men's opinions, resolved not to come at him. This Sir Robert would not doubt, if he heard, as they do, the discourses of the rebels about the Earl. Whatever delay there is now in settling the government, will be greatly to the prejudice of Her Majesty's service.

If it shall please Her Majesty to proceed to a war, there must be sent at least 2,000 men to supply the companies already in Ireland; and yet there will be more Irish left in them than were requisite. Especial care should be had in the choice of the men

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

sent over: of those sent before, the tenth man was never like to prove a soldier. As for the horsemen, they are all in effect Irish, and "of the worser sort of them." These numbers of Irish he has ever esteemed a matter of the greatest danger, if the Spaniard should intermeddle in this action; but, for his own part, is slow to believe that the Spaniard has this year any intention to send any force into Ireland.—Drogheda, 1597, April 21. *Holograph.* *pp.* 4.

April 21. Drogheda. 116. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl's fair shews in writing, after his wonted manner. He has articled certain causes for his not coming in to Dundalk. Though they be true in some part, yet he needed not to trouble himself to object them, if his heart had been loyally bent. Assures himself the Earl's whole country is desirous of peace, and to be clear of Spaniards. Thinks the Earl is "inwardly distasted against" Spain, if he were not overruled by the pride and ambition of O'Donnell, who in truth is the firebrand of all the rebels. Fears the Earl's delays are owing to his expectation of Spaniards rather than to any apprehensions as to the new Deputy. Wishes a force by sea were prepared out of hand. This would cross the Spanish attempts on Ireland and England. If the Spaniards know that Her Majesty's navy is at sea, they will be the more wary to come abroad. On the other hand, Lord Burgh should be fully directed as to what course he should hold with Tyrone, and especially if Her Majesty will have him further dealt withal by pacification. In that case, Lord Burgh should be directed to put the Earl out of any doubt with regard to his life or liberty. An impression that there is some danger to these still governs him, and until it is removed, there will be no way to reclaim him. If Norreys, on his going to Dundalk on Tuesday next, finds any better appearance in the Earl, will join him within twenty-four hours. Wished Norreys to colour his going by the pretext of the causes of the borders.—Drogheda, 1597, April 21. *p.* 1.

April 22. Westminster. 117. Warrant to the Lord Treasurer for payment of the sum of 200*l.* to the Countess of Kildare, to be deducted by the Treasurer at Wars in Ireland from such bills as are due to the Earl of Kildare for greater sums.—Westminster, 1597, April 22. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

April 24. Dublin. 118. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Praying that the bearer, one of the messengers of the chamber, may receive some consideration for his travail.—Dublin, 1597, April 24. *p.* ½.

April 24. 119. Petition of Sir Thomas Williams, knight, Muster-master in Ireland, to Burghley. His grievances against Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars, chiefly with respect to the prolonged detention of pay due to Sir Thomas and his deputies. *Endorsed:*—1597, April 24. *One sheet.*

April 26. Dublin. 120. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Incloses intelligences from Spain, brought by Mr. Weston's servant. Still thinks

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

the Spaniards will try and shake off a force for Ireland, if only to countenance the Irishry, and divert the English fleet from themselves. The way to cross their attempt is to send out Her Majesty's fleet. The Spaniards have their scouts at Land's End, to discover what they can. Mr. Weston desires to be recommended to the new Lord Deputy. Urges the same. Sir John Norreys is drawn nearer the borders, to observe the Earl, and to take any commodity to work his coming in to Dundalk.—Dublin, 1597, April 26. *p.* 1.

*Incloses,*

120. 1. *Examination of Nicholas Forlong, pilot of the Dorothy, of Dublin, lately arrived from Lisbon. When he was at Lisbon. ten galleys put to sea, bound to Ferrol in Galicia, laden with munition for the provision of the army. Being put back by a storm, two of them were cast away, and eight returned. In the river of Seville there was a general stay of all nations, until a hundred and fifty sail were made ready, besides fourteen galleys to come out of the Straits, to accompany the said fleet, which was bound for Ferrol. In the haven of Ferrol there were seventy-five sail, great and small, Spanish, French, and Flemish. By reason of sickness many of these ships were discharged of strangers. It was reported that all the said navy and army were appointed for Ireland, and purposed to land at Ennisketin, within the river of Limerick. Three carvels and two barks came from Lisbon, three of which were appointed for the Land's End of England, and the other two for the north-west of Ireland. Upon their return, it was supposed the army was to put forth, and Richard Hore, master of the Dorothy, was taken as pilot for one of the barks bound for Ireland. The Spaniards had strongly fortified all the city of Lisbon upon the river, and feared the coming of the English army. They were still continuing their fortifications. It was reported that* 4,000 *soldiers were to come to Lisbon; some had arrived before Forlong left. All that coast was full of men of war, English, French, and others, who made daily spoil upon the Spaniards and Portuguese. Ten ships of those that were at Ferrol went to meet the fleet southward, to hasten them in their enterprises.*—1597, *April* 26. *Copy. pp.* 2.

April 26. 121. Duplicate of inclosure to preceding letter.—1597, April 26. *pp.* 1½.

April 26. 122. Declaration of Gerrot Tirrell, of Dublin, merchant, "who was in Lisborne in Spaine, this daie fortnight." Two small ships were presently to come from Lisbon with treasure and munition to the Earl of Tyrone. The master of Tirrell's bark, Richard Hore, of Dublin, was taken, as well as John White, the master of a ship of Galway, to be pilots of these ships. At his first coming to Lisbon, the Count Partilego, one of the chiefest governors of Portugal, sent for him, and inquired of him the state of Ireland. Tirrell said that he knew nothing more than that there was to be a peace concluded between the Lord General [Sir John Norreys] and the Earl of Tyrone. The said Count inquired very earnestly of a certain

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

gentleman dwelling upon the river of Limerick, but none of those whom Tirrell named was the one referred to. A navy of seventy-five ships of great burthen is now at Ferrol, attending for their victuals to come from Andalusia. Besides there are one hundred and forty ships, great and small, destined for Ireland, where one of the Desmonds is to be created Earl of Desmond. All the Irish pensioners, who were in Spain and Portugal, are now at Ferrol, ready to come over. One of the greatest among them is an Irishman, who has been created Bishop of Killaloe.—1597, April 26. *Copy. pp.* 2.

April 28. Kilkenny. 123. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. In favour of the suit of the citizens of Dublin, who have sustained great losses by the gunpowder accident.—Kilkenny, 1597, April 28. *p.* 1.

April 28. 124. A brief discourse by Francis Shaen, declaring how the service against the northern rebels may be advanced, and the Connaught tumults in some sort repressed. *Endorsed:*—1597, April 28. *pp.* 5½.

April 29. Dublin. 125. The Lord Deputy and Council to the Privy Council. The preparations being made by the King of Spain. The delays of Tyrone. Beg for supplies of men, money, and victuals. Pray that a force of Her Majesty's ships of war may be sent out with all speed to attend the coming of the Spaniards. It will be "a matter that cannot but grow perilous to this State, by a further increase of parties and combination at home, if those few subjects, that yet stand firm, shall see that they are not defended by some force of Her Majesty's navy at sea." The great sufferings of the soldiers, through lack of money, clothes, and victuals. Their discontent will become a source of great danger, if the Earl gets treasure from Spain, and offers them pay, most of the men being Irish. The extreme scarcity in Ireland. A barrel of wheat, which makes four English bushels, after eight gallons to the bushel, is ordinarily sold for seventy-two shillings, a price far exceeding that of all former times. The scarcity is such that, ere it be long, there will be no corn to answer the market. Of the farmers in the English Pale, some have already quitted their dwellings, and some are ready to do the like, not having wherewithal to sustain their families; insomuch that the face of famine appears in every place, and the effects thereof are pitiful, by the dying of people both in the country and towns. So much corn has been taken from Munster, all the year, by all parts of the realm, that there is no more help to be looked for there.—Dublin, 1597, April 29. *pp.* 2.

April 30. Dublin Castle. 126. The Lord Deputy to Sir Robert Cecil. To be a means to Her Majesty to hasten his revocation, seeing the people daily expect it, and consequently he can do little good.—Dublin Castle, 1597, April 30. *p.* ½.

April 30. Dublin. 127. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. In favour of Thomas Gerald, son of Gerrott FitzRichard Geraldine *alias* M'Thomas, of

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

"the Pallice, in the county of Limerick." His long suit concerning certain lands in Waterford and Limerick.—Dublin, 1597, April 30. *p.* 1.

April 30. Dundalk. 128. The Lord President Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. At his coming to Dundalk on the 26th inst., he found two messengers from the Earl, declaring that he had come within four miles of the place, and was ready to enter into conference for ending all matters. Wrote by Captain Warren that his [Norreys's] coming to Dundalk was to take order for the quiet of the borders, and not to enter into any treaty, inasmuch as the Earl's delays had taken away any opinion of his conformity, and the other Commissioners had returned [to Dublin]. The Earl replied by letter to Captain Warren, denying that he had given any occasion for distrust as to his conformity, and desiring to speak with Captain Warren. Permitted this, so that order might be taken for restitution of some prisoners and spoils made upon those borders. The Earl sent a man of his back with Captain Warren, with the verbal petition that it would please Her Majesty to grant him her gracious pardon upon the conditions last agreed upon, and also that it would please her to grant her pardon to Feagh M'Hugh on such conditions as should be thought fit. For testimony of his earnest desire to recover Her Majesty's favour, the Earl would not only send his son to be disposed of as Her Majesty should please, but also, if she commanded him to repair into England to give account of his actions, he would willingly perform it. Told the messenger that these were but the Earl's wonted words to win time to serve his turn; that Her Majesty would no longer be held in suspense; and that the Earl must either seek for her mercy, in due sort and very speedily, or look for a sharp prosecution, and never thereafter to be received to grace.

Incloses copy of a letter [*wanting*] sent by the Earl next day. As for the Spaniards, he called for his mass-book, and swore, in the presence of Captain Warren and many others, that he looked for no aid from Spain, and had made no contract for any force to be sent to him; that, if all the Spaniards in Spain came into Ireland, he would serve Her Majesty against them, if he might be in safety of his life; "and in the end he added these words, that he durst be hanged if the Spaniards did not attempt to land either in Ireland or Scotland within these six weeks, if they did not turn their course into England." Wrote back to the Earl, rather to win time till the future Governor be come over with means to make war, than from any opinion that there could be any peaceable conclusion.

Will freely say that he rather wishes war to be made with the Earl than agreement; and, if it be managed as it should be, this summer's work should make an end of him. He takes himself greatly wronged about his pledges, wherein the Lord Deputy will not suffer him to give the Earl any contentment, nor can they stop his mouth with challenging him to have given cause of their stay.

1597. VOL. CXCVIII.

Two of the pledges were put in for the due observation of the first cessation, which they cannot charge him to have broken, and these have been detained now a full year, without any colour of occasion; and the other two were to be exchanged at the end of three months, but it pleased not the Lord Deputy to like of it. An ill-qualified bishop, in open pulpit, did not stick to tax Her Majesty with wooing the rebels to peace by base messengers. It is very likely he used this grave discourse to procure himself some favour in a foul controversy he has with Captain Stafford; "but, as he hath been formerly punished for his misdemeanour, so he now deserves to have some more of his superfluous living fined from him, to teach him not for private respect to inveigh against his prince's will." Has earnestly solicited the Lord Deputy to furnish the borders with store of munition and victuals, that his successor may, on arrival, begin the war roundly, if he be directed to it. The longer the settlement of the government is deferred, the greater will be the confusion. Encloses a letter just received from the Earl, but means not to assent thereto, until he receives direction from the Lord Deputy, although he does not see that it can any way prejudice Her Majesty's service, since they are no better provided for the war, and know not when they may look for the future Deputy. Thinks it very necessary that some companies were sent into Munster, lest the bruit of the Spaniards' intention to land there should cause some loose people to enter into bad terms. Has written to the Marshal to come and give his advice. Prays that his particular cause may not be forgotten.—Dundalk, 1597, April 30. *Endorsed*:—"Received at the Strand the 12th of May." *Holograph. pp.* 5. *Incloses,*

128. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord President Sir John Norreys. Has received his letter by Captain Warren concerning his coming in to Dundalk. Has "taken days with Captain Warren to the last of May," so that he and his confederates may together make their submissions at Dundalk, and put in such pledges as are required. Promises not to fail or will send in his eldest son to be taken into England to Her Majesty. Meantime prays for a general cessation of arms and a restitution of all spoils done since the* 18*th instant. Will perform the like.—Glastrom,* 1597, *Avril* 30. *Signed*:—"Hugh Terone." *p.* 1.

April. 129. Grant to Lord Delvin of such lands, tenements, &c., in the counties of Cavan and Longford, to the value of 100*l.* per annum, as were the possessions of those attainted for rebellion, according to such rents, &c. as the same were held heretofore of Her Majesty: also, for the giving to the said Lord Delvin the charge and government of such horse or foot in the said counties of Cavan and Longford, as shall be found answerable to his degree, ability, and good desert. *Endorsed*:—"April, 1597." *Draft, with corrections and additions. p.* 1. [*See also No.* 17, *May* 7.]

## Vol. CXCIX. 1597. May—June.

1597.

May 1. Dublin. 1. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Does not agree with Norreys that the Earl of Tyrone's uncertainties do grow upon the change of government. Thinks it is because the Earl expects the Spaniards that he dallies the matter of the treaty, and seeks to abuse Norreys with shadows and protestations. Hopes the new Lord Deputy will bring all requisite directions touching the Earl, whether for war or peace.—Dublin, 1597, May 1. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

1. I. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. He is sure that Tyrone will see the government settled before he will be compounded with. Is merely entertaining him with delaying messages, as he does Norreys.—Dundalk,* 1597, *April* 28. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

May 2. [? London.] 2. John Walley, servant of Sir Geffrey Fenton, to Burghley. Presents a project [*wanting*] for the preservation and safety of Her Majesty's Records of Survey in Ireland. His master's suits.—[? London], 1597, May 2. *p.* ½.

May 3. Athlone. 3. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Has kept possession of Connaught for Her Majesty, though he found it for the most part in rebellion, wasted, and beggarly in all its parts. Miserable state of the Province. He himself and the companies, in twelve weeks, have not had three days' bread from the State, nor one day's beef, but what they have taken from the enemy. Weakness of the companies. His forces were never 1,200, yet he had kept up a defensive war against O'Donnell and an offensive war against M'William, and had taken many prisoners of the latter's chief followers, besides capturing some of his best castles. Has drawn Tibbott Ne Longe to submit, and this will save Her Majesty 10,000*l.* in the prosecution of this war. If his own forces had answered to the list, he would have done as much against the great rebel O'Donnell, in whom all the Province trust. Tyrone's hope of aid from Spain. Pride of the Earl's people in him and in themselves. Desires that his services may be compared with the means given him.—Athlone, 1597, May 3. *Holograph.* *pp.* 2.

May 4. Athlone. 4. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. His actions against O'Donnell and M'William. The latter is "the arch-traitor of the Province, both in power and malice." From him he has taken pledges of the Burkes, Clan Jonyns, and M'Morrises. Although he took these pledges, the principal men of those septs, by force, yet he keeps them alive to show Her Majesty's mercy the more. The submission of Tibbott Ne Longe, who has undertaken to do great service upon M'William. Takes it to be good policy at this time, when there is a general rumour amongst them of foreign succours, to win the chief men to draw blood, the one of the other: which, howso-

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

ever matters fall out, will keep the Queen a party amongst them. The great lack of victuals. His entertainment. Prays that what the composition will not pay, may be met out of Her Majesty's treasure.—Athlone, 1597, May 4. *pp.* 1½.

May 4. 5. Wheat, butter, and cheese sent to Ireland in the *Flying Hart*, the *Peter Bonaventure*, and the *White Hind*. *Endorsed*:—1597, May 4. *p.* ½.

May 4. Whitehall. 6. The Privy Council to the Lord President of Munster, Sir John Norreys. The new Lord Deputy sent over. Her Majesty finds it very inconvenient for Norreys to come into England till the towns be better ordered, and the forces properly distributed for their defence against the descent of foreigners into Munster. Norreys is for some few days to assist in Council at Dublin, on the arrival of Lord Burgh, and until the return of Sir William Russell. From Dublin he is to repair to Munster, where he shall further understand Her Majesty's pleasure for his return into England.—Whitehall, 1597, May 4. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 23b. *p.* 1.

May 4. Whitehall. 7. The Privy Council to Sir Henry Wallop. Warrant to advance to the Lord Burgh beforehand the entertainment of three months.—Whitehall, 1597, May 4. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 24. *p.* ½.

May 5. Whitehall. 8. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell]. Is commanded to write to him, in Her Majesty's name, that he make no more knights than he has done.—Whitehall, 1597, May 5. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 24. *p.* ½.

May 5. Whitehall. 9. Sir Robert Cecil to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Desires him to send word by his next writing what day he receives, and by whom he delivers, the [preceding] letter.—Whitehall, 1597, May 5. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 24b. *p.* ½.

May 6. Chester. 10. Captain Francis Croft to Sir Robert Cecil. The shipping of men, and of arms packed up in dry "vates," has been chargeable to him. Prays to have the choice of fifty men out of these supplies to mend his company.—Chester, May 6. *Endorsed*:—1597. *p.* 1.

May 6. Dublin. 11. The Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin to Burghley. Acknowledge former favours rendered by him to the Corporation. Their extreme and intolerable losses through the firing of Her Majesty's powder in the streets of Dublin, through the negligence of the officers in charge, whereby the greatest part of the city is defaced, and the inhabitants utterly impoverished. Beg the furtherance of the suits they have exhibited to Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1597, May 6. *p.* 1.

May 6. Dublin. 12. The Mayor and Sheriffs of Dublin to Sir Robert Cecil. Beg him to further their suits to Her Majesty.—Dublin, 1597, May 6. *p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

May 7. Dublin Castle. 13. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] and Council to Burghley. In favour of one John Frith, a merchant of Dublin, that he may obtain such money as is due to him for apparel and necessaries supplied to the army. Frith sustained great loss by the powder explosion, the most part of his house being overthrown, and all his brewing vessels broken and utterly spoiled.—Dublin Castle 1597, May 7. *p.* 1.

May 7. Dublin Castle. 14. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] to Sir Robert Cecil. Incloses copy of letter from the Earl of Tyrone. The miserable condition of the soldiers in Connaught, and other parts of Ireland, through the scarcity of victuals. Refers for particulars to the report of the bearer, Sir Thomas German, who has lived amongst the soldiers, and, as an eye-witness, can testify of these calamities. Prays that some present order may be taken for redress thereof, lest the whole country perish.—Dublin Castle, 1597, May 7. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

14. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord President Sir John Norreys.* [*Duplicate of inclosure to Norreys's letter of April* 30. *In this copy, however, there is a postscript added, which does not appear in the original given above. The postscript runs:*— "Whereas it is reported that I have made a benefit of these times of cessation, in taking the subjects' goods contrary to promise; in proof that I have received the only hindrance in those times, I will be contented to give five thousand cows to have the rest restored to me; and withal will satisfy every subject for any thing they (*sic*) lost, and will give them a cow for a cow, and put in my pledges for the performance thereof. H. Tyrone."]—*Glastrom*, 1597, *April* 30. *p.* 1.

May 7. Dublin. 15. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl of Tyrone's delays in expectation of the Spaniards. Incloses intelligence from [Richard] Weston, written under the name of Stephen Waterhouse, his former *alias* of Tomson having been discovered. The Earl's promise about sending in his eldest son apparently his last shift. Cannot see what will be his next forgery. Wishes Lord Burgh were despatched to Ireland with full instructions. Until it shall please Her Majesty to resolve what course she will have holden with the traitors and malcontents of Ireland, the state of the government will decline daily from ill to worse, till it comes to extremity, which is not far off, for already famine rages, and there is no hope of redress out of England. From the famine begins to grow a sore mortality of people of all sorts, which is like to be increased by the fresh companies of soldiers assigned out of England, unless they bring with them meat to eat, which is universally wanted in Ireland. Whosoever advertises the contrary, either knows not the truth, or wilfully suppresses it. Incloses letter just received from Sir John Norreys. The Earl intends, as is most likely, to break with the English Pale, so as to kindle a

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

fire against the coming of the Spaniards.—Dublin, 1597, May 7. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

15. I. *Stephen Waterhouse* [i.e., *Richard Weston*] *to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Brimycham, the Earl's secretary, has told him that a good part of the Spanish fleet is coming to the north, and that the rest is going to Scotland. The Spaniards promised to arrive within six weeks after Easter. The last truce is but a mockery, nothing but driving off till help come.—Newry,* 1597, *May* 5. *p.* ½.

15. II. *The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Geffrey Fenton. The Earl grows desperate of any composition to be made with him, by hearing of the present arrival of the future Lord Deputy. Has written for some more horse and foot to be sent to the borders. Prays Fenton to further the doing of this with all convenient speed, lest the Earl takes the start of them.—Drogheda,* 1597, *May* 6. *p.* ½.

May 7. Westminster. 16. Warrant to the Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] for the passage of certain concealed lands to the Provost and Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin.—Westminster, 1597, May 7. *A contemporary endorsement has erroneously put Lord Burgh as the name of the Lord Deputy. pp.* 1½.

May 7. 17. Grant of lands to the Baron Delvin. [*Duplicate of No.* 129, *April; but with the insertion of an additional clause, to the effect that the Baron shall not alienate these lands, or any part of them, to any of "the mere Irishry," or to those who are not "of English descent."*] *Endorsed:*—1597, May 7. *Fair draft. p.* 1.

[May 7.] 18. Another copy of the same grant.—[1597, May 7.] *pp.* 1½.

May 8. Westchester. 19. Lord Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. What haste was possible to his lameness at the first [part] of his journey, he made, and came to Westchester this day. Finding the wind contrary, he makes no stay, but is to post to Holyhead, where he will embark, and ply over by tides, his "limbs being now able to pains as his mind willing to service." Was no sooner lighted from his horse than he received letters from Sir Henry Wallop and from his own steward Westlake, both of whom certify the ill condition of the time and misery of Ireland; the land waste without any manner of grain; wheat scarce to be come by, and that which is, at 10*l.* the quarter; malt and oats not at all to be found for money. So he must encounter a diseased and distempered estate, and an excessive charge, with less profit coming in than ever any Deputy had. That which belongs to Her Majesty's service, he hopes by industry to surmount; what concerns himself, he must with patience undergo. Desires Sir Robert's assistance. Prays for money and victuals for such numbers of men as are to be maintained for the defence of Ireland; thus they may best be pressed to their duty, shall fight better with the enemy, and less oppress

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

those who should be preserved. Most of the men appointed to embark are wind-bound. Wishes the first proportion of wheat sent over had not so readily passed, for its distribution has made small show of benefit. Has been certified that there are but fourteen lasts of powder in Ireland. Will write further when he has crossed over. — Westchester, May 8. *Endorsed:* — 1597. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

May 8. Chester. 20. Thomas Smith, Mayor of Chester, to Burghley. Particulars of the transport of 1,260 soldiers (less Captain Price's company) to Ireland. "As I have received one other letter from your Honour of the first hereof, touching allowance to be given of vj*d.* a meal for the diet of every soldier remaining here, then not embarked, saving that they should have but one meal a day upon the fasting days; so did I endeavour myself to have effected the same, but I could not persuade the soldiers to forbear any their meals in any wise, by reason whereof, I took order that they should have their ordinary meals at v*d.* the meal, and thereby have I saved Her Majesty xiiij*d.* a week out of every of their diets, and withal the victuallers therewith well satisfied." Has seen to the delivery of the two letters received from Burghley for the Lord Deputy and Sir Henry Wallop.—Chester, 1597, May 8. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

20. I. *Certificate by the Mayor of Chester of the expenses attending the transport of* 1,208 *men to Ireland. Endorsed:*—1597, *May* 8. *p.* 1.

May 9. Dublin. 21. The Lord Chancellor and others of the Council to the Privy Council. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] gone towards the Glynns in Feagh M'Hugh's country. Letter to him from Sir John Norreys, advertising that the Earl of Tyrone is gathering his forces, and asking that some companies of horse and foot may be sent up out of hand for the defence of the borders. This letter was despatched to the Lord Deputy within less than half an hour after its receipt. Inclose copy of intelligence from [Richard] Weston, under the name of Stephen Waterhouse; also copy of letter from Sir Conyers Clifford with intelligences from one David Burke, uncle to the now supposed M'William. Burke has lately repaired out of England with recommendation thence, and, besides his zeal for the service, has a particular interest in prosecuting M'William, for the latter has defaced his chief castle. and holds waste most of his lands. Think it would be a special service if Tibbott Ne Longe were separated from M'William, for Tibbott has better means than any other to pull him down, if his mind were firmly won to it. Sir Conyers Clifford is treating with Tibbott.

The great lack of victuals. Through this the companies sent to defend Sligo and to affront O'Donnell have been drawn back, and so O'Donnell will now have an open way of entrance into Sligo. Arrival of companies at Waterford. Have countermanded their coming to Dublin, owing to the want of victuals, and thinking they might be useful to repel any Spanish descent. If a strong

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

garrison, with a good commander, victuals, and munition, were put in some meet place upon the river of Lough Foyle, it would be to good purpose both against Tyrone and O'Donnell. "Lastly, our extremity is so great here by reason of the dearth and scarcity of victuals in all parts of the realm, but specially in the English Pale and borders thereof, as it grieveth us to hear the complaints in all places, as well by the soldier as the countryman; and out of this dearth doth begin to grow already a sore mortality of people, both in town and country, and we cannot but fear some dangerous alteration in the army and garrisons for want of victuals, as we have often before advertised your Lordships; the extremity whereof is now increased, by the access of these five companies of foot now landed in this city from Chester, and more expected to arrive out of hand, whose coming (not bringing victuals with them) doth rather increase our calamity than give us comfort, though Her Majesty and your Lordships have a most honourable regard in sending them hither for our defence." Pray that there be sent over, out of hand, some round proportion of corn, butter and cheese; otherwise, the army cannot but grow to ruin and revolt. Hear nothing as yet of the three barks sent with provisions. Inclose copy of letter from the Earl of Tyrone touching the victualling of Armagh.—Dublin, 1597, May 9. *pp.* 3. *Inclose,*

21. I. *Stephen Waterhouse to Sir Geffrey Fenton. Has been informed that a great part of the Spanish fleet comes to the north, and that the rest will probably go for Scotland. The last truce nothing but "a mocking," a driving off till their help come.—Newry,* 1597, *May* 5. *Copy. p.* ½.

21. II. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy* [*Sir William Russell*]. *Incloses intelligence from David Burke. Weak state of the companies. Withdrawal of those in Sligo. It is no reasonable time for poor men to live on carrion beef for twelve weeks, and travail daily for it. Craves help.—Athlone,* 1597, *May* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

21. III. *David Burke to Sir Conyers Clifford. Has received certain intelligences, with which he thinks it good to acquaint Sir Conyers. M'William is at present driven to such a "strait and exigent," that he cannot well tell on what elbow to lean. If Theobald* [*Tibbott*] *Ne Longe is loyal to him, then M'William's intention is to drive all the country cattle along towards Ulster, through the county of Sligo, and immediately after with all his force to make an incursion into the Owles, and, after havoc made of all there, to set foot backward into the north, except O'Donnell come to him, who is ready to come with two thousand men, and has given strait charge for eight weeks' provisions. Thomas Dexeter of Rabranne and blind Hugh O'Kelly, perceiving the staggering state of M'William, mean to play the wise politicians in their own opinions, pretending honesty in treating of a peace, only for M'William's avail. Tyrone, upon his being with O'Donnell at Easter last,*

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

*made a solemn vow that he would never conclude any peace with the State, if the peace were not advantageous to himself and "derogatory from her Highness." The Spanish bark did much animate and comfort them all with hope, giving words from their King that he would see that the Irishry should want neither men nor munition this summer; adding further, that the sole cause why he suspended his regal aid all this while was the great doubt and suspicion he conceived of their ever wavering and inconstant minds.*

*As for Mayo, now is the only fit and opportune time for "extirping" M'William. Most of the "naturals" of the country will draw to the writer. Tibbott Ne Longe with his pinnace should take his course towards the bay of Rabranne, and defeat M'William of the three pinnaces which he has there ready for all essays. On the other side, it is requisite to have sufficient companies in the county of Sligo for intercepting of the cattle that way. Tibbott Ne Longe and some of the writer's younger brethren have written to him to hasten his repair into the country. They had privily left M'William and gone to Tibbott, when the writer's brother Oliverus was apprehended, and his house of Castlereagh broken and razed.*

*"Tyrone, between him, O'Donnell, and the Spanish intelligencers, hath renounced his title and possibility of title to the crown and sceptre of Ireland, and made as full a resignation and surrender thereof to the Cardinal, or to his substitute and assignee, in as large and ample a manner, as if he himself were King in possession and right, and not a liege subject to our rightful sovereign; which quit-claiming and foregoing of interest proceeded of a most execrable fetch and sleight, for to draw upon the neck of this realm further and heavier heaps and packs of trouble."—Galway,* 1597, *May* 5. *p.* 1.

21. IV. *James White, Mayor of Waterford, to the Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell]. Arrival of six companies, driven into Waterford Harbour by contrary winds. More companies looked for. No victuals, either in town or country, to be got for any money at all.—Waterford,* 1597, *May* 5. *p.* 1.

21. V. *Copy of commission from the Privy Council to the officers of any port or creek on the coast of Ireland, for the lodging and victualling of any soldiers driven there by contrary winds.—Whitehall,* 1597, *April* 14. *p.* 1.

21. VI. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall. Understands he would have some proportion of victuals sent to the garrison at Armagh. Sir John Norreys said nothing of this at the last parley. In five or six days, when he himself goes up into the country, he will (if the truce holds) see the victuals safely conveyed to the garrison.—Dunyannon,* 1597, *May* 4. *Copy. p.* ½.

May 9. Dublin. 22. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Council to the Privy Council. "The Lord Deputy, on Saturday last, upon some espial,

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

went to the Glynns. There, yesterday in the forenoon, it was his Lordship's good hap to meet with that ancient and cankered traitor, Feagh M'Hugh, whose head this day is newly come hither. This good service, performed by the Lord Deputy in his own person, we thought good to make known to your Lordships; and of the manner of this service, and what other persons were cut off in his company, which we hear to be many, your Lordships shall be more particularly advertized."—Dublin, 1597, May 9. *p.* 1.

May 9. Dublin. 23. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Although the Lord Deputy and Council have written their joint letters to the Privy Council in behalf of the citizens of Dublin, yet, for that these thirty-six years and more he has continually lived amongst them, and has during that time been an eye-witness of their willingness at all times to the uttermost of their powers to advance Her Majesty's service, he has thought good, by his private letters to Sir Robert, earnestly to recommend their poor estate to his favour. Knows certainly that they are greatly decayed in their abilities, and that the charge they have endured since the beginning of these troubles has been very burdensome to them, besides the exceeding calamity they have sustained by the late grievous accident of firing Her Majesty's munition. —Dublin, 1597, May 9. *p.* 1.

May 10. Dublin. 24. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Recommending the citizens of Dublin to his favourable consideration. Their readiness towards Her Majesty's service. Their losses by the powder explosion.—Dublin, 1597, May 10. *p.* ½.

May 10. Dublin. 25. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The old traitor Feagh M'Hugh is at length cut off. His head and four quarters were brought to Dublin yesterday. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] was at the service in person, having won no small honour, to pull down so ancient a traitor, against whom no Deputy heretofore has prevailed. If the blow be as well followed as it is well given, hopes the storm of Leinster will be calmed for a long time, and the Ulster rebels, having lost such a capital confederate, will grow to better feeling of their own condition. For as, whilst this traitor stood, he gave a notable encouragement to the rebellion of Ulster, so it is not unlikely that his taking away will work an alteration in Tyrone, and draw the Spaniards to consider how they attempt anything in Ireland. Thinks they built more for their purpose upon Feagh than upon Tyrone himself. The Earl's main exception of a treaty now removed. The Lord Deputy has kept the details of the service for his own report. There is hope that ere long more good will ensue from this good beginning, to the further weeding of the garden in Leinster. If Tyrone is not now moved to conformity, Her Majesty shall have a far easier way to prosecute him in Ulster, seeing he has lost his right arm in Leinster. Has written to the Lord President [Sir John Norreys] to work with Tyrone upon this occasion. The

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

charge and hazard of a war may be avoided, or at least, Tyrone may be holden in suspense till the coming of Lord Burgh, or till the State is fitted to enter into war with him. Lord Burgh should be specially instructed what course to hold with Tyrone.

Begs that his [Fenton's] man may be despatched with some of his small suits, if all may not be granted. Has tempered them so that there will be no charge to Her Majesty nor hurt to any servitor. If all were granted, the benefit would be of small value, as it would be his first recompense for eighteen years' service in "this toilsome country."—Dublin, 1597, May 10. *pp.* 1½.

May 11. Beaumaris. 26. Lord Burgh to Burghley. Must give account of what has become of him, and that he has not "forslowed" the time. The vehemence of storm and contrary winds detains him from executing the duty whereunto he is sent. Lack of victuals for the soldiers. Some perish by famine: those who outlive the penury are yet weak and impotent to service. The rebel on the other hand is emboldened. If the conclusion of these traitors must be forced, there must be bodies to execute and means to sustain. Puts Burghley in mind of these things, for the safety of the kingdom of Ireland, and "dignity to the army which so great a Queen ordaineth to suppress the insolency of disobedient people." If, by the dearth in England, there be an impossibility of supply, then must all of them, that are Her Majesty's servants, begin with fewer men and more industry, lest they consume themselves in robbing each other's belly. Will advertise his Lordship further hereafter.—Beaumaris, "11." *Endorsed:*—1597, May 11. *Holograph. p.* 1.

May 11. Beaumaris. 27. Lord Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. The necessity of sending sufficient supplies for the army in Ireland. "Before the rebels can be suppressed, or the kingdom reduced to obedience, those who are ministers, every one in their several callings of Her Majesty's service, must be united in a form of order and discipline." With regard to the forces, will not rely on the Muster-master, but will use a mean which shall reveal the truth. Will do what he may with the means he has.—Beaumaris, May 11. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

May 11. Dublin. 28. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Burghley. The happy service lately performed against the arch-traitor Feagh M'Hugh. On the 7th of May, the Lord Deputy, having appointed the two companies that lay at Rathdrum and Tully to be in readiness, left Dublin, taking his journey towards the mountains, and the next morning, by two of the clock, came to the chief fastness of the Glynns, where the old traitor continually kept. This fastness the Lord Deputy caused to be entered two or three several ways, with such circumspection and good order, that his men passed without any hurt. One of the companies came where Feagh was, and he, perceiving that the place was surprised, attempted (as he had often done before) to steal away; but, fleeing from that company, he fell into the hands of Captain Lee's company, whose sergeant with some

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

others pursuing him, slew him, and his head and quarters are now "in their due place" in Dublin. This service deserves very honourable and high commendation, not only because that old traitor is cut off, who has many years troubled this State, "even in the eye of it," to the wicked example and great encouragement of others farther of, and has been the nursing father of all the treacheries well-nigh that have been in his time, but chiefly because the same was done, not abroad in the field, or by some casual chance, but even in the greatest strength of all his fastness, the place wherein he reposed his whole trust and confidence, and which he thought none durst approach or come near. Hopes the other members of the rebellion in Leinster will in short time perish. —Dublin, 1597, May 11. *pp.* 1½.

May 12. Dublin. 29. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] and Council to the Privy Council. Recommending the bearer, Dudley Norton, who is repairing into England. His faithful service to the State. Pray that he may have a company of soldiers, if more are sent into Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, May 12. *p.* 1.

May 12. Dublin. 30. Sir Edward Stanley to Sir Robert Cecil. The death of Feagh M'Hugh. The three or four swordsmen he had with him were all slain: there was no resistance. The hearts of the people are so hardened, that few of them rejoice at any good service done, therefore considers the State is in some danger. Of 7,000 men in Her Majesty's pay in Ireland, 4,000 are Irish. "How dangerous a thing this is, to train up them in the use of arms, who are daily running away to the enemy, or upon any discontentment, knowing their own strength, ready to turn the points of their swords into our bosoms." Begs that he may have the command of Knockfergus, as recommended by Sir William Russell to the Privy Council.—Dublin, May 12. *Endorsed:*—1597. *p* 1.

May 13. Dublin Castle. 31. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] to the Privy Council. The cutting off of Feagh M'Hugh. Gladness of the oppressed people in Leinster because of this service. The lessening of charges to Her Majesty. Wished to have taken Feagh alive, but the fury of the soldier could not be stayed. Prays for the hastening over of Lord Burgh, to whom he will yield the uttermost of his knowledge. Strongly recommends to their Lordships' favourable consideration Sir John Chichester, Serjeant Major, and Captain Thomas Lee, whom he has used as his principal instruments in Leinster. Captain Lea was the principal means of the slaying of Feagh M'Hugh.—Dublin Castle, 1597, May 13. *pp.* 3.

May 13. Dublin Castle. 32. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] to Sir Robert Cecil. The cutting off of Feagh M'Hugh. Recommends Sir John Chichester and Captain Lee. — Dublin Castle, 1597, May 13. *pp.* 1½.

May 13. Leix. 33. Brian Reogh O'More to O'Neill [Hugh, Earl of Tyrone]. Those that had sworn to O'Neill in Ulster failed, and took

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

protection without Brian's consent. All are against him, except the Eustaces. Has two hundred soldiers in his company. Hopes O'Neill will maintain the war, and send him five or six hundred soldiers, and he undertakes the most part of Ireland shall be at his commandment. With seven score soldiers he defeated Captain Butler, who had nineteen score. Had only the few men that Ony O'More, chief of the O'Mores and son of the late Rory Oge, had in his country. All others that gave their consent to O'Neill, would no more come to help him than hang themselves.—Leix, 1597, May 13. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

*An endorsement states that this letter was intercepted by Sir Geffrey Fenton.*

May 14. Shandon. 34. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends Richard Bartelett, a young English gentleman, who has spent the last four or five years in Spain. Since his abode with Norreys, he has shown himself very dutiful and conformable to Her Majesty's laws in coming to service and sermons, not refusing to take the oath of supremacy, and giving many other good testimonies of his loyal disposition. Has been directed lately by the Lord Deputy and Council to warn all the sea towns in Munster to prepare themselves against the Spaniards; but they endeavour so coldly, that there is little hope of any resistance to be made by them. "Of Her Majesty's forces here is only the footband under my leading; and of powder or other munition, none at all. Some ordnance Her Majesty hath at Limerick, but all of it dismounted, and the carriages rotten; and out of that city, which in my judgment is of most importance, all the corn has lately been taken to furnish the army in Connaught." Understands that Sir John Norreys is sending thither five of the Breton foot companies. Knows they will not find relief there for ten days. Advertises the Lord Deputy and Council from time to time. Begs again that the horsemen annexed to the Presidency in Munster may be paid as all others in Ireland are; otherwise but small service can be expected at their hands.—Shandon, 1597, May 14. *p.* 1.

May 15. Dublin. 35. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] and Council to Burghley. Acquit the victualler, against whom a charge had been brought of selling some of the corn sent for the relief of the soldiers. Some officers had been found to do this at Drogheda, Dundalk, and other border towns, but measures had been taken to correct such unsufferable abuses. Will observe both the victualler and all others as narrowly as they can. The 1,500 quarters of wheat lately sent over, and of which none was to be issued until Lord Burgh's coming, were driven by contrary winds into the haven of Cork. As the army in Connaught had endured great wants, they thought good to appoint three hundred quarters of wheat, and 1,000 weight of cheese, to be sent to Galway. This is all they have done therein.—Dublin, 1597, May 15. *pp.* 1½.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

May 15. Dublin. 36. James Dillon to Sir Robert Cecil. Complains of Theobald Dillon for depriving him of the benefits of an office belonging to him by the Queen's patent.—Dublin, 1597, May 15. *p.* 1.

May 17. Creve. 37. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Will not warn his confederates until Norreys prefixes a reasonable time for the same. Has not made frivolous complaints of preys and spoils made upon him. Has had no offer from the Marshal: knows his offers are more large than his performance. No restitution made to him, although he has made some to the Pale. If Norreys punishes those that steal and rob, it is more than the Earl could learn.—Creve, 1597, May 17. *p.* 1.

May 18. Dublin. 38. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] acquainted the whole Council with the contents of Sir Robert's letter restraining him from making any more knights. The same day, 15 May, being Whitsunday, Lord Burgh landed near the head of Bray, about 10 miles from Dublin; and having been once in Council, order is given that a collection shall be made of the state of the realm, in all its Provinces, and delivered to his Lordship in writing, before he receive the sword. This will, Fenton thinks, be upon Sunday next, being Trinity Sunday.—Dublin, 1597, May 18. *p.* 1.

May 18. Castlebar. 39. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. In Connaught, besides his employment in the matter of musters, there is committed by the General to his charge and conduct the leading of five foot companies. These were often ready to mutiny against him, because in their march through the poor wasted country he restrained them and their officers from their accustomed liberty of cess and spoil; a thing not so much wondered at as thought impossible to perform, especially in this most miserable time of extreme penury and famine, when so many dead hungerstarven carcases of men and women lie spread up and down the fields and ways, and when both the soldiers and himself did eat horseflesh. His coming with these five companies to the Governor [Sir Conyers Clifford] was of exceeding great importance to Her Majesty's service in those parts, where M'William, O'Rourke, and Maguire, assisted by O'Donnell, were, in a manner, fully possessed of the whole Province, M'William constrained to fly to the north for succour, and the country people to come in daily and sue for protection. Sir Conyers Clifford already makes good account of having got the upper hand, which may be thought very wonderful, considering the great defects there of victual, money, and munition. Such as were most inward with M'William, and are now received and protected by the Governor, affirm that if he had deferred this journey but two days longer, M'William would have reinforced himself with 1,000 shot by means of his special allies and accomplices. The like of Sir Conyers' success has not been known.

Burghley mentions certain generalities of disorders advertised by Kyffin without particular detection of any person. Where many,

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

in general, be faulty, it were overtedious to set down all by name, and it might seem injurious to charge some in particular, omitting the rest. The malice he is exposed to. His letters continually "incident to be" intercepted. Knowing Burghley to be so infinitely busy, he sent him but a true summary of matters, determining nevertheless to particularise the same, if he required it.

"I should much marvel at the most impudent assertion of Sir R. Lane in his letters to your Lordship, that Her Majesty received small benefit by my service, but that he keeps an equal decorum in writing untruly, as he has hitherto executed his office most negligently and corruptly. I am very careful not to contend with the man, though the provocations which he giveth me be intolerable. It is an old proverb, that the loser must have leave to speak. In very truth, my Lord, he loseth, and the Queen saveth, much by my faithful pains and endeavour, besides the advancing of the public service, as the Council here can testify. Neither would I for many thousand pounds be found so guilty and culpable in her Highness' service as he is."—"From the camp near Castlebar in Connaught, where two of my best horses (which have cost me very dear), being boaggd [*sic*? bogged] and spoiled, do now utterly fail me, 18 May 1597." *Endorsed*:—"This letter was sent out of Connaught, and hath remained long at Dublin by the fault of the bearer." *pp.* 2.

May 19. Dublin. 40. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] and the Council to the Privy Council. Recommending the long and faithful services of Richard Bellinges, who has been employed for twenty-four years or more in various parts of Ireland. Save an allowance for diet, he has neither had, nor made suit for, any consideration until now, when the Leinster rebels, by burning his farms and villages and sundry times taking away his goods and chattels, have compelled him to withdraw from the country to Dublin. Ask that he may find her Highness's gracious reward and benevolence.—Dublin, 1597, May 19. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

May 20. Dublin. 41. The Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell] and the Council to the Privy Council. Lord Burgh arrived on the 15th of this month near the head of Bray, within ten miles of Dublin. The second day after, he was in council with them, and delivered Her Majesty's several letters, together with the Privy Council's consideration of the project sent to them on 20 March last for the manner of prosecuting the Irish rebels. Since then there have been several consultations in his presence concerning the present estate of the realm, and also as to what advice should be given him, before entering into his charge, regarding the capital traitor Tyrone, who is the main root of all the rebellions in Ireland. Having digested summarily the estate of the realm, as it now stands, together with the "distemperatures" in every particular part, they have given Lord Burgh a collection thereof under their hands, with an advice on certain very material questions respecting Tyrone. The double

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

of this collection they send herewith [*wanting*]. Do not find in their Lordships' "writing of consideration" any mention made of kern, who are necessary to every army in Ireland, to take charge of the beeves, and to do other offices. Certain septs of the O'Neills and M'Mahons, who have left Tyrone and come in, should be encouraged to do service against the enemy, otherwise through want they may be driven back again to them. Asks for their Lordships' instructions in both these matters; meanwhile will do the best they can. And because it is meet the Lord Burgh should know what he is to trust to, touching the strength of the English Pale and other parts of the realm, they have written letters to assemble the noblemen of the Pale of Dublin on the 24th May, to put the general hosting on foot. According to the ancient usage, they will require a forty days' summons to this end, which is one reason why the Council yielded a respite of time to Tyrone.

Having received from the Vice-President and Council of Munster an information charging Viscount Roch with crimes of high nature, they have for the time restrained him in the Castle of Dublin, until the cause is further examined, and have written to the Vice-President and Council for proofs of the accusation.—Dublin, 1597, May 20. *pp.* 2.

May 20. 42. Sir Robert Napper to Sir Robert Cecil. Minds to suffer a common recovery this next term to settle his lands. His petitions. The judges' resolutions of the doubtful cases arising in Ireland.—1597, May 20. *p.* ½.

May 20. Greenwich. 43. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Needless charges as well for unnecessary wards as for superfluous offices to be cut off. To take advice especially of Chief Justice [Sir Robert] Gardener and Treasurer [Sir Henry] Wallop. No more "sums of money in nature of mandamus" to be granted by the Barons of the Exchequer, unless allowed also by three or four more of the Council, of whom the Chief Justice, or the Treasurer, is always to be one. Sends two Commissions, little varying from those his Lordship had with him, for letting of lands and wards. Is informed that there have been many foul abuses by selling of offices, and by making of sheriffs in perpetuity, whose lewdness has been cause of many revolts in regard of their oppressions. Thinks it very strange that most of the forces in Ireland have never paid the country for the diet, but have received full pay, besides whatever they have received of the country. Further inquiry to be made. Pregnant proofs that O'Donnell's escape was by practice of money. This to be thoroughly inquired into, to the intent that so foul and pernicious a matter may not be left unpunished, if by proof it may be brought to light. Directs him to confer with her "best and ancientest" councillors, so as to inform himself of all things that may tend to her honour and profit. The Earl of Thomond and the Baron of Delvin to be on the Commission of inquiry. The Lord Chancellor to be told that he is not left out of the new Commissions

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

for lack of trust, but because he is Keeper of the Seal, and so not properly to be used therein.—Greenwich, 1597, May 20. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 24b. *pp.* 2.

May 21. Dublin. 44. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received advice from the borders of Leinster that the Earl of Ormonde has taken Piers Butler, the principal rebel of that name, with a base son of the Viscount Mountgarrett's. Great likelihood now that the peace of Leinster will grow on apace, which is a step to the general peace of the whole realm. Even now has received letters out of Connaught that the notorious traitor M'William, having lost most of his creaghts by Her Majesty's forces, and many of his principal followers come from him, is driven to his shift, having no other choice but to quit the Province, and to run to O'Donnell. Thinks he has already done this, accompanied by only five or six men. This good success in Connaught comes by separating Tibbott Ne Longe from M'William; for Tibbott, being a Burke, better descended than M'William, and more inclined to English government, if he be enabled and countenanced by the State, is the man not only to pull down M'William, but also to reduce all those unruly Burkes and hold them in reformation. Has long practised with Tibbott to do this service, and told Sir Conyers Clifford about him. Hopes the matter will sort to the recovering of that lost Province, for, now that M'William and his adherents be thus denuded and scattered, if Sir Conyers bend himself to Sligo, to make a strength there against O'Donnell, and to bar his incursions, no other great impediment appears to the main peace and resettling of Connaught. The capital traitor of the realm, Tyrone, has lately attempted to distress Knockfergus and Newry. As they are places that have most annoyed him in time of cessation, so his revenge is the more sore and particular against them. Thinks if Tyrone can take any advantage to distress the English Pale he will not forbear it, so the Lord Deputy is now busy in thrusting up to the borders such forces as he now has. Now that Leinster is in some appearance of quietness, and Connaught coming on to conformity, cares the less for the traitors of the north, who, he sees, make all their dependency upon the Spaniard. Hopes they will be deceived.

Prays that his servant may be returned with some comfort touching his poor motions, or that he may be allowed to repair over himself, to bemoan his own poverty. If he be not holpen by Her Majesty, he will not be able to stand in her service. It is to his great discouragement to see other servitors, of small standing and mean place, receive recompense from Her Majesty not once, nor twice, but often; and his services of eighteen years' continuance, with more toil and danger than any of the rest, not favoured with any mean reward.—Dublin, 1597, May 21. *pp.* 1½.

May 21. Newry. 45. Sir Henry Bagenall to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Is sorry he is prevented by the present tumults from repairing to Dublin to do his duty to his Lordship. Desires him most happy success in the government of "this desolate kingdom." Will be always ready to

1597 VOL. CXCIX.

serve him. His letter to his Lordship and the Council [*a marginal note says it miscarried*] and the relation of the bearer will fully inform him of the present troubles.—Newry, 1597, May 21. *Copy.*

*On the same page is appended:*

Declaration of John Williams of Clonmell, co. Tipperary, messenger of the Marshal. On May 18, the Earl of Tyrone burned twenty-four towns in the island of Maguy, having in his company Brian M'Art, the Earl's brother's son, Shane M'Brian, Con O'Neill, the Earl's son, Murrogh Kavanagh, and Captain Hely. Ten gentlemen of the Maguys killed, two pledges taken, and fifteen or sixteen cows. Thence the Earl went to Newry, where he was joined by Magnus, Sir Hugh's son. Ambush laid for the Marshal. Then the Earl went to Dundalk, having in his company Brian M'Fertagh. He says he looks for 1,000 Spaniards, and until their coming he will not fight upon the plain, however great advantage he has, but will lay all "paces and streights" for Her Majesty's forces. Williams was at Carrickfergus when the Earl marched by it, and a sally was made from the town. Thence the Earl went to Portmuck Castle in Maguy's island, and took it, with some spoil. Williams, coming there, was taken prisoner, and threatened to be hanged, but was set at large again, after having been well beaten. He heard amongst the Earl's soldiers a general speech that all English prisoners were to be hanged, for so they said the Earl had commanded. *Copy. p.* 1.

May 22. Downamor. 46. The Earl of Ormonde to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Has been detained from seeing his Lordship. Capture of his nephew, Piers Butler, and of Walter Butler, a base son of Viscount Mountgarrett. "I do mean, God willing, to see your Lordship very shortly, and to present you with those traitors' heads." Wishes him all success.—Downamor, 1597, May 22. *Copy. p.* ½.

May 22. Dublin. 47. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. The Earl's delays. Appoints June 20 for a meeting. If the Earl and his confederates are not ready then, and do not carry themselves to the good liking of Her Majesty, they are never to expect her grace and mercy, but are to be used with the severity they shall have deserved.—Dublin, 1597, May 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

May 23. Greenwich. 48. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Burgh. The Queen has been informed by Sir Geffrey Fenton, her Secretary and Surveyor of her possessions in Ireland, that the Records of Survey in his charge, for want of a convenient office or place to keep them in, are bestowed in his own house in Dublin, where they are subject to many dangers or casualties, both for embezzling and corrupting, as has formerly happened unto them in his predecessors' times. And for that they are Records of special importance for Her Majesty's own revenues of Ireland, in which respect they ought to be better regarded than to be left loosely in any private man's house, Her Majesty, therefore, being minded to have them in some place of more safety, has made choice of the rooms in the Castle, which

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

Mr. Jenyson, the Auditor, lately enjoyed. These she thinks may be made very convenient for the purpose, and has commanded Sir Robert to signify this to his Lordship, that he may give the necessary directions.—Greenwich, 1597, May 23. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 25b. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

May 24. Dublin. 49. Sir William Russell to Sir Robert Cecil. The cutting off of Piers Butler and others, as they were stealing into the north by the river Shannon. The Earl of Ormonde has very honourably attended this prosecution. Is now returning, having on Sunday last, being the 22nd, delivered up the sword to Lord Burgh, to whom he wishes much honour and good success. Piers Butler a most notorious and dangerous traitor. Trusts Her Majesty will entertain this gracious conceit of him, that he has most faithfully and zealously affected the advancement of Her Highness's service. If his poor advices had been hearkened to, and himself countenanced in his courses, does not doubt things would have succeeded better.—Dublin, 1597, May 24. *pp.* 1½.

May 24. Dublin. 50. The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Privy Council. Landed on the 15th May, and, between that and the 22nd, has been present at the consultations on the state of the kingdom. Sends a paper on this, signed by the late Lord Deputy and the Council [*this paper is wanting*]. On the 22nd May he entered into the charge of his office, "whereof, if I yield not a good account, I shall accuse nature, which produced me in insufficiency." The time has compassed him with many difficulties; undutiful people factiously inclined; a country desolate in all misery, and more advantageous to the traitor than easy to the proceeders against him; a war of necessary expenses, and these to be seasonable, lest they be bootless. Doubts the rebel has offended, and daily offends, too much to think his sins can be forgiven him; and he is too proud to stoop, because hitherto he has not known a stronger. Desires instructions, and the means for their execution. Her Majesty's disbursements are greater, because they are rather wasted than employed. The forces in Ireland are sufficient to suppress the rebel, but famine will destroy them, or scarcity make them impotent, until the Privy Council devise relief.

It seems the rebels on all hands "insult on" his entrance into Her Majesty's service. Incloses advertisements [*wanting*]. Has lined the northern frontiers with garrisons. Will take like order everywhere. Hopes to settle the Pale, "after which this base beast [the Earl of Tyrone] shall not march so far, to seek who will resist his outrage." Intelligence of two Spanish pinnaces on the western coast; has directed Her Majesty's bark thither. The Earl of Ormonde has honourably pursued the fugitives of his name, and has apprehended them, to receive their due.—Dublin, 24 May. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph.* *pp.* 1½.

May 24. [Dublin.] 51. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Will endeavour with all zeal and loyalty to repair the broken condition of things.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

Every officer has given an account of his charge: only the muster-master's is lame; there is no certainty in it, and his honesty and good meaning are not well accompanied with ability. Has disposed bands to fortify the frontiers against the incursions of the rebels. Will shortly see to those places which are most commodious to work Her Majesty service. Must not be idle, yet is not so covetous of action, that he would not most willingly hearken to terms of humiliation [*i.e.*, to the Earl of Tyrone's submission]. Will hinder his forays, and, wherein it is possible, oppress him like a traitor, but the scope of the war shall be such that, if Her Majesty's justice may have passage, he will be glad all weapons were laid aside, and himself waiting at the Privy Chamber door. Beseeches Sir Robert to "pease well" [weigh well] the misery of this desolate realm. Has sent him the names of the captains, and others in Her Majesty's pay, absent in England. Sir John Norreys and he have, in public council and in private conferences, agreed well. Thinks Sir Robert wrote to Norreys to "become compatible." Will govern his own respects, and frame them as Sir Robert very kindly counselled him. Entreats him ever to use the freedom of a friend. "I would more largely have discoursed particularities with you, but that at this instant I am, by infinite despatches, and trouble with the captains, who would make a city of London at Dublin tired in my very brains."—[Dublin.] 24 May. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

51. I. *A note of the names of such captains and pensioners as are absent from their charge in this realm, presented by Sir Ralph Lane, Muster-master.*—1597, *May* 25 (sic). *p.* 1.

May 24. Dublin. 52. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. Recommending to his favourable consideration James Bedlow, a merchant of Dublin.—Dublin, 1597, May 24. *p.* 1.

May 24. Dublin. 53. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. After he had written to the Lord Deputy and Council what passed at the conference near Dundalk, and had asked directions as to whether he should grant the rebel his desired time till the end of May to assemble his confederates. and till then agree to a cessation, he was answered that he was not to grant the one nor agree to the other, but to write Tyrone some disputing letters "to entertain the time." This course he followed. The subtle rebel, growing into great mistrust that this manner of dealing did not foreshow any intent to make any conclusion with him, and confirmed in the same by the coming over of the forces, presently resolved himself to the war, took new pledges of such as he suspected, and prepared to take the start of those who, as he has often alleged, had wronged him in all cessations. To this purpose, under colour of confirming M'William in the Route, he made an enterprise against Knockfergus, and is reported to have taken the goods of the town and country, and to have killed some of the garrison. Thence he speedily returned towards the Newry, whence it is advertised that he has

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

taken 2,000 cows and killed many of the country people. The garrison coming forth then to their rescue, it is to be doubted that the rebel will spit the rest of his venom upon the English Pale and the borders of the same. Norreys had often urged the despatch of all unemployed forces in Ireland thither, but his warnings were not heeded. Hence these inconveniences. The hard dealing of the rebellious Earl has forced some of the most dangerous neighbours to the Pale to leave him, viz., Tirlogh M'Henry, his half-brother, and Con M'Coll, "one of the desperatest rebels of the North."

How Feagh M'Hugh came to his end is diversely reported, but howsoever, he does not see that it carries any more with it than the riddance of an old rebel, the danger from those parts being nothing lessened. Certain of the Nugents, happily apprehended by the Lord of Delvin, have been suffered to escape, not without great suspicion of practice. The present Lord Deputy has given speedy direction for preventing of future evils. Has received very honourable usage from him, and does not doubt but his Lordship will report that he has omitted nothing that may give his Lordship light to further Her Majesty's service. Knows not yet what course will be held for payment of what is due, but does not fear he will be hardly dealt withal. Will hasten, as directed, to Munster, and see to the fortifying of necessary places. If Her Majesty be not at some charge beyond what the towns and country shall contribute, there will be nothing done to purpose. Prays that during his abode in Munster, his entertainment may not cease. This favour he had at his last being employed in the same place, with like commission. Begs Sir Robert to continue a furtherer of his return, for he so decays in health and strength that, by the opinion of all men, if he seek not for speedy remedy, he will soon come to his end.

Before the late Lord Deputy left, Norreys put up a petition to the Council, to which his Lordship made a slow answer that he knew of no complaint against him, the rest of the Council affirming particularly that they knew neither of complaint nor of cause thereof; and all this in the hearing of the present Lord Deputy, to whom he delivered a copy of his petition. So, if the late Lord Deputy shall renew in England any complaint against Norreys, he is tied by no reason to answer it, seeing he has been cleared in Ireland, where were the only means to have known the truth. Will particularly advertise Sir Robert of the state of Munster.—Dublin, 1597, May 24. *Holograph.* *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

53. I. *Petition of Sir John Norreys, knight, to the Lord Deputy and Council. Concerning the information against him, which he is told from England has been sent to Her Majesty. Desires to know of any such, that he may clear himself while still in the country.*—1597, *May* 21. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

May 24. Dublin. 54. Sir Charles Carroll to Sir Robert Cecil. Sir William Russell used him with honourable and favourable regard. Testifies that he was a very careful and circumspect Governor of Ireland, and

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

most ready to further Her Majesty's service. Is sorry that the hawks sent the last unseasonable year to Sir Robert proved no better. Will supply others this season. Concerning the certificate sent into England, charging him with the killing of the Cantwells. Desires to be recommended to the new Lord Deputy.—Dublin, 1597, May 24. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

May 24. 55. Declaration of Sir Edward FitzGarrett concerning the burning of Mullingar by the O'Farrells, Nugents, and Captain Tirrell. Manning of the castle of Kynagad.—1597, May 24. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

May 24. 56. George Castell to Burghley. His lengthened suits for satisfaction of his losses in Ireland. His great charges thereby sustained. Has not seen his wife and children for almost five years. His dutiful service. Beseeches Burghley to give direction to Mr. Wade to make up his letters with expedition. "It is possible I could have brought letters of commendation out of Ireland, but I did ever scorn that dealing, for the simplest swain that is may easily do that." Once, however, to satisfy Burghley, he brought him a testimonial.—1597, May 24. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

May 24. Westminster. 57. A commission for the levying of Her Majesty's debts in Ireland.—Westminster, 24 May, 39 Eliz. [1597]. *Two membranes of parchment.*

May 25. 58. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. The former Lord Deputy and the Council have already sent an account of the state of Ireland, and also their opinions on the project he brought over, so he need not repeat. Some particulars, however, he will give. "The waste of the country is such, as many villages be dispeopled, and the ground is left untilled; whereby it is apparent, no harvest is here to be expected. Many bands unserviceable, as well in the decay of numbers as feebleness of them who remain, having lived in manner by only air, first having made spoil of all they could come by in town or country." The late provisions [from England] were better furnished than distributed. Since the scarcity is so great, and Her Majesty must preserve her kingdom by a strong hand, beseeches means whereby their hands may be able to offend the boasting traitors, and defend the Queen's right. Otherwise, all description of what should be done must needs vanish without execution. The horse are of great use, but made unprofitable through weakness. Wishes Her Majesty's sufferance would move these lewd persons [the rebels] to remorse, and that the troubles and her charges were dissolved.—May 25. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

May 25. 59. Notes from the journal of some Spanish prisoner in England, commencing abruptly:—"From Tebordo (?) we ran with the wind until Thursday the last of July." The writer then states that they were becalmed; but that afterwards, on Wednesday, 5 August, they sighted England, and, on Thursday the 6th, landed at Plymouth,

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

and were taken to the Governor. Next day there arrived at Plymouth the Count Monji. The whole armada arrived there on Saturday and Sunday, 17 and 18 August. On Tuesday, 20 August, left Plymouth with the armada, and reached Dover. Went by Sandwich, Canterbury, Sittingbourne, Rochester, and Gravesend, to London, where they were taken to the "casa del Coronel." Arrival at the house of Thomas Cotille on Wednesday, 18 February, 1597. The death there of the Zurado Gonsalo Xiseres de Ayala, and his burial at St. Martin's in the grave of Thomas Cotille. Items concerning other Spanish prisoners, down to 25 May 1597.

On the back of this document is a prescription for hæmorrhoids, and an endorsement touching some Spaniards. Mention is also made of Sir Conyers Clifford, Governor of Connaught, at Galway, and of Henry Pine, at Moghelly. *Spanish.* *p.* 1.

May 26. Greenwich. 60. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Has heard of his Lordship's arrival. Sends two new commissions. The reason why others are made of the *quorum* is because it is avowed that the power of the Deputy is such that it ever sways the Council. The matter is not worth his Lordship's contestation. The restraint on the making of knights. "Her Majesty is much troubled with the late knights that were made, and surely not well contented that the head of such a base Robin Hood [Feagh M'Hugh] is brought so solemnly into England. It is no such trophy of a notorious victory, and yet of it his friends make here great advantage; but if it be true that his son be still out, his youth will better his father's age."—The Court at Greenwich, 1597, May 26. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 26. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

May 26. Dublin. 61. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Advice from the North, that thirteen ships, supposed to be Spaniards, were seen there. The Earl of Tyrone gone down to them. Yet it may be a false alarm. Urges the sending of some English ships of war to sea, before the Spanish fleet puts out from Ferrol. If the latter should get the start, it would be a great furtherance to their enterprise. For want of good spies, and lack of competent maintenance for them, he cannot assure the good that might otherwise be wrought by them. Sir John Norreys preparing to go to Munster. Thinks it more requisite that he should remain yet awhile in Dublin, to give his advice to the Lord Deputy. The good agreement between Norreys and his Lordship will assuredly greatly avail the state of the service. They both deserve good commendation.—Dublin, 1597, May 26. *p.* 1.

May 28. 62. A brief account of all such victuals as were remaining in store in Dublin, the first of March 1596[7]; as likewise of the receipt, issue, and remain of such victuals as have since then arrived in this realm forth of England, towards the victualling of Her Majesty's garrisons.—1597, May 28. *Three sheets.*

VOL. CXCIX.

1597.
[May 28.] 63. Warrant from the Queen to the Lord Deputy to grant a pension of 12*d.* *per diem* to Captain Green O'Molley, in consideration of his long services, great losses, and grievous wounds. As soon as any pension of greater value falls vacant, it is to be given to Captain O'Molley, who in that case is to surrender the one now granted.

*There are two drafts, one of which is dated May* 26 *; the other is fuller, and evidently of a little later date. A short memorandum of four lines, in Sir Robert Cecil's hand, is annexed to the earlier draft. pp.* 2.

May 29. Dublin. 64. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The advertisement about the thirteen ships seen in the North, supposed to be Spaniards, appears to have been a false alarm, subtilly thrown out by the Earl of Tyrone. Sent Weston into the country of Tyrone, but he has written nothing as yet of any such discovery. The Lord Deputy, taking occasion upon the Earl's late hostilities against Knockfergus, the Newry, and some borders of the English Pale, is advised by the Council to prepare to invade his country with force. So the general hosting is proclaimed for the 6th of July next. Meantime, the Lord Deputy is drawing on all his preparation. Urgent need of round quantities of victuals, money, and munition. Incursions made into the Pale. There is always interchange of violence. Sometimes the rebels snatch from them, sometimes they get from the rebels; which cannot be holpen, till the storms of the time be calmed, and the form of the government "renewed to better." The rage of the time.

If the Spaniards come not, hopes they will have some better hand upon Tyrone in this summer's work than has been since his proclaiming. Measuring him according to his former infidelities and breaches of his word, advises a resolute prosecution of him, and besieging of him in his fastness. Necessity for an ample supply of provisions, otherwise no issue is to be expected, but such as a lingering, dilatory war may bring forth.—Dublin, 1597, May 29. *pp.* 2.

May 30. 65. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Has granted to James Nott, the bearer, sometime servant to the traitor Tyrone, a sum of money out of the first forfeitures, fines, &c. that shall fall to the Crown in Ireland. Directs him to take the necessary steps for the fulfilment of the grant. *Endorsed :*—1597, May 30. *Draft. p.* 1.

May 31. Dublin. 66. The Lord Deputy Burgh and Council to the Privy Council. The general hosting for July 6, notwithstanding the poverty and waste of the country in the English Pale. Necessity for prosecuting Tyrone. Pride and insolence of the rebels. Attempts of Tyrone upon Knockfergus and Newry; he is repulsed from both. Tyrone's brother Cormack, with Maguire, M'Mahon, and the forces of O'Rourke, assisted with a great company of Tyrone's own forces, brake into Westmeath, and burned many villages as far as Mullin-

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

gar. Thence they retired into the county of Longford, from which they intend a further invasion, where they may best distress the subjects. These being manifest proofs that Tyrone is fully bent to all villainy, making his reckoning of the speedy access of Spanish forces, there is only one course to hold with him, viz., to take him down by force. Pray for victuals, munitions, and money. A lingering course has heretofore been hurtful. Have caused the victualler to set down a proportion of victuals for four months, allowing for those in store, and enclose it herewith [*wanting*]. Ireland can yield nothing but a small proportion of beeves, and these must be paid for with ready money. The supplies to come with speed, or the summer will slip away. Murrain of cattle in Munster, whence they looked to be supplied with most: death and scarcity in all other places. The countries of the Pale and adjacent thereto, where former proportions of beeves have been levied for the service, are not as yet paid for them. Enclose certificate of the munition in store, and of that which is required. Allen, the servant of the Master of the Ordnance, sent to receive the same: the powder to be in double cask. Their Lordships may consider what money is needful, by comparison of the present wants, and upon notice of how the last Privy Seal for 24,000*l.*, dated 7 April, has been bestowed (*see under June* 2). The ordinary monthly charge is near 12,000*l.* Urgent want of money, "for the help of the soldiers and towns, whose wants we know and see at eye, to our daily grief." Weak state of the forces in Ireland, especially of the horsemen.

Successes of Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught, with small forces and amid great wants. M'William expelled. All the heads of the septs of the rebels drawn in upon good pledges. A course taken to give some help and supply to Sir Conyers, especially for the opportunity that serves to proceed to Sligo and to get Ballyshannon. Send copy of Sir Conyers's account of his proceedings: "the gent hath deserved great commendations." Sir Conyers drew in Tibbott Burke M'Rickard Enyeren, otherwise called Tibbott Ne Longe, upon promise of recompense from Her Majesty. Enclose Tibbott's demands, formerly sent in by Sir William Russell. Recommend them. Request their Lordships to make the good service of Sir Conyers Clifford known to Her Majesty.

A remnant of traitors of the Feagh M'Hugh faction still on foot in Low Leinster. They are capital persons, and men of action, who being left as Robin Hoods, may be dangerous disturbers of the whole state of Leinster, especially to kindle a new fire upon the borders. It is thought expedient to prosecute these men, and that the Earl of Ormonde have the charge committed to him. His good services, which deserve acknowledgment from the Privy Council, as they have been done at his own expense, without entertainment from Her Majesty. Desire the Privy Council, in their next, to signify their allowance of the conditions accorded with Tibbott Ne Longe. Sir John Norreys, before his departure into Munster, moved that the island of Foynes in the river of Shannon, near Limerick, might

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

be fortified, affirming that the fortifying of that island was as requisite for the safety and preservation of Limerick, as the fort of Dungannon is for Waterford. Ask for directions in the next letter of the Privy Council.—Dublin, 1597, May 31. *pp.* 6. *Inclose,*

66. I. *The issue and expense of munition from* 1 *March to* 17 *May* 1597. *Signed by Sir George Bourchier, Master of the Ordnance. Endorsed:*—1597, *May* 18. *pp.* 8.

66. II. *A proportion of munition fit to be sent for into England, for a second supply. Signed by Sir George Bourchier. Endorsed:* —1597, *May. pp.* 3.

66. III. *The humble submission of the chief gentlemen of the Burkes and other septs in the county of Mayo. Addressed to Sir Conyers Clifford. Endorsed:*—1597, *May* 23. *One sheet.*

66. IV. *A brief declaration of Tibbott Ne Longe's demands, written at Le Hinche, the* 25*th of April,* 1597. *Apostilled by Sir Conyers Clifford. Copy. pp.* 2.

66. V. *Certain articles and covenants agreed upon and concluded between Sir Conyers Clifford, on the one part, and Tibbott Burke M'Richard Enyeren, and others the gentlemen of the county of Mayo, on the other part, at Castle Barry, the* 24*th of May,* 1597. *Copy. pp.* 2.

66. VI. *The names of the pledges taken for the preservation of Her Majesty's peace in the county of Mayo, at Castle Barr*[*y*], *the* 23*rd of May,* 1597. *p.* 1.

66. VII. *A docket to answer the packet sent into England,* 31 *May* 1597. *p.* 1.

May. 67. List of allowances and payments, ordinary and extraordinary, in Ireland. *These are classed under forty six various headings, and evidently apply to a long period, the totals being,* 9,285*l.*, 350,886*l.* 8*s.* 8¾*d.*, *and* 101,812*l.* 9*s.* 9¾*d. Endorsed:*—1597, *May. pp.* 2.

May. 68. Draft Warrant to the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, granting a pension, as soon as any shall fall void, of 3*s.* 4*d.* a day, to Captain Edmond Barrett, in consideration of his services against the rebels. *Endorsed:*—1597, *May. p.* 1.

[May.] 69. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council. The Lord Deputy to assist in person at the hearing in the Castle Chamber of the cause between Henry Sheffeld and the Bishop of Laughlin, concerning certain great wrongs and riots alleged to have been committed by the said Bishop and his accomplices upon the person of Sheffeld. Speedy justice is to be done. Sheffeld to

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

have the half of any fines to be imposed in the matter, and of any recognizances that may be estreated.—[1597, May.] *Copy. pp.* 3.

Annexed is a draft of a letter, apparently from Sheffeld to Sir Robert Cecil, stating precedents for his cause, and praying that he may have the speediest course of justice, as he has already had to wait almost two years, and could never so much as serve process upon any of the parties. Open hostility of the Lord Chancellor to him. Prays that his Lordship may be commanded to desist.—[1597, May.] *p.* 1.

[May.] 70. Certain articles of treason preferred by Captain Thomas Lee against Sir Henry Harrington. That in the rebellion of Feagh M'Hugh, he omitted nothing to hinder Her Majesty's service, by staying the soldiers from doing service upon Feagh and his accomplices. That when Rose ny Toole [Feagh's wife] was a proclaimed traitor, he did secretly maintain and keep her. That he maintains now in his house notorious traitors, who have neither protection nor pardon. That he has violently rescued notorious traitors from Her Majesty's forces. That he has received a notable traitor, who had broken prison, and now keeps him without protection or pardon. Captain Lee asks, not only that Sir Henry Harrington may be called upon to answer these treasons, but also that he may be compelled to bring forth the bodies of such notorious traitors as are in his house, that they may answer such matters as shall be objected against them.—[1597, May.] *Copy. p.* 1.

June 2. 71. Certificate by Sir Henry Wallop, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, of the issue of the Privy Seal of April 7 for 24,000*l.*; with a list of moneys due to the inhabitants of several towns for diet of soldiers, and to several persons for beeves supplied.—1597, June 2. *pp.* 5½.

June 2. 72. Duplicate of first part of preceding, signed by Sir Henry Wallop.—1597, June 2. *p.* 1.

June 2. Dublin. 73. Henry Brouncker to Sir Robert Cecil. It can now be seen that he did not without cause suspect that the treaty with the Earl of Tyrone would not succeed. How he has carried himself in the trust committed to him may be perceived, in that he has wholly prevented, or at least overcome, the jealousy of both parties [Russell and Norreys], who, in regard of their contrary humours and factions, could hardly agree in their opinion of any one man. Has neglected his private business for the public. Is now going into Munster, to view the probable places of the enemy's landing, and to inform himself of other things concerning Her Majesty's service. Purposes to return to Dublin before the Lord Deputy's journey into the North and to follow him. Desires to be comforted by a few lines from Sir Robert giving him to understand Her Majesty's acceptance of his services.—Dublin, 1597, June 2. *Holograph. p.* 1.

June 2. Dublin. 74. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Left an abstract of the checks with the Treasurer, giving special caution that it should not be

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

published, until some differences with the captains were cleared. Sir Ralph Lane got a copy of those checks, and certified the like in his own name. Intolerable wrong thereby to himself and much more to Her Majesty's service. Sir Ralph Lane, "(good man) neither doth, nor is able to do, anything in the execution of the Musters, save the due gathering and receiving of his dead pays and profits out of every company." The Lord Deputy is going to establish Commissaries, according to Kyffin's project. Does not know whether the oversight of them will be committed to himself or to Sir Ralph Lane. Thinks he ought at least to be joined with the latter in the patent. The insupportable damage and expenses he has been at hitherto in his employment. In this last journey, he has lost and spoiled all his horses; left his servants dangerously sick in remote places; and is himself in a very bad state of health. —Dublin, 1597, June 2. *Seal. p.* 1.

June 2. Greenwich. 75. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Directing him to repossess Alison Dalton, widow of Roger Dalton, of certain lands in Munster, whereof Garrett FitzJames, otherwise called Lord Decies, had dispossessed her and her son, the Queen's ward.—Greenwich, 1597, June 2. *Copy. p.* 1.

June 3. Dublin. 76. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Five thousand at least famished in Connaught. Has banished M'William. Has seen to the base abuses of the Captains in keeping their numbers deficient. Begs that the articles postilled by him to Tibbott Ne Longe may be favoured. Hopes shortly to give a good account of O'Donnell, whose pride consisted in the name of M'William and the strength the latter had in Connaught. Amazement of the people at his success against M'William. Proclamation to such as would at once come in. Its good effect. Hopes to tie the people more assuredly than they have been to Her Majesty. The late Lord Deputy's project for 3,000 foot and 300 horse to recover Connaught. The most rebellious part of the Province has been brought into obedience. His numbers never exceeded 1,300 foot and 80 horse. From the State in seventeen weeks he received but 105*l.*; 120 barrels of wheat for bread; and 30 barrels of munition. Must be enabled to keep the word he has given to the people in Her Majesty's name. Till the coming of this Lord Deputy, two parts of Her Majesty's army in Ireland were of Irish birth. Assistance given him by the present Lord Deputy. Desires that out of the next treasure he may be assigned payment of all such money as he himself has either disbursed, or spared from the composition, or taken from the people upon his bill, after their submission. Upon their resettling, will not fail to tie them, according to their ability, to uphold the composition. Thanks for Sir Robert's remembrance of him. Has no other end than to do Her Majesty service.—Dublin, 1597, June 3. *Holograph. pp.* 4.

June 4. Greenwich. 77. Draft Warrant to the Lord Deputy and Lord Chancellor of Ireland, granting a pension, as soon as one shall fall void, of 2*s.* 6*d.*

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

a day, to Captain Edmond Barrett, in consideration of his services against the rebels.—Greenwich, 1597, June 4. *p.* 1.

*In this draft the amount of the pension has been first put down at 3s. 4d. a day (see another draft above under May), but it has been corrected to 2s. 6d. a day.*

June 4. Dublin. 78. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. In behalf of Mr. Richard Belling, who has rendered many services to Her Majesty, in the administration of justice, and otherwise, and who has had heavy losses through the troubles in Leinster. Mr. Belling's son, the bearer, continually attended, without entertainment from the State, in the prosecution of the late traitor, Feagh M'Hugh, and his accomplices.—Dublin, 1597, June 4. *p.* 1.

June 4. Dublin. 79. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Through the lack of victuals and munition at his first coming to Connaught, his daily wants were relieved by the sword and perilous travails of the weak soldiers. His success with Tibbott Ne Longe. Begs a favourable consideration of his postils to the demands of the latter. The gain thereby to Her Majesty, in the promised payment of all arrears, and in the receiving of Her Majesty's garrisons. Has come to Dublin, being commanded by the State, to make known some necessary causes.—Dublin, 1597, June 4. *p.* 1.

June 4. 80. An estimate of the munition remaining in store at Dublin, 4 June 1597. *Signed by Sir George Bourchier.* *p.* 1.

June 5. Dublin Castle. 81. The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Privy Council. Begs for supplies of money, victuals, and munition. Hopes, before many months run over, to make it appear that these provisions shall turn to Her Majesty's great benefit. Has enclosed herein a letter from Tyrone, and the answer which the Council persuaded him to return. Henceforth, unless commanded out of England, or unless the Earl change his style, will entertain no time with him by writing, for it swells him into pride, as if he were worthy or strong, [and one] whom Her Majesty should admit on his own conditions. Hopes their Lordships will think it the best course to undertake him seriously; "for to dally with him, breeds himself, and others more dangerous." Speaks it not out of an humour to war, for he protests, before the living God, that, if Ireland were reducible to obedience by other means, he would embrace the commodity with as great desire as, in duty to Her Majesty, he wishes that what for her is attempted, should sort without hazard.

"But the honour of the cause, my queen's, the odiousness of the persons, traitors, these make me presume. Your Lordships may please to be informed, grace with these barbarous outlaws gains nothing: where they be compelled, there they move: it is the appetite of most, to live as they list: much more of such who, ignorant of religion and civility, have no other guide than nature. The chief head of the rebellion is in Ulster: it is a question whether, because that province hath never yielded rent, he might

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

be left unto it: it is time lost to debate this, when a greater matter is in controversy. Ulster is his chief receipt, but he passeth those bounds, and as long as he hath reputation to uphold himself, so long is he held in reverence with all the ill disposed in Ireland, and what Her Majesty's army doth not against them, to the same they judge it unable. By garrisons to impeach Tyrone's incursions, is not easy: the country is wide: the passages many: and to fortify everywhere will not be possible: some places not answerable with any helps: and all together unendurable in supply of men, victual, and munition. The profit of garrisons doth most consist, either in making good an income, or in discommoding the invaders' retreat: for the former, they must be planted accordingly; and for the latter, they must be maintained to spare many to sally: yet all this is but defence; and of her own Her Majesty leaves to rebels, whilst they glory in intrusion upon their Sovereign's dominions. Neither see I how the charge this way can well be supported."

If Tyrone be well pressed, all is got. Makes no reckoning of him, either for courage, or order to fight, or ability any ways to subsist, when Her Majesty's ensigns are displayed. Tyrone's quarrel will condemn him: his forces are "compounded of naked villains trusting in their paces larded with shot." Necessity for ample supplies of victuals and munition. Delay in action injurious. If the rebels are cut off, the Spaniard will be without a party, and there need be no fear of him. The kingdom itself, wasted, saccaged, and depopulated, may be restored, and at length yield Her Majesty a good revenue. The maintenance of the rebel is by the multitude of his cattle. Restrain him in a strait with them, and one shall either starve them, or be owner of them. If the traitor will fight, he shall be taught the difference of the cause. The rebels must be pursued from fastness to fastness, so as to scatter and disperse all their combinations. Many weary of the tyrannous impositions of the rebels.

Armagh is in necessity. Will relieve it on the 6th of July: cannot be ready before. Good progress of Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught. Recommends that it be acknowledged by the Privy Council.—Dublin Castle, June 5. *Endorsed:* 1597. *Holograph. pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

81. 1. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy Burgh. The agreement between the Earl and the Lord General divers times crossed by the late Lord Deputy. Requests his Lordship and Norreys to give him their handwriting for the accomplishment of such things as were agreed upon, and that there be no further delay. Is fully persuaded Norreys was not in fault for any breach of promise. Is ready to accomplish what he himself promised. Does not doubt his Lordship will have more earnest care and consideration herein than his predecessor had. Blames the late Lord Deputy, and especially the Marshal, who never observed any truce, but always preyed and spoiled in time of cessation, contrary to the Lord General's agreement.—Dungannon, 1597, May 28. Copy. p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

81. II. *The Lord Deputy Burgh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.* "*Your letters of the 28th of May I have received. You inform former willingness to have made a good end with Sir John Norreys, Lord President of Munster, lately General of Her Majesty's forces, according Her Majesty's pleasure. For answer whereunto I advertise you, nothing could have been so good to you as to have humbled and submitted yourself to your natural Sovereign, whose grace hath so long spared you to repentance. But you, not well using Her Majesty's sufferance, have perverted her clemencies, and animated yourself, and others ill combined with you, in all irreligious and disloyal practices. You make shew of impediments by the Lord Deputy my predecessor, as if he had given hindrance to the course of your conversion. I am assured his Lordship would not take upon him to put you out of the way of your duty, if you, as became you, had sought to be restored: as also the Lord President would have received your submission in the name of Her Majesty without delay. But I am persuaded both the one and other at length foresaw the dependencies and Spanish hopes so govern you, as no conditions could, at least wise did, proceed from you, worthy entertainment, much less conclusion; so as what default you impute 'on' others, resteth to be amended in yourself. If therefore you fall into a due examination, you must alter your manners, knowing against whom you have offended, and there seek (as you should) remission, which, when so you crave it, may find passage, other than in these terms is allowable. In the meantime take of me this caution. As hitherto you have had experience, how much rather Her Majesty would forgive than use her sword, so, if your perseverance in these ill demeanours cause her to draw it, you shall find the ever-living God hath not committed it to her in vain. And doubt you not but Her Majesty, who hath broken the neck of the Spanish boasts and threats and enterprises against her Realm, and relieved her distressed neighbours in France and the Low Country from his violence, and in his own bosom destroyed his magazines and burnt his shipping, whereby his purposes of like expedition have been frustrated, is able, if so she be provoked, to chastise and take vengeance of all seditious and tumultuary persons in her proper kingdoms. Therefore presume not on your numbers, nor your paces, nor bushes, nor bogs; all weak, where your prince's power is drawn upon you. But retire yourself into the trial of your conscience, where you may truly be told that your destruction must needs ensue, if you by penitence make no mediation against so just a wrath. These may suffice if of them ye make good use; yet will I thus much more say. If you weigh what calamity is wrought to this commonwealth, and what slaughters, burnings, robberies, and all manner of insolencies, have been committed by your adherents, and under countenance of your defection in obedience, it is high time you have remorse in your soul, and prostrate yourself for mercy, lest the heavy stroke of your sacred Queen inflict that which no guilty mind can resist nor obdurate avoid. Leaving with yourself how to value that which is best for you, I end these. By me, Her Majesty's subject and servant,*

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

*and Deputy and Governor-General in this her Realm*, T. BURGH." —[1597, *June.*] *Copy. p.* 1.

June 5. [Dublin.] 82. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. The need of supplies. "Leaders for means, and soldiers of necessity, fill my ears with clamor." If for a while victuals were transported, and hereafter lendings weekly imprested, it would much save the expenses, and the country would find infinite ease. For Her Majesty is defrauded in sundry uncertain allowances, and the people are compelled to abandon their dwellings through pillage. If Burghley saw the misery that afflicts this service, he would then perceive the impediments to be greater than either the diligence or endeavour of man can countervail, and their importunity to be inferior to the necessity. "Doth the rebel burn and spoil in any part, and run his will? I must send garrison: when I give direction, the men be ready, but no bread, no beef, no fish, no flesh. It were not possible the traitors should continue, but through the defects which press us, whereupon they presume and insult. We hear of great quantity of rye come into England. The very report of it makes our hungry jaws gape. The letters that come daily from the towns, even the richest of them, are lamentable, all groaning under hunger. The rebel long since hath made his store, and from the subject hath robbed all."

The Mustermaster general is grown weak in his brains, and it is no more to be expected that he can certify the bands. "Kyffin is a proper man and diligent." Need of Commissaries. Sir Ralph Lane has his place by patent; therefore desires instructions from Burghley. There is an officer of victuals, who draws into his fingers much of the treasure. Some details thereof. Burghley's wisdom will find a course for redress of the frauds practised upon Her Majesty.

Tirlogh M'Henry is come in of late. He is brother to Tyrone by the mother's side, has many followers, and a strong country called the Fews. It will weaken the traitor to have his feathers thus plucked. To encourage them, who return to their duty, and for service to be executed by them, it will be necessary to entertain in some pay during the wars those who have many followers. This will diminish the great rebel's forces, and he quailing, these allowances and all will end. Expects many will daily submit. Asks Burghley's opinion what is to be done. His "trust in them shall be their best pledges, and blood which they shall draw."—[Dublin, 1597,] June 5. *Holograph. pp.* 1½.

June 5. Dublin Castle. 83. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Need of supplies. Will not cloy him with the matter contained in his letter to the Privy Council. The Earl of Ormonde has been in Dublin, and brought with him the head of his nephew [Piers Butler]. The Earl advises that the capital rebel [Tyrone] should be pursued straitly, lest the courage taken by his continuance in pride "should extend to a dangerous sequel of many wild lawless mates to run out, and yet more disquiet Her Majesty's realm."

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

Necessity for Tyrone's prosecution; if left to himself, he cannot by garrisons be impeached from incursion, without an infinite charge and long delay, which is all he seeks. Ormonde's nephew would confess nothing, but died desperately, as he had lived wickedly. Another of the Butler brothers, who is in custody, is spared for a while, because of an interest Her Majesty might have in the Earldom, if he were attainted. The good services of the Earl of Ormonde. Has satisfied Sir John Norreys in regard of the payments due to him. Feels aggrieved at the restraint put upon him as to making knights.—Dublin Castle, June 5. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

June 5. 84. Note of wheat, butter, and cheese sent into Ireland. *Endorsed*:—1597, June 5. *p.* 1.

June 6. Dublin. 85. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The preparations for a journey into Ulster will breed many advertisements. The chief purpose is to re-victual Armagh. This cannot be done without an army, Tyrone standing off and on as he does. The army being in the field, advantage will be taken of any opportunity to further Her Majesty's service against Tyrone. For a beginning of a good hope, Tirlogh M'Henry, captain of the Fews, is come away from Tyrone, with all his creaghts, his wife and children, and has offered his services to the State. Hopes others will follow Tirlogh's example, especially if they see the Spanish hopes fail them, and that Her Majesty thoroughly countenances the war this summer. The best hope for good success in Ulster is, that Leinster is reasonably well calmed, and in the way to be thoroughly quieted out of hand. Has good confidence in the recovery of Connaught in short time. Sir Conyers Clifford is returned thither, as well enabled as the State with its small means can make him.—Dublin, 1597, June 6. *p.* 1.

June 6. Dundalk. 86. Captain E. P. Symes to Sir Robert Cecil. Explains why he was unable to take leave of Sir Robert before leaving London. Within three days after his landing at Dublin, Feagh M'Hugh's head was brought in, and then Symes was sent to garrison to Dundalk, with his company. Fourteen days after, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, Tirlogh M'Henry, and the Earl's son, Con M'Cole, a dangerous rebel, came to Dundalk, and offered their services against the Earl. The Marshal, Sir Henry Bagenall, and the governor of the garrison, Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield, with five new companies lying at Louth, and Rice ap Hugh, with his garrison of Ardee, joining together, made a journey into the Earl's country, and came so suddenly upon him that they nearly took the Earl and his wife; but a villain spy ran and gave him warning. The Earl was so hardly pursued that he and his wife were put from taking of horse, and were forced to take the woods on foot. "We killed divers of his men, and brought away three hundred cows, and, had we come one hour sooner, we had got ten thousand." In this journey they victualled Armagh, which was in great distress. The Earl of

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

Ormonde has brought in Piers Butler's head, and slain Murree M'Shey, a dangerous rebel. Sir Conyers Clifford has brought in Tibbott Ne Longe and divers others in Connaught. Need of men, money, and victuals. Desires leave about Michaelmas for three months, to come over to England for some law suits, that he must personally attend to.—Dundalk, 1597, June 6. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

June 7. Dublin. 87. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Piers and James, the traitorous sons of Sir Edmund Butler, happily cut off. There survives only a third son, called Theobald, who has long remained a prisoner in Dublin Castle. The Earl of Ormonde desired to carry him to Kilkenny, to put him on his trial there. Theobald now grown a man of special note, his elder brethren having been cut off. Sir Henry wished the trial to be at Dublin, "being the principal place of all this kingdom, resembling the courses held in England, where the chief men are still tried at London, wheresoever their offences were committed." The Council agreed to the Earl's desire, but Sir Henry saw the Lord Deputy in private, and informed him that, if Theobald were despatched, Walter, son of John Butler, deceased, brother to Sir Edmund, would be the next heir to the Earldom of Ormonde and Ossory. This, it seems, is aimed at. Piers was not brought to Dublin, but executed at Thurles, as Theobald might be, if he were there. The record of the attainder of the said Sir Edmund, Piers, and Edward [*sic*, query James] is embezzled, and some other things are strangely practised. If Piers, eldest son to Sir Edmund, had been brought to Dublin, and, after his attainder, been kept alive, until both the earldom and his father's lands had descended to him, then Her Majesty would have had the disposing both of the earldom and the lands (notwithstanding the embezzling of the record of the attainder), because the earldom is entailed to the heirs male, and the said Piers was eldest son to Sir Edmund, second brother to the Earl. So now, if Theobald be attainted, and after reserved alive, a like benefit may redound to Her Majesty through him, his brethren Piers and James having died without issue. The Lord Deputy, on this information from Sir Henry, wrote to the Earl of Ormonde at Naas to send back Theobald, who is now again in Dublin Castle.

Thinks that a commission of inquiry should be appointed with regard to the embezzled record of the attainder. Many men are now living who have knowledge of the attainder, and some can testify that they have both seen and read the record. Otherwise, if Theobald is cleared on his arraignment, and dies without issue male, the earldom will descend to Walter, son of John Butler, who was never attainted.—Dublin, 1597, June 7. *pp.* 1½.

June 8. [Dublin.] 88. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. His answer to the heinous charge brought against him of checking by discretion, without musters. Shows his proceedings in his office to have been warrantable, and explains the whole by the instance of one band.—[Dublin,] 1597, June 8. *pp.* 6.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

June 8. Dublin. 89. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks Burghley and Sir Robert for having defended him from a deadly stroke of Her Majesty's indignation, very near to have fallen upon him. Encloses his answer to the charge of checking by discretion without musters. Prays him to mediate for his restoration to the Queen's grace, diverted from him by mistake.—Dublin, 1597, June 8. *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

89. I. *Duplicate, with a few variations, of the answer sent in the preceding to Burghley. Endorsed:*—1597, *June* 8. *pp.* 4½.

June 8. Dublin. 90. Charles Calthorpe, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Burghley. Touching a survey of the Rectory of Dunboyne, assigned, after payment of the old rent, towards the settlement of the debts of Jaques Wingfield, deceased.—Dublin, 1597, June 8. *p.* 1.

June 8. Dublin. 91. Lord Edmund Mountgarrett to Sir Robert Cecil. On behalf of his son, Richard Butler, the bearer hereof, sent over to England by special direction of the Lord Deputy and Council. Complains of the restraint for six months past of himself, his wife, and his children. Wasting of his lands in the county of Kilkenny. His services under the Earl of Ormonde, sometimes against those of his own house.—Dublin, 1597, June 8. *p.* 1.

June [10]. Dublin Castle. 92. The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Privy Council. Asks for a supply of munition. Sends over the bearer, John Allen, servant to the Master of the Ordnance. "And for that the conveniency of shipping commonly serveth at Liverpool rather than the river of Chester," prays that Allen's commission may be enlarged to both places, for the sake of greater expedition.—Dublin Castle, 1597, June [10]. *Seal. p.* 1.

June 10. Dublin Castle. 93. The Lord Deputy Burgh and Council to Burghley. Recommending to his favourable consideration John Allen, the Clerk of the Ordnance. Allen complains of his small entertainment, which is but 15*d. per diem* for himself and a man; also that it has not been paid him for these four years. His long service. Have no present means to relieve him.—Dublin Castle, 1597, June 10. *Seal. p.* 1.

June 10. 94. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. By the humble petition of Captain Henry Moyle, it appears that, in the time of the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliams, the wardship of the body and lands of the son of John FitzEdmonds of "Ballentire," late Seneschal of Imokilly, was given to the Deputy's son, John Fitzwilliams, and from him by composition transferred to Walter Ralegh, knight, Captain of the Guard, and from him again, by like composition, to Captain Moyle, who has enjoyed the same quietly for the space of eight years; until, in the time of the Lord Deputy Sir William Russell, one Newman, a servant of Anthony St. Leger, knight, having found that, by some oversight of such as were put

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

in trust by the said Ralegh or Moyle, when these were absent from Ireland, on service, the grant of the said wardship had not passed under the Great Seal, has procured a grant thereof by letters patent, and dispossessed Moyle thereof. Requires Lord Burgh to call the said Newman before him, that he may deliver up the letters patent of the wardship to the assigns of the said Moyle, Newman to be recompensed with some other like wardship or meet gift. Fresh letters patent are to be made out under the Great Seal for Moyle. *Endorsed*:—1597, June 10. *Draft. pp.* 2.

June 10. Waterford. 95. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to the Privy Council. Concerning the fortifications required at Limerick. His conference with the Mayor and Corporation. Poverty of the town and country. Good condition, on the whole, of the fort of Dungannon. Its importance. Necessity for some work there, to perfect the fort. Have asked directions from the Lord Deputy and Council. Found great lack of victuals and munition. His intended journey to Limerick, to see the fortifications there. The bad state of his health. After he has been to Limerick, desires leave to go over to England for his recovery. The time of the year is so far spent, that no descent of Spaniards is looked for in those parts. Understands they have diverted themselves to other courses.—Waterford, 1597, June 10. *pp.* 3.

June 10. Waterford. 96. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. The necessary fortifications at Waterford will cost not less than 3,000*l.* The fort of Dungannon. His brother [Sir Thomas Norreys] has happily cut off, both by prosecution and justice, many of the most dangerous rebels in the province; and lately had the head of Rory M'Murrough, brother to Murrough Oge, brought to him. He doubts not to have the other's head very shortly, "but as fast as they are consumed, there springs up an ill in their places; there continuing a malicious disposition in most of this country to have still some Robin Hood to seek to weed out and extirpate the English; and the canker of this humour will not be cured but by a sharp corsey."

Will go shortly, if able, to Limerick. Thence he will repair again to the sea side, whence he knows he will never be able to depart, if speedily he obtains not Her Majesty's commission to seek remedy for the disease that has made him almost unable either to ride or go. If it be seen to in time, he may yet recover to do Her Majesty some few years' service.

Encloses copy of a letter from Sir Conyers Clifford to himself. Has lately received a letter from the rebellious Earl in answer to one he sent him. Encloses a copy thereof, as he has done to the Lord Deputy. The Earl has also written to Lord Burgh. His bastard son has come in, upon a protection Norreys sent for him to Captain Baker at Armagh. The Earl's half-brother, Captain of the Fews, has been with the Lord Deputy since Norreys left Dublin. Doubts not that many more will abandon Tyrone, if he be well set

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

to this summer. Is not envious that others shall not reap the fruit of his travail; an ordinary fortune of his. Begs to be speedily delivered out of his in every way decayed state.—Waterford, 1597, June 10. *Holograph. pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

96. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. Regrets it was not his fortune to meet him at Dublin. Came there in answer to a commandment from the Lord Deputy and Council. Has taken good assurance of the county of Mayo. M'William still banished. The country has yielded all his demands. It has received the Queen's Sheriff, and the people have driven all their cattle into the county of Galway till his return. If he is made able to stay O'Donnell, Connaught is in a good forwardness to be re-settled. Norreys's last five companies are in Galway; they are valiant, and their officers discreet. Would rather keep them than take another* 1,000 [*men*].—*Dublin*, 1597, *May* 27. *Copy. p.* 1.

96. II. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord General Sir John Norreys. The fault of such delays as have been used rests not with him, but with the late Lord Deputy. Requests that his messengers may have licence to pass with his letters to Feagh M'Hugh's sons, and to return with answers. Then he will accomplish what he promised with the best speed he can. As to the Spaniards, protests he never received any benefit by them to the value of* 6*d., and that if they had come, he thinks he would have received from them more hindrance than profit. So far as he understands, they are a nation only for themselves, and for none else, so that he has small cause to expect them. Complains of the evil treatment he has received from the State. Blames the Marshal* [*Sir Henry Bagenall*] *and others.—Dungannon*, 1597, *May* 28. *Copy. pp.* 2.

June 10. Dublin. 97. Sir George Bourchier, Master of the Ordnance, to Burghley. Praying for a speedy supply of munition.—Dublin, 1597, June 10. *p.* 1.

June 11. Dublin. 98. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Sends a certificate of the checks on such companies as have been mustered by him. Has also delivered a copy thereof to the Lord Deputy. Her Majesty's army at present in Ireland consists of twenty-one horse bands "(such as they are)," and seventy-eight foot companies. Of these he has, as yet, checked but thirty-nine foot bands and nine horse companies. If he has raised and reserved to Her Majesty such great checks on so few companies, his Lordship may judge what the checks of the whole army would have amounted to, after the same rate, for three or four years past, if a course like to his had been held. Sir Ralph Lane has privately certified the checks of the whole army for the last half year. But the Lord Deputy says that his checks for all the army make not such a sum as Kyffin's for half of it. The reformation already begun among the forces by Kyffin's painful travail is esteemed by some of the Council to be

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

worth many thousand pounds. For now many captains are forced to use their uttermost endeavour for keeping their companies strong, instead of not caring, as before, how weak and wretched they were. Now armour and furniture is regarded, that before was wont to be sold and converted to private gain. And where most soldiers were wont to receive no relief either in money or apparel, some captains have lately given their soldiers some clothes, &c. If what is already done in the musters be well seconded and established, it is thought that the greatest mischief and enormity in this tottering State will be thereby redressed.

Is shortly to attend the Lord Deputy and the army into the North, but is utterly disfurnished of horses and servants.—Dublin, 1597, June 11. *pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

98. I. *Checks of certain horse and foot companies for the half year from* 1 *October* 1596 *to* 31 *March* 1597 *; amounting to* 5,944*l.* 10*s. Signed by Maurice Kyffin.*—[1597, *June* 11.] *One sheet.*

June 12. Dublin. 99. The Lord Deputy Burgh and the Council to the Privy Council. Recommending that there be paid to the bearer, agent for the town of Drogheda, the sum of 338*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.*, due for the victualling of soldiers. Cannot spare any money out of the treasure lately arrived.—Dublin, 1597, June 12. *p.* 1.

June 12. Dublin. 100. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. The traitor Tyrone, with 800 foot and 80 horse, lies about Armagh with double purpose, to distress the garrison, and to forage the country, so that Lord Burgh's passage may be discommoded for want of grazing. In both these he shall be defeated. Has sent Captain Turner towards the borders. Has received a letter from the Earl of Tyrone. Sends copy of the same, as also of the answer to it, which, against his will, he was advised by the Council to make. O'Donnell has assembled all he can with intent to resettle M'William in his country. In Munster the Governor doubts nothing. "Leinster is troubled with a few beggarly rogues, with the heads of some [of] which, daily brought in, the air about Dublin is, and will be, if they come in so thick, corrupted." The Brennys and both the Meaths are troubled with Cormac M'Baron, and a sept of Nugents, and Captain Tyrrell; but he has given such order and despatch to the Lord of Delvin that he hopes all mischief will be avoided. "In all my addresses to you I must complain the general misery, lamentable to hear of, I am sure, in your ears, but woeful to behold with Christian eyes. I see soldiers, citizens, villagers, and all sorts of people daily perish through famine; and as I once writ to you, money and meat failing the man of war, made him run everywhere and ravage, so as the end is, both the spoiler and spoiled are in like calamity. As for myself, I scarce can furnish my table, and yet my expenses exceed in a very great measure my allowance, which is but too large, unless I could better

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

deserve it."—Dublin, June 12. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

100. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Has been, and is now, ready to make his submission. Promises not kept with him by the Lord President* [*Sir John Norreys*]. *Passed his word to his confederates that he would agree for them as for himself. Desires a reasonable time limited to send for them. Does not look for any Spaniards. Would not join with any foreign nation against his natural Prince. The Spaniards are a nation only for themselves, and for none other. The spoils committed upon him in time of cessation, and no redress for the same. — The Camp near Armagh,* 1597, *June* 5. *Copy. p.* 1.

100. II. *The Lord Deputy Burgh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. What he makes a preface of is submission, but what he proceeds in is without all rule of duty. His "superstitious" correspondence with disloyal adherencies, and forgetfulness of faith and religion to his natural Sovereign. His confederates are not to expect a confused composition of their crimes under the consideration of his offence, nor to despair of grace at the feet of the Queen. As to his disclaiming of the Spaniards, it is not material what his expectations are; nor will it avail him to waste the country with his encamping. Repentance is his only refuge.—Dublin,* [1597,] *June* 8. *Copy. p.* ½.

June 13. Dublin. 101. The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Earl of Essex. Refers him to the preceding letter and inclosures. Could not allow the garrison of Armagh to be distressed, nor "the beast" [the Earl of Tyrone] to be foraging the country at his will. Sent Captain Turner to the Newry, where, with advice of the Marshal for good spial, and assembling the companies before directed for the frontiers, he willed him to await a commodity to beat into Tyrone's camp, and, if he could, to force his quarters, and turn into Armagh some small provisions to encourage them until he [Lord Burgh] came forward at the prefixed day. Above all things he charged Captain Turner to lay the passages, that no advertisement might prevent their sudden coming upon the traitor. But, notwithstanding the diligence used, a spy escaped, and they came not unlooked for. Nevertheless they made Tyrone dislodge, and, from retiring, forced him to run, and killed divers horsemen nearest about him, and supplied Armagh with such means as they had. It shall be better refreshed, and, by God's sufferance, the rebel shall run faster shortly. Fears lack of victuals may make him forbear a conclusion, "else I doubt not to fetch him in on his knees, or cut his throat in his pride." Will see whether this "canvizado" has disgraced him with his confederates. Tirlogh M'Henry O'Neill has served very forwardly and willingly. As more succeeds, his Lordship shall have account.—Dublin, June 13. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 1½.

VOL. CXCIX.

1597.
June 14. 102. Captain Richard Turner to the Earl of Essex. The attack on the Earl of Tyrone's camp. Found him new gotten on horseback with some few of his guard. The Earl lost his hat, and had to forsake his horse, in haste to go over a bog. Trusts it presages his head against the next time. It has put him exceedingly out of his patience, that with a few forces they durst be so "sawsie" [saucy] as to attempt his camp; which has not heretofore been done with the whole army. It seems that, his people being wearied with the wars, he is very observant to keep his credit with them. Having thus begun to fail, it is not to be doubted that, upon Lord Burgh's coming down, a number of them will forsake Tyrone. Besides this "camorpadoe," Armagh was victualled. — 1597, June 14.

June 15. Middle Temple, London. 103. Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron in Ireland, to Burghley. That the question between him and Sir Robert Gardener may be referred to the Barons of the Exchequer in England. Has not yet the resolution of the Judges to the Irish cases, sent, at his petition, by Burghley to the Attorney-General in Michaelmas term last.—"From my chamber in the Middle Temple," 1597, June 15. *Seal.* *p.* 1. *Encloses,*

103. 1. *Copy of the Royal Warrant for Sir Robert Gardener's superintendence of all proceedings in the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, dated* 1585, *February* 19. *Also, copy of questions for the Barons of the Exchequer in England.*—[1597, *June.*] *pp.* 2.

June 16. Chester. 104. George Beverley to Burghley. Concerning the victualling accounts. Has discovered that some citizens of London, cheesemongers, viz., Robert Edwardes and Thomas Anstell, dwelling near the Guildhall, Thomas Myntes in Little Wood Street, and others, have long since compounded with the dairies in Cheshire, and delivered some money beforehand, for their store of butter and cheese for this summer; so that if Burghley should appoint provisions of those kinds to be made in those parts, for victualling the soldiers in Ireland, no great quantity will be gotten, and the prices will be increased. Asks whether it will be needful to make stay of such provisions within Cheshire.—Chester, 1597, June 16. *p.* 1.

June 17. Greenwich. 105. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. In favour of Captain Henry Moyle's claim to the wardship and lands of the son of John FitzEdmonds, of "Balmartie." [*See under June* 10, *No.* 94.] —Greenwich, 1597, June 17. *Entry Book,* No. 194, fo. 26b. *Copy.* p. 1.

June 17. Middle Temple. 106. Sir Robert Napper, Chief Baron in Ireland, to Mr. Maynard. "Mr. Maynard, I am contented it be referred to whom his honourable Lordship shall think meet. I refuse not the censure of any one Judge of England.—Middle Temple, this 17 of June, 1597. Yours ever, ROBERT NAPPER." *p.* ½.

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

June 17. Chester. 107. Examination of three Dublin merchants, relative to the buying of arms and munition, and transporting the same from England to Ireland.—Chester, 1597, June 17. *pp.* 1½.

June 18. Chiswick. 108. Sir William Russell to Sir Robert Cecil. Has received Patrick Typper's petition, complaining of the abuses and extortions of captains and others. Has made a brief abstract of all such captains as have been punished for the same, and encloses it [*wanting*].—Chiswick, 1597, June 18. *p.* 1.

June 18. 109. Nicholas Browne to Burghley. Connaught waste; Ulster wholly possessed by rebels; Leinster (which is most to be lamented) in worse case than both. The factions amongst the Irishry should have been fostered. Sends an account of how Munster may be spared the mischiefs occurrent in the other Provinces. *Endorsed:*—1597, June 18. *Holograph.*

*Annexed is the aforesaid account, entitled:*—"The means how to keep the Province of Munster, and such as are of any force therein, from being able hereafter to raise any power, but such as shall be quickly suppressed without the Prince's charge";—*containing interesting details of the families in the Province, which are divided into,* 1st, Such English gentlemen as either are seated upon the Queen's ancient farms, or have been lately planted as undertakers [*these are dismissed with a few lines*]; 2nd, Such ancient English houses as came into the country with the conquest [*these are fully described*]; and 3rd, The houses of the mere Irish, who were never thoroughly banished [*these are stated at length*]. *pp.* 17.

June 18. 110. Copy of the preceding letter and account. *Endorsed:*—1597, June 18. *pp.* 12.

June 20. Dublin. 111. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Concerning abuses in the musters by Sir Ralph Lane and his deputies. It is publicly known that Sir Ralph's debility (not to say insufficiency) is such that he himself cannot possibly execute the service; and how his deputies deal is too notorious.—Dublin, 1597, June 20. *pp.* 2.

June 20. 112. Docket of Irish suitors for debts, chiefly in connexion with the pay and victualling of the forces; also of "particular suits," among which may be mentioned that of the citizens of Dublin, in respect of their loss by the fire, amounting to 14,076*l.*, and that of John Bagott, a soldier, for some relief and maintenance, he having lost both his legs in service against Feagh M'Hugh. *Endorsed:*—1597, June 20. *pp.* 2.

June 22. Greenwich. 113. The Privy Council to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Have received his letter of the 31st of May. Both Her Majesty and themselves have been occupied with the despatch of the Earl of Essex, and so their answer has been delayed. Approve of the time fixed for the general hosting, and trust it will be used to some good

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

purpose for the chastisement of the rebels. Cannot deny that he has answered Tyrone's letters like a nobleman and a Governor of wisdom and judgment, yet wish he had sharply reproved the Earl for his lewd new fact against Knockfergus and Newry. Cannot procure at present his large demands for victuals and money. The loose and imperfect certificates they have received. More certain and particular ones must be made. Cannot comprehend how Her Majesty's charge is 12,000*l.* a month, and more, besides charges of victuallers, clerk of works, pensioners, and others not recorded by the Mustermaster. Her Majesty is so distasted therewith, and looks for so exact and speedy a reformation thereof, that, if it continues long, her expectation will be mightily deceived, and assistance to him delayed. Blame his extraordinary expenses by fresh concordatums. The last 24,000*l.* was meant to pay the present necessaries and growing charges of the army. Sundry payments very confusedly put down in the Treasurer's book: his books "come over always very generally and uncertainly," the Mustermaster's "of all others most disorderly." Lord Burgh to use exact and industrious endeavour that necessary numbers [of soldiers] be kept, and true numbers certified. This will be very acceptable to Her Majesty, and safe for himself, because greater matters will not be expected than he has means to perform. Approve of his intention to appoint Commissaries, and hope thereby to see reformation of former abuses. No proper certificate as to how the victuals that have been sent over have been expended or preserved. Kyffin's checks. Although they have bread corn enough, till the end of August, yet, by Her Majesty's commandment, 1,700 quarters more of wheat have been ordered to be sent over. Will see what they can provide of other kinds of victuals, whereof there is infinite scarcity in England, and which are not to be had for money. A good quantity of munitions shall be sent. Lord Burgh to be sure and have a good account how those formerly delivered were expended.

Commend the proceedings of Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught. Are writing to him, and send the letters open to Lord Burgh for his perusal. The demands of Tibbott Ne Longe in some respects too large. Sir Conyers to be helped by his Lordship, as far as possible, to recover Sligo and Baltishannon, as he will thereby have a great bridle on the incursions of O'Donnell. Lack of care of the arms of soldiers returning from Ireland. Remit to Lord Burgh's own consideration the changing of some horse into foot. Are sorry that Tyrone's actions are so contrary to his words, and that his writings are so full of capitulations, as though it were one Prince treating with another. Hope that Her Majesty's army and navy, now set out towards Spain, shall prevent his help from her greatest enemies, and that her forces under Lord Burgh shall make him perceive what it is for so base a rebel to tempt so great a Prince. Have given knowledge to the Earl of Ormonde of the good report they have received of his services.—Greenwich, 1597, June 22. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fols. 27–29b. *Copy. pp.* 5.

VOL. CXCIX.

1597.
June 22. The Court. 114. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Burgh. "Noble Lord, it is now too late to get or keep love with compliments, where faith and affection have planted confirmation, not possible for time or place to change. I will therefore go to the matters necessary, seeing neither of our leisures serves us to trifle about ceremonial protestations. By the general letter you do receive answer to matters of importance. By me you shall receive free and particular notice of such petty things as bodies of Council cannot attend or apprehend; neither would I presume to write so saucily, but that I know what liberty my love to you may plead for.

"Her Majesty is exceedingly well satisfied with your purposes, your endeavours in particular, and with your answers to the rebel. Yet I must add this, that your style to the rebel is held too curious, and that you do in all your writings a little too much imitate the succinctness of Tacitus, which for a man to write to a Council is not held so proper. If this requires not from you a pardon, nothing shall be needful, for this is *ex abundanti*.

"Where you find the general letter to tax you for expenses, surely, my lord, I wish you to make your benefit of it, and, rather than to let your own honour lack, for lack of means to pay your soldiers, I would even precisely cut off all superfluities; for where a Prince is mixed with huge demands, and finds but any petty sums which might be spared, it serves well for an advantage to mislike the rest, though, upon good consideration, the great appear most necessary. You must therefore from henceforth arm yourself with patience in this kind to be always blamed from hence, for it is so sore a subject, as it hath always sore circumstances. And at this time did she that, which I think in Her Majesty's life she never did, for she had it [the account], and looked herself upon the particulars, and then do you guess what would follow.

"I must also tell you that messengers which are sent from Deputies with pockets, do demand pocket money here, which if I know not whom you pay, they shall be double allowed. I beseech your Lordship, therefore, let your secretary advertise me what you give, and who is rewarded. And if you please to peruse Sir Henry Wallop's last certificate of the 13th of June, you shall find great sums very largely allowed for petty reckonings, which surely I would have wished might have stayed till the next treasure (for the most part), more than to the Lord Deputy that was, and to Sir John Norreys who is not to tarry; both which the Queen misliked not, for, as it now fell out, where you carried over 24,000*l*. with you, the next letter after your arrival brings forth a new demand. I do therefore wish your Lordship to displease many in this, rather than at the first to give distaste in what may be possibly forborne.

"I have caused a letter to be written from the Council to thank the Earl of Ormonde, that he may find you have dealt better with him than others, which will breed good blood between you; and for the matter of Butler in Dublin (whom you hold), Her Majesty likes it well, and you shall hear some directions in it.

1597. Vol. CXCIX.

I would to God, if it pleased Him, that you could by some good blow given him, work the traitor to humility upon good terms and fit for the Queen. If ever he stoop he will now do it, being desperate of any Spanish succours, and after a blow it will be honourable; and sure I am, if it were once done, an end of the great war would be for your best quiet.

"Sir William Russell hath been barred the Queen's presence, and I think will be a while, only for his disobeying the Queen's commandment in not staying Tyrone in the beginning, when he came in without word, for otherwise Her Majesty would not have misliked it. He is shrewdly puzzled; for, if he deny she bade him, he contests with that which she most peremptorily affirmeth, and, if he confess it, then may the matter fall out to be imputative unto him. But, sir, it will vanish; it is but for a while; his friends will work him out of it; and the matter is tender. Only this advantage Her Majesty will make of it, as all great Princes will do, that, if she forgive him and prefer him, his obligation is so much the greater.

"The General [the Earl of Essex] with all his army is at the Downs, and ready for wind. The counsellors to him are, the Lord Thomas, Vice-Admiral; the Lord Mountjoy, lieutenant. Sir Walter Raleigh, who now is stalled Captain of the Guard, is Rear Admiral; Vere, Marshal; and Sir George Carew, Master of the Ordnance; and Ferdinando Gorges, Serjeant-Major. His purpose is to burn the fleet at Ferrol, and to take Terceira, if he can, and keep it; and to intercept the Indian fleets. Keep this, I pray you, to yourself, and herewith receive a declaration [*wanting*] of the causes moving the Queen to this action. Now have I ended a confused letter, and must conclude with thanks for him whom I recommended to you; the visage of whom, as it now shews your judgment and moderation for Her Majesty's service sake, whereof she speaketh very graciously in you, so is it to me an argument of your true love and kindness; for, as I loved him better than the other, and therefore he expected of me more particular care than of the other, though in all public considerations I have no affection, so now that he knew a Marco came over, whom I as much more esteemed above him, if nothing had, in particular recommended by me, been effected for him, he would have thought I had utterly given way to his depression. He hath very thoroughly acknowledged that, particularly to myself, which you have done for him, and, in other public advertisements, used such a style of your proceedings as argueth a thankfulness in him, though he express no such matter. And now is it time for me to go to bed, and leave your trouble, remaining, after the old manner, Your most affectionate though afflicted friend, Ro: Cecyll. From the Court, this 22nd of June 1597.

"I send you also a prayer made by the Queen [*wanting*], as you may perceive by the delicate style.

"You shall also know that, the French King holding a practice in Bluet [Blavet], the fort is surprised, and Don John prisoner, and 200 Spaniards put to the sword. It will free us of an evil

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

neighbour, and make Mercury [the King of Spain] stoop." *Holograph. pp.* 5.

June 22. 115. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Captain Turner's success against Tyrone. The rebel, since, keeps the woods near Armagh, and has grown so jealous of his confederates that he has forced new pledges of them. Will shortly, with God's assistance, dislodge him, and scatter him and them. Meantime will provide for that journey as he may. Sir Robert will see what is reasonable to be supplied. Is so confident in that cause, that he trusts, before three months, to make the capital of these traitors as poor as he is yet proud.

The Pale is in good peace for the present, the chief of the O'Moores having given assurance, and Brian Reogh and Feagh M'Hugh's sons having gone northward to Tyrone. Other parts of Ireland, as they be far from being settled, so the rage of their incursions is stayed by garrisons. In Connaught, the Governor has again re-chased M'William, who was brought into the county of Mayo by O'Donnell and O'Rourke; approaching him with such diligence, that he took fright and fled, leaving about eight score to the edge of the sword. Is of opinion that M'William will no more attempt a return, so Connaught will be quiet, and Her Majesty may be pleased with so worthy an officer.

"The Earl of Ormonde is dead, or without all possibility of life. The lady writes of extremity; others assure me he is gone. The Earldom, I take it, and living, ascends to Her Majesty, because they to whom it should descend be attainted. Nevertheless, the record of attainder is embezzled long since, and hereof may grow controversy. I take all the care I can, with Sir Henry Wallop and Sir Robert Gardener, to cut off all advantage, whereof the next in blood, Sir Edmund FitzButler, may take hold. I am sifting how the record is conveyed; I am in hand with witnesses that the attainder was executed; and, likewise, I think there will be new matter forcible enough against Edmund FitzButler, if against the old he seek occasion; all which shall not want pursuit, to the end I may perform any profitable and honest service to Her Majesty. There is one office which was given by patent to his ancestors and their heirs male by King Edward the Third, and renewed to this Earl of Ormonde by Queen Mary. This office is extinguished by the attainder, and though, because it is not exempt in my patent, I think I might raise my benefit out of it, now falling as a casual, yet I will in nothing of this quality meddle but by grant from Her Majesty." The office is the same that Lord Buckhurst has in England, but not with the same name. He is called Chief Butler. This grant includes the same commodity, "under the term of the King's or Queen's prize wines, in all the ports of Ireland." Prays for a patent thereof, for the term of the lives of himself, his wife, and his son Robin. Begs Sir Robert to be his intercessor. "I am upright in the grant or denial; only I would be at large from thinking long on it." It is much less beneficial than Lord Buck-

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

hurst's, owing to the difference between the two countries. Wishes he had Buckhurst's, and that Sir Robert had the wardship of the daughter, which is worth three times more.—June 22. *Endorsed:* —1597. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

June 22. Gansworth. 116. Sir Edward Phyton to Burghley. Upon information given him that certain Irishmen furnished the Earl of Tyrone with great provisions of lead for bullets, muskets, morions, head-pieces, swords, and daggers, and understanding that some were instantly to transport a good proportion by the port of Liverpool, he wrote to the Mayor of Chester, whose letter he encloses. But one Long has stolen over, it is thought, with muskets and bullets. Upon conference with the Mayor, he went to Manchester, hoping to find Cashull Pantynges, an agent, there; but both he and one Nicholas Harcles had covertly gone away. This Harcles is supposed to have provided, for two years past, all the lead for the north of Ireland. Also sent by the Mayor of Chester to Sir Richard Molyneux to stay all Irish merchants on the coast. Incloses letter of John Asheton of Manchester. These Irishmen are most obstinate Papists and recusants. Begs Burghley to direct what is fit to be done.—Gansworth, 1597, June 22. *Holograph. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

116. I. *Thomas Smith, Mayor of Chester, to Sir Edward Phyton. Search among the barks in the rivers of Chester and Liverpool. Nothing found. Examination of three Dublin merchants or factors. Has written to Sir Richard Molyneux. Advises Sir Edward to call before him the informer, and the merchants of Manchester who are supposed to make sale of the commodities in question. —Chester,* 1597, *June* 18. *p.* 1.

116. II. *John Asheton to Mr. Robinson, Under Sheriff of Lancaster. Sale in Manchester and Birmingham, during three or four years past, of swords and daggers for the Irish rebels. Advises that a cutler of Manchester, engaged in the manufacture of the said weapons, and others who make a gain of the Irishmen, be thoroughly examined. When Asheton was in London, one man bought very great store of muskets and culivers, and carried them in hogsheads and dryfats. Inquiries should have been made sooner.—Manchester,* 1597, *June* 13. *p.* 1.

June 23. Dublin. 117. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Dangerous illness of the Earl of Ormonde, who lies at Kilkenny. If he die, his brethren standing attainted in blood, the Earldom reverts to the Crown, together with the County Palatine of Tipperary, the office of Butler in Ireland, and many abbeys and other donations, which the Earl held of Her Majesty in fee tail to him and his heirs male. His daughter, being a ward, is to be disposed by Her Majesty, and so also is the Earl's office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland. The Earl's debts to the Queen to be considered. Sir Edmund Butler already under a kind of restraint in Waterford, under suspicion of

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

complicity with his late traitorous sons. The record of the Butlers' attainder embezzled.—Dublin, 1597, June 23. *Seal.* *p.* 1.

*On a separate half sheet, Sir Geffrey Fenton has written, under the same date:*

"If the Earl die, I humbly wish your Honor to beg for yourself his office of Chief Butler of Ireland. I know not as yet the certainty of the profit, but I know it is worthy the having. I doubt not but it will be sought there importunately, therefore it were good you should use some prevention to Her Majesty, till you hear further from me, either of the Earl's death, or of his recovery. If your Honor could wrap into one grant that office of Butler and the wardship of the Earl's daughter, the suit would be more beneficial."

June 24. Dublin. 118. The Lord Deputy Burgh and Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Information by Burnell the spy concerning the movements of Stanley and Hugh Welsh. All Irish shipping stayed in Spain. Burnell desirous to go into England. Money given to him. Think he is a man "of many words and little secrecy, and in his estate very poor."—Dublin, 1597, June 24. *p.* 1.

June 24. 119. Burghley to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Sir Ralph Lane to forbear the execution of the office of Mustermaster. Commissaries to be appointed in the remote provinces, according to the quantity and number of the garrisons. An officer to be chosen to receive and present their certificates. Sir Ralph Lane to seek relief of Her Majesty otherwise in England.—1597, June 24. *Extract.* *p.* 1.

June 25. Greenwich. 120. The Privy Council to Sir Conyers Clifford. Have not written to him as often as he deserved. Her Majesty has had cause to esteem him for his valour, wisdom, and labour in staying the rage of the rebellion in Connaught. Their opinions (mainly favourable) on the several demands (dated April 25 last) of Tibbott Ne Longe, whom they do not wish to be discomforted at this time in his offers and actions against M'William and other obstinate rebels. The pension asked for Richard Burke, son of the Devil's Hook. The three great septs in the county of Mayo. Castle Barry to be still garrisoned. Their satisfaction at the submission of the Burkes, ClanJordans, Barretts, Clandonnells, O'Malleys, and other septs in the county of Mayo; and also at the "very good" articles (dated May 24 last) made with Tibbott Burke M'Richard [Enyeren] and others. Her Majesty is so well satisfied that she has expressly commanded them to give Sir Conyers as great thanks as they can in words. The fourteen pledges delivered into Castle Barry on the 23rd of May were very well chosen by him. Desires they may be well used. Wish his proceeding in the county of Mayo may be some pattern for the reduction of the other counties in rebellion. Know not how those whom Sir John Norreys received into protection on their submission do persist. Require advertisements thereof.—The

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

Court at Greenwich, 1597, June 25. *Copy.* *pp.* 7. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 29b–33.

June 26. 121. Docket of Irish suitors for debts, consisting chiefly of arrears of pay and of various sums due for victuals supplied to the army. The names and amounts are:—Captain Russell 560*l.*; John Manwaring, a soldier, 94*l.* 3*s.*; James Bellew, Alderman of Dublin, 1,018*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; Theobald Dillon, 202*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*; William Mostin, 105*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*; Giles Smithe, 220*l.*; "the citizens of Dublin," for victualling of Her Majesty's forces there, 890*l.*; Henry Wilson, "a common soldier," 28*l.* 5*s.*; and Alice Pynnock, widow, "for the diet of the Countess of Desmond," 85*l.* *p.* 1.

Also a list of "particular suits," being those of Arthur O'Toole; Arthur Brereton; "the citizens of Dublin" (for their loss by the fire, amounting to 14,076*l.*); Richard Bealings, "a practizer in the law"; Edmund Birne, gentleman; Garrett Sutton; Patrick Condon; Captain Charles Eggarton; Captain Rice Mansell; and Donnell M'Teig O'Mahon, of Rosbrin, co. Cork. *p.* 1. *Endorsed by Burghley:*—1597, June 26.

June 27. Dublin. 122. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl of Ormonde's recovery. Sir Robert might keep the note as to the office of Chief Butler, in case the Earl should fall into a relapse.

The journey against Tyrone draws near, the rendezvous being ordered at Dundalk on July 7. The Lord Deputy starts from Dublin on the 4th, and Sir Geffrey is commanded to go with him. From Dundalk the Lord Deputy will march to the Newry, and so to Armagh, and thence to the Blackwater. Thinks Tyrone will offer to impeach their passage there, if he does not upon the Moyerie, between Dundalk and the Newry. Will send further advertisements.—Dublin, 1597, June 27. *p.* 1.

June 29. 123. Note of wheat and munitions laden in three vessels at London for Dublin.—1597, June 29. *p.* 1.

June 30. Dublin. 124. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending the bearer, Mr. Plunkett, by reason of his loyalty and the losses he has endured at the hands of the rebels, as well by the death of his followers and kinsmen, as by the burning and wasting of his whole country, which lies upon a hard and troublesome border.—Dublin, 1597, June 30. *p.* 1.

June 30. Dublin. 125. Captain Francis Croft to Sir Robert Cecil. Has had to repair to Dublin for a supply of munition. On the 20th instant, the Lord of Delvin sent for him and other captains to go with him to the Brenny, where the rebels had great store of cows. Through the guide losing his way in the night, it was far in the day before they came to the place, and the enemy, having notice of their coming, drove away the best part of their cows. Yet they took 500 of them, but not without blows. For they had to deal with the best soldiers the rebels had, who were led by one Captain Tyrrell, a gallant soldier, and one that sometime was a subject, and commanded

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

under Her Majesty. Tyrrell fought with them four several times, as bravely and with as good discretion as Croft ever saw for loose skirmishes, and came to the sword with their men; but in the last fight he was shot, and, in Croft's own sight, fell twice on the ground, but in the end recovered the wood and came forth no more. Think he is slain. Forty of the rebels' best men, and a leader or two, were killed.—Dublin, 1597, June 30. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

June 30. Dublin. 126. Anthony Dering ["Deearinge"], servant of Captain Eggarton, to Mrs. Eggarton. Captain Eggarton desires letters from her. He has written several, but received no answer. "I beseech you write to him of all your good and favourable countenances you have received of her sacred Majesty, by whose blessed and good favour you may and do know his heart is revived, and without which he daily dieth, as by perfect experience I see and hear from his mouth every hour." Captain Eggarton's removal from his late command due to a plot by Sir William Russell. Eggarton was commanded by Sir William to come from his charges, because he fought with Captain Mansell, and he was detained at Dublin. Unknown to him, warrants were sent to Knockfergus to prey the country, and to move the people to war. This was presently done by Captain Merriman. Belfast Castle was taken from Captain Eggarton, and given to as unfit a man as could have been chosen for such a place, one Ensign Pullen, who, under colour of his charge, robbed the people and took their goods to maintain his drunkenness. When Pullen was drunk at Knockfergus, and a "carswose" was sent him by Shane M'Brian to look to his charge, he would not forsake his wine-pots to serve Her Majesty; but [whilst he was] lying at Knockfergus drinking, his own man, named John Aboylen, gave Belfast Castle to the enemy on June 18. All the Englishmen in the ward [garrison] were hanged, their throats cut, and their bowels cut out of their bellies by Shane M'Brian. Next day, by means of Captain Thorton, the castle was retaken, and now the new commanders, by preying the country, have put all in rebellion, in such sort that they are "cept" [hedged] in on every side, and Shane M'Brian, Brian M'Art, and others are encamped at Carmonye in the teeth of the garrison. Where Captain Eggarton, with 100 men, could have gone through the country, now 1,000 men can scarcely march two miles, to Her Majesty's infinite charges.

Captain Eggarton cannot receive any money for his diet, nor for that of his men. There is due to him 80*l.* for messengers, and 400*l.* for his reckonings. Wheat in Dublin is worth 20*s.* an English bushel. Mrs. Eggarton's daughter is well.

Although, since Captain Eggarton came from Knockfergus, the garrison has been strengthened by 250 men, yet Captain Merriman is sent to Dublin for more men, because they can scarce go a half mile from the town. "It would have saved Her Majesty 1,000*l.*, if my master had continued the command; but now some have their will."

1597. VOL. CXCIX.

"My master is very sick, or else he would, I think, have written more to you. And he has no money, but runs in [on] credit, and your daughter can scarcely have any good things gotten for her. I pray, if you can, send him some money, for here he can get none; and he can get no leave to come into England, nor money to bear his expenses here. If you can get leave for him, he would willingly come over. He thinks you may get him leave, seeing he is discharged of all commands, saving the Castle; the which he may take very good order for the safety and keeping thereof, until his return thither again from England." The chiefest in those parts greatly marvel at the wrongs carried against him. He has been stayed long from coming to England, for fear he would reveal a matter which would save Her Majesty great charges.—Dublin, 1597, June 30. *pp.* 2.

*Addressed*:—"To his lovinge Mrs. Katren Eggerton, in London, near Yeorke Howsce, at the howsce of one Lyttell Dyrrecke, by Charinge Crosce, geve these."

June. 127. Petition of the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin to Burghley. Their great losses owing to the troubles in Ireland, the maintenance of forces in the field, and the late explosion of powder. Pray that their suits, as contained in the annexed articles, may be granted. The articles refer to the custom of juries in "transitory causes and contracts;" the enjoyment of all forfeitures, fines, amerciaments, and casual profits, growing within Dublin; the manufacture and transport of "yearne"; the customs on all woollen clothes; certain rents due to Her Majesty; the impost on wines brought into Dublin; and arrears due for victualling of soldiers. *Endorsed*:—1597, June. *Two sheets.*

June. 128. Warrant from Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council, to take order for the satisfaction and relief of Allison Dalton, widow, and her son Roger. *Endorsed*:—1597, June. *Draft. p.* 1.

June. 129. "A Note of Sir Geffrey Fenton's most humble suits." His long attendance at Court (three years and three months) about Sir John Perrott's causes. This stay having been at his own charges, craves, in consideration thereof, a part of the forfeitures of Philip O'Reilly's sureties. Is at charge out of his own purse to keep yearly, winter and summer, twelve or sixteen horses to answer services, and has no such helps towards his maintenance as the rest of the Council have. Craves that the pension of the late Captain Dering (6*s.* sterling *per diem*) may be bestowed on him. Has had no recompense for his almost eighteen years of service in Ireland. Craves the fee-farm of the parsonage of Dunboyne, lately in his possession, but injuriously taken from him by the late Lord Deputy. If this may not be granted, craves the fee-farm of other lands in Ireland to the amount of [100*l.*] per annum. The best portions have already been granted, so the benefit will not be so great to him as it has been to others. *Endorsed*:—1597, June. *pp.* 2¼.

1597. VOL. CC.

June. 130. Warrant of Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council, on behalf of Henry Sheffield, in the matter of his causes against the Bishop of Laughlin and others, for assault and riot. *Endorsed:*—1597, June. *Draft.* *p.* 1.

June. 131. Petition of David, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, to Burghley. For the remission of the fine of 500*l.*, imposed upon him during the government of Lord Grey. Also, to be allowed certain companies of horse and foot, to be employed in Ireland. His good services in that realm. *Endorsed:*—1597, June. *One sheet.*

June. 132. A brief of the Lord of Delvin's suit to Her Majesty. That he may have 100*l.* value per annum of the lands of such of the O'Reillys and O'Farrells, as were lately slain in actual rebellion, or yet continue in action against Her Majesty, lying in "the wild Irish counties" of Cavan and Longford. Or else, that he may have the lands of Philip O'Reilly, lately slain in rebellion, who was the principal actor in joining Tyrone and O'Donnell in league together, and thus causing this rebellion. Also, that he may be allowed some companies of horse and foot, to defend himself and the bordering counties of Westmeath and Longford against the rebels. His services and losses in Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1597, June. *Draft.* *p.* 1.

June. 133. "A project of certain orders to be put in execution, for the reforming of sundry errors and disorders, used in the musters and payments of Her Majesty's army and men of war employed in the realm of Ireland." *Endorsed:*—1597, June. *Draft.* *pp.* 9.

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## VOL. CC. 1597. JULY—SEPTEMBER.

July 1. Greenwich. 1. Ordinances for the reformation of the musters in Ireland. (*Copy of No.* 133 *above, with sundry additions.*)—The Court at Greenwich, 1597, July 1. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 33–37. *Copy.* *pp.* 8.

July 1. Greenwich. 2. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Besides the employment of great forces under him, and present charge of a navy and army sent to the seas towards Spain, to withstand all danger that might come from thence to Ireland, she has now entered into some further consideration for the reforming of great disorders there. Has devised and signed certain Ordinances sent herewith (*see preceding*). Directs the perusal and observance of the same. There are also sundry other matters she would have regarded, to be taken in hand by his direction.

1597. VOL. CC.

First, to certify what number of persons are known to be present in Ireland in their due places, ready to serve martially according to their allowances demanded. For in very truth neither can we be satisfied with any manner of certificates that are sent hither, either from the Treasurer, or from the Mustermaster, or from any other, what number of persons certainly are there serving for their pay. For that, Ralph Lane, the Mustermaster, seemeth to have been very negligent, and committed great errors by his lewd deputies, and his own lack of discretion, to make his checks up, not by view and muster, but by guess, and (as he termeth it himself) by his discretion. And from the Treasurer, we are also by his letters very uncertainly in generality certified that our charge there in pay is about 12,000*l.* a month, besides many other extraordinary charges of persons not subject to Lane's muster, without showing how the same doth grow, or what the numbers are that should receive so great a monthly pay. And besides that where he hath of late sent a declaration of the expense of 24,000*l.*, saving 800*l.*, we find, no manner of ways, what number of persons are in our pay; but, expressing it in generality, great imprests made to captains, without any certainty for what numbers the said imprests are made, or until what time the said imprests are to serve. By which his uncertainties, we are also made uncertain what to think of our charges and of our forces there. And besides this uncertainty, we having caused Sir William Russell, our late Deputy, to make declaration unto our Council what numbers he left there in pay for our service, he delivered in writing the like declaration as he also delivered to you, that the same contained of all sorts the number of 8,303, and yet being demanded how many he thought in truth were there to serve, he answered directly, that he thought there were not there above 5,000. Upon which answer you must think we have great cause to be discontented; and therefore you shall do an acceptable service unto us, to use all good means to give us a true knowledge what numbers there are there of all sorts, that are present in readiness to serve us, and in what companies the wants are of the numbers pretended to be in list.

"We do also think it very convenient that where, for replenishing of the Province of Munster with English people, we did make grants to sundry persons of English birth of great quantities of lands and seignories, that did escheat unto us by the late rebellion there; we do understand that, contrary to the convenants in our grants, a great number of the said Englishmen, that are commonly called undertakers, have neglected the habitation thereof with Englishmen, but (*sic*) have undutifully and dangerously made grants and assignments of much of their said lands to be occupied by the Irish; and therefore we require you to speak with our Council there, and charge them to answer you, what hath been done therein to reform this disorder, upon our express commandment given to certain of them to inquire of the said defaults, and to have proceeded sharply to the reformation thereof, either by punishment of the offenders, or by seising into our hands of their lands so misused, and to grant

1597. VOL. CC.

the same to some others meet to observe the former covenants for increase of English people in the said Province; and, as you shall find by their report what hath been done for reformation hereof, and shall see cause to have the same better reformed, so you shall cause commission to be made to certain chosen persons to repair into Munster, and, joining with them the President of our Council there, and such others of the English nation serving us in that Province as shall be thought meet, and clear from these foresaid offences, to inquire throughout the whole Province, how the patentees do inhabit there, and what English people they do maintain, and to what Irish they have committed any part of their lands, to be occupied, manned, and inhabited, and how many patentees are absent, and not resident upon the lands, and how long they have so been; and as it shall appear unto them to have been misused, and the covenants in their patents broken, to return a perfect declaration unto you, and the same to be also advertised unto us, to the intent we may, as cause shall require, give further strait and special order to have the offenders punished and the defaults reformed."

Directs a particular survey of the lands and seignories held by the late Earl of Clancarr in Desmond. Refers Lord Burgh for sundry other her determinations to the letter from the Privy Council (*see below*, No. 4).—The Court at Greenwich, 1597, July 1. *Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 37, 38. *Copy. pp.* 4.

July 2. Bristol. 3. William Yate, Mayor of Bristol, to Burghley. Touching the provision he has been directed to make of a certain quantity of butter and cheese for Ireland. Butter is not sold in barrels in those parts, but in kinterkins of uncertain weight, whereof two may contain the quantity of one barrel. The price of the kinterkin of butter is 30*s*. Cheese is always sold in those parts by the hundredweight, when bought in great quantities. "And it is not here certainly known what weight a waye of cheese should contain." No quantity can be provided until St. James's tide next, for it must be of this year's making, which yet is so soft that the same cannot be well carried, neither is it weighable. The price will be 20*s*. the hundredweight. Old cheese is now sold for 4*d*. the pound, and is very scarce to be had. Wants to know how many hundredweight he is to get, and desires that the bearer, the Chamberlain of Bristol, may receive the money for the butter and cheese. Has received of John Andros, Customer of Bristol, only 44*l*. of the 200*l*. imprest delivered to him, the rest having been bestowed in butter, which is to be delivered to the Mayor next week.—Bristol, 1597, July 2. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 3. Greenwich. 4. The Privy Council to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council. Refer to the Ordinances sent by the Queen. Have thought it convenient to express Her Majesty's pleasure more particularly. The weekly payments to the soldiers and garrisons are to begin as soon as possible. Sufficient treasure has been sent to pay for fourteen weeks those actually present. Arrears, if duly certified, may be ordered to be paid in convenient time. The weekly payments to extend to the re-

1597. VOL. CC.

moter garrisons upon certain knowledge had by good musters of their numbers, regard being had to the true checks of all who are absent from the places of their service. The money now sent by Her Majesty is not to be otherwise expended than as by a schedule sent herewith shall appear. Although the Lord Deputy, at the coming of these letters, may have cause to be in the field, yet they require such of the Council as are not so employed, diligently to consider Her Majesty's Ordinances and these letters, and to proceed to the due execution thereof without delay, and to certify their proceedings from time to time therein. Her Majesty's discontent with the uncertainties, both of the state of her forces, and of the manner of expending of her treasure. The charge in the Mustermaster's books for 8,000 men, and yet Sir William Russell reports there are not more than 5,000 on the whole. Think Sir William Russell's report truer than the certificate of the Mustermaster. The looseness of the Treasurer's accounts. The heavy charges for the transport of victuals and munition.

By Sir Ralph Lane's muster books, there should be 5,000*l.* checked, and by Maurice Kyffin's books above 5,000*l.*, yet there is no certificate showing how these sums are saved in the great pay of 12,000*l.* a month. Some better declaration should be made how to diminish the monthly estimate of 12,000*l.*, "if the same should be true, as we think it is not, by the defalcations upon such great checks, and by reason of victual and munition also delivered," of which means of diminution they find no care taken to satisfy Her Majesty.

For the particular survey of the late Earl of Clancarr's lands and seignories, Her Majesty thinks the following articles meet to be expressed to the Commission for that purpose:—1. What lands the said Earl kept in his own hands, with the value, how the same may be let to Englishmen. 2. What tributes, risings, and profits he received, or were due to him, by the McCarthys and other petty captains under his subjection. 3. What castles, islands, and havens did belong to him, that are meet to be retained for Her Majesty and not to be granted to any other person. 4. What lands he did mortgage to any of the Irish for the endowment of his daughter, Florence McCarthy's wife, or to any other Englishman. 5. What lands are claimed by his wife for her dower, and what lands may be thought meet to be permitted to be held by his base son, upon some rents. Lastly, what Englishmen are planted in his country called Desmond, and what rents and services they do yield to Her Majesty. The Council may add such other articles as may seem good to them, whereby the country may be distributed to English people.

The defaults of the patentees or undertakers in Munster. The Treasurer to certify what rents are paid by the patentees, and what rents that were cessed to be yearly paid are kept back. The Commissioners to be appointed by the Council are to devise all means to recover the same rents, or, otherwise, to seize the seignories and lands of the defaulters: "and generally, to do all that may be to replenish the country with English people, and to take order that the patentees, as they be placed near together, may concur together

1597. VOL. CC.

for their mutual defence against their ill neighbours the Irish, that generally have inward purpose to weary them, and to force them to leave their habitations."

Remind the Treasurer to certify the state of Her Majesty's revenue, both ordinary and extraordinary, and how the compositions in the English Pale, Munster, and Connaught are answered. Think that the profits thereof, above the ordinary charges, should be yielded towards the payment of extraordinary charges in the martial services, without expending such treasure as is sent only for the growing charges of the army.

The importuntity of suitors from Ireland, claiming money partly for debts, and partly for recompense of losses. They bring letters in their favour from the late Lord Deputy and the Council. "Her Majesty hath been much troubled with their clamour, and misliking to have such frequent letters sent for particular persons, who ought to be paid there, or otherwise recompensed." Some small sums of money have been delivered amongst them to the value of 1,000*l.* The Treasurer's servant Crosse has warrant to pay them, and the same may, by his report, be defalcated.

*Appended is* "A schedule containing by estimation how the present treasure now sent is to be expended, if the numbers hereafter expressed shall be found to be so many, and the checks duly observed."—The Court at Greenwich, 1597, July 3. *Signed by ten of the Privy Council. Entry Book,* No. 194, fols. 38b–42. *Copy. pp.* 7½.

July 3. Dublin Castle. 5. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. Will not trouble him with particular relations of Ireland. In several parts, little is now disturbed. Only two arch-rebels call into their confederacy all the rest; Tyrone in the north, and O'Donnell in the north-west. If these would keep within those precincts, less dispatch [would be] needed in following them. "But because they extend into the heart of the kingdom it is held needful to undertake them. In the benefit whereof this taste is already proved. Whilst no assailing was spoken of, they ran where they list, and by their instruments burnt, spoiled, ravaged, and awed all the country. Since the preparations have been published, they are amused (*sic*) to their defences, and the rabble of vagabonds, dispersed into the Pale and borders, have lost courage, who now look what issue will betide their upholders, as before they knew none mighty but these." Begins his journey from Dublin on July 5: will be at Dundalk on the day following. The *rendezvous* is there, on the 7th, both of the horse and foot bands, and of the risings out of the country. With the latter he will not "pester his expedition, only serving the occasion with their beeves and carriages, returning the men after" he has "mustered them, to the guard of the borders and Pale." For strengthening these, he has sorted divers foot bands, and some horse.

"I will stay out against as much extremity as a man may abide of hunger, and thirst, and hard lodging: all which I resolve to fight against; unless provision be supplied of wheat and malt,

1597. VOL. CC.

according our instant petitions heretofore; as for other case, it is too late to expect carriage-horses, and my bed I think not of, to pass a bog on a garran's back. My duty I trust to perform, and to good purpose; that done, God, Her Majesty, and your mediation, deliver me hence. I will leave to stuff this paper with my discomforts; only this, I am made the unworthiest and first mark of all deputies whose sword is bound to the scabbard, from rewarding with dignity whosoever would readiliest adventure his life to kill a rebel; a rare restraint, after liberty to so many of lower degrees as have exercised this office, since the first reducement of this realm to the subjection under the Crown of England, to be laid on me, who, I say in my soul, came and am here with as much faith and care as ever was found in the best of Israel. As for the last commission, and annexing associates of the quorum, though never wont, yet I abide reverently. My estate, not of the richest, and such circumstances may breed suspicion that I would seek gain, and forget that which is due to Her Majesty. Other men be happy to the world, whose wealth exempts them from this suspect (*sic*). I am content in myself, who knows there lurks not in my breast any corrupt disposition. Nothing shall or can change me: my sincerity shall increase my wants, or I will die with the burden of them counterpeased by the reputation of an honest servant to my gracious queen."

Apologises for his boldness in breathing out his griefs. Burghley has always favoured him, and he loves his lordship zealously.—Dublin Castle, 1597, July 3. *Holograph.* *pp.* 1½.

July 3. 6. Robert Ardern to [Burghley]. Concerning the offer of Christopher Percivall, a merchant of Yarmouth in Norfolk, to furnish at London, from beyond the seas, provision of certain cheese and butter. Lord North will both give his word and enter bond that the same shall be accomplished in all respects. Offers to provide out of Norfolk, and deliver at London, 1,000 quarters of wheat at 43*s.* 4*d.* the quarter. Undertakes to bake and "affoorde" the same in biscuit at 16*s.* the cwt., besides the bags. Percivall desires either present order, or that he may be dismissed to attend to his own affairs.—1597, July 3. *Signed.* *p.* ½.

July 4. Dublin. 7. The Lord Deputy Burgh and Council to the Privy Council. The assembly at Dundalk on July 6. Thence the Deputy means to draw up to Newry, and so to march to Armagh for its relief. Great distress of the latter place for want of victuals, notwithstanding the small quantity put in twenty days before. Narrow escape of the Earl of Tyrone from near Armagh. The Deputy means to take the best commodity to prosecute the Earl, which he thinks will be, first to make way over the Blackwater, and so to pierce into the heart of his country, where he may hear of him, or his creates, or otherwise light upon his people, and burn his corn, which will be no small weakening of him in his provisions and strength, besides astonishing some of his adherents, who, seeing their general danger, may haply fall into a course to labour their own safety, and leave him. The victualling to be assisted by a

1597. VOL. CC.

supply of biscuit sent by sea to Lough Foyle, where Sir Conyers Clifford with his forces is expected to meet them, as he is already drawn up as far as the Erne, near Ballyshannon, with a meaning to fortify at Sligo. The success of Sir Conyers against McWilliam and O'Donnell. From Lough Foyle they will take such course for the further prosecuting of Tyrone, as the state of the army will allow. Provocations given by Tyrone, by his attempts in person on Carrickfergus and Newry, by sending his brother Cormack to burn Mullingar and other towns in Westmeath, by his actions against Armagh, and by his confident dependency on Spain, "of whose succours he boasteth much, and doth assuredly expect them; together with his barbarous proud mind, not vouchsafing to make answer to a late letter of me, the Deputy, consisting most upon admonitions, to work him to conformity and duty." They are "strained in duty, to seek to chastise this insolent traitor."

The measures for cutting off the remnant of the rebels in Leinster, and for guarding the English Pale. No army could be left in the latter, "for the extreme waste and poverty of the country." In case of any access of Spaniards, the companies now going to Ulster will be prepared to return for the defence of the Pale. A large part of the cheese last sent from England was putrified and altogether made unserviceable, before it arrived in Dublin harbour. Pray for a speedy supply of cheese, butter, wheat, malt, and oats. No means in Ireland to raise these provisions, and the army, being already greatly weakened for want of food all this year, will be in danger to be altogether ruined, if it be not more thoroughly relieved than heretofore. Loan of 2,350*l.* effected by the Treasurer for the journey into Ulster. Ask urgently for a further supply of money, to keep the army in heart. Extraordinary charges now daily multiplied. "And for raising of any more money here, by way of borrowing, or other means, we are utterly out of hope, considering the extreme poor estate of the kingdom, which of our own knowledge we know to be true."

Forward a petition of Maurice Kyffin, commend his services, and support the increase of his allowance.

The Deputy intends to take with him, in his journey to the north, Sir Robert Gardener, Sir George Bourchier, and Sir Geffrey Fenton. He has left the Lord Chancellor, the Treasurer, and the Master of the Rolls, at Dublin, and has given to them, with the residue of the Council, commission for government under the broad seal, with authority to use correspondency from time to time with the Earl of Ormonde, and all others left for the defence of Leinster and the English Pale.

Have just received a letter from Sir Conyers Clifford, asking chiefly for 700*l.* towards the building of the Castle of Sligo (which he would undertake to finish in three months), and, secondly, payment for 4,000 or 5,000 beeves, which in his extremity he was driven to take from "the reclaimed people" in Connaught. Payment out of hand was promised, and has not been made. Support the requests of Sir Conyers. Ask also for money to pay for the beeves

1597. VOL. CC.

taken up in the several counties in the late Lord Deputy's time, and for the dieting of soldiers in sundry towns. Such money to be over and above what they have asked for in previous letters.—Dublin, 1597, July 4. *Signed. pp.* 4½. *Endorsed:* "Received at Greenwich, the 10th of July 1597." *Enclose:*—

7. I. *A distribution of Her Majesty's forces, horse and foot, in Ireland. Signed by Lord Burgh.*—1597, June 29. *p.* 1.

7. II. *The Sheriffs of Dublin and A. Stoughton to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Certify the rottenness of a great proportion of the cheese brought in the Flying Hart, saving a large quantity delivered at Kinsale to be sent to Galway. Robert Newcomen, the Surveyor of the Victuals, saved much of it. A further proportion not fit for the garrison has been sold to the poorer sort of the inhabitants of the country and of Dublin, at the rate of* 2½*d. the pound. Are of opinion that nothing will be made of the remainder. Will certify later as to the other part of the petition referred to them.—Dublin,* 1597, *June* 30. *Signed. p.* 1.

7. III. *Examinations of the master of the Flying Hart, and of certain of his crew, taken before the Sheriffs of Dublin and A. Stoughton, Esq., as to the condition of the cheeses received on board of, and discharged from, that vessel.* 1597, *June* 21. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

7. IV. *List of those from whom the* 2,350*l. was borrowed, for the purpose of the journey into the North. Signed by Sir Henry Wallop.*—1597, *July* 4. *p.* 1.

7. V. *Petition of Maurice Kyffin to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council for an increase of the allowance assigned him. The scarcity in Ireland. His dangers and losses. The sums he had to pay out of his own purse. Signed.* [1597, *June.*] *pp.* 1½.

7. VI. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council. Asks for* 700*l. towards building the castle of Sligo. Does not think that O'Donnell, after his repulses, will have any great devotion to go that way, so long as the forces remain to front him. Connaught is for the most part reduced to very good conformity, with great expectation that it will also yield good profit shortly to her Highness. The taking up of beeves. Desires money to pay for these. Otherwise, it will go near to overthrow all that has been done hitherto.—Abbey of the Boyle,* 1597, *July* 1. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

1597. Dublin Castle. 8. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have now been in this land seven weeks. I have never received answer to any despatch made, neither any comfort that my friends remember where I am. I have a miserable service, clogged with all encumbrances, extended into a great circuit, occasioned to many provisions, destitute of helps, and never at leisure from cares, which profit less, because the means be lacking, and even at the writing hereof come two commissions to diminish my trust. I will no more say to them than this; I will be trusty and faithful, and reverently perform all duties as I am commanded, either jointly with my associates, or severally, if it had been to me left, as with former

1597. VOL. CC.

deputies, who never came with minds so little to themselves, nor so much to the Queen as I; in which truth I will live and die, and now speak I without honour, even in the sense of my soul, and advisedly. This place is honourable to whosoever is of best degree; and, as the time is, fitter for him whose purse may encounter the scarcity with plenty. Of such, Her Majesty may have choice; to whose entries I hope, by God's assistance, to give that passage, before three months, as whosoever Her Majesty shall appoint governor [shall] need not so much swords to the field, as gowns to the civil administration. I will proceed in the meantime, neither dishonouring the office and dignity of Her Majesty's servant, nor blemishing the particular of my own name, by extortion, bribery, corruption, or anything else of unjust and unworthy condition. This I am constrained to write, as a vapour inhaling from a mind so oppressed with grief, as I know if you could imagine, you would thereof with your friend have feeling. Therefore pardon me, that this hath taken precedence of that which I ought to certify in the course of my business. I will recall my spirits."

It has been resolved by the Council expedient to employ the forces in camp. Provocative action of the Earl of Tyrone. To continue the charge of so many dispersed garrisons prevails little. "The country finds disease of the soldiers lying still: the traitor holds our idleness in contempt: and ourselves are ashamed to yield no fruits to our Sovereign. Therefore be Her Majesty's ensigns advanced: our hopes many: if he will fight, we have the cause, and to that end be we paid, to execute the due of our profession: if he fly, the pursuit must needs bring him into disdain: and that is likely to work many advantages, and effect his destruction. Those who be weary of his tyranny will be bold, when Her Majesty's army is on foot, to fall from him: those who now dare not but relieve him, while he yet holds the field, will also declare against him; generally, his dependencies in all probability will shed from him: and the waverers in this intermission and suspense will now, when the ensigns be displayed, bethink them of a prince's strength where it bends in earnest, how it is probable to prevail against a false beggarly traitor. Branches will sprout as long as the root is untouched: bring the axe thither, and they do wither: lop them, others spring: cut that, all decays. This is the course now undertaken."

His plans against the Earl of Tyrone. "The general scope is: I will encamp by him, force him, follow him, omit no opportunity by night or by day to prove his quarters, keep Her Majesty's army in discipline, and observe all reason I may to show the difference between this and a vagabond assembly and confederacy. I will, God willing, stick to him, and if need be, lie on the ground and drink water ten weeks, unless sooner blessings fall on my labours. To anything my body is able: and my mind more willing: which yet at this present overcharged, without other sickness, hath thrown me into my bed. Profit I have none: reward of honour to any worthy man I may not give." His desire to do the Queen service.

1597. VOL. CC.

Dublin Castle, 1597, July 4. [*Postscript.*] No further occurrents to advertise. "I know not how my letters might be conveyed to the noble Earl of Essex, who, all men assure me, is in an expedition, but none knows whither." Hopes his forces will be 400 horse and 3,000 foot, besides some which he expects from the President of Munster. "Tyrone will be many more, but not honest." *Holograph. pp.* 2.

1597. July 4. Dublin. 9. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. His obligations, and those of his nephew Sir William Lane, to Burghley. Sends a duplicate of the account he had formerly transmitted by his servant Ralph Garland. His great and continual care in his most troublesome and toilsome office. The grievous and most unjust imputations against him through misinformation or misconception. Sends also a collection of his checks, at first undetermined in regard of the hardness of the time, but now determined both by himself and Mr. Kyffin. Their checks, by order of the Lord Deputy, were "conferred together" by Sir Henry Wallop, and the greatest inserted in the captains' warrants of full pay. The Lord Deputy has put the captains in good hope of some more pleasing course being taken hereafter. They have now their warrants of full pay, which, until June 24 last, were withholden, to their great discontentment and hindrance. These warrants they usually pawn, or sell outright, to have ready money, to cover their soldiers nakedness, and to supply their own urgent necessities. All which fell out through Mr. Kyffin's long absence, and his sundry delays, after his return to Dublin, to deliver his checks. Both which he thinks were well meant for Her Majesty's best service. The checks of Mr. Kyffin overtopped those of Sir Ralph. Reasons for this. The action of his wandering commissaries. Mr. Kyffin himself wants commissaries resident in the several garrisons. The establishment of such commissaries will remove all just cause of murmur from the captain. The Lord Deputy "resolutely resolved" to put the same in execution, after his journey to the north is ended. Cause of Sir Ralph's delay in sending the ordinary book of Her Majesty's half-year's charge in Ireland, ending 31 March last. Asks Burghley's help that his most hard labours may be accepted of the Queen.—Dublin, 1597, July 4. *Signed. pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

9. I. *Copy of Sir Ralph Lane's certificate, with his justification to the Privy Council of the state of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, "set down in two strengths, the one as they were in Roll, the other as they were by Poll, the day of the date hereof,"* 13 *June* 1597, *pp.* 3½. [A reply particularly to the statement made by Sir William Russell to the Privy Council. *See* their letter of July 3.] *See also No.* 18. I.; *July* 12.

July 4. Dublin. 10. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter to Burghley.*] Divers of the captains, and all those of the Brittany regiment, have given up their companies,

1597. VOL. CC.

through their miscontentments and the hardness of the time. Mr. Kyffin himself is but a wandering commissary. The importance of resident commissaries.—Dublin, 1597, July 4. *Seal. pp.* 2.

July 5. Limehouse. 11. W. Borough to Sir Robert Cecil. Has heard divers news from John Steward, master of the *Flying Hart*, one of the three ships that carried corn from Portsmouth to Dublin. Feagh McHugh's wife, was brought prisoner into Dublin on Sunday fortnight last [June 18], and was appointed to be executed on Monday last [July 3]. For his passage over the Blackwater, the Lord Deputy had framed a flat-bottomed vessel, capable of transporting 150 men at a time. The Earl of Tyrone's brother had come in, with, it was reported, 3,000 men, and offered his service to Her Majesty. This the Lord Deputy accepted, on condition of his doing some exploit against the Earl or his forces. Since then the Earl of Tyrone's son had come in with, it was reported, 1,200 men, craving Her Majesty's pardon, and offering to do any service soever against his father. They make account in Dublin that Tyrone will be forced to fly to the Isles of Scotland, or else that he will be taken ere long. Refers further matter to the report of the bearer [Steward]. —Limehouse, Wednesday, 5 July, 1597. *p.* 1.

July 6. Athlone. 12. Sir Calisthenes Brooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Beseeches him to continue his honourable friend, which will give him great encouragement in his travail and time, "spent in the miserablest country that ever our nation served in."

This June past Sir Conyers Clifford was in the field, and marched through Connaught to Lake Erne. In his way he met McWilliam fleeing from his country the second time, with all his people and cattle. He took 1,200 head of cattle, many horses and nags, and left on the ground 200 of McWilliam's best men, besides many that stragglingly were killed after they brake. McWilliam is returned to O'Donnell with 40 men, in utter despair of his fortune, and seeks means, as spies inform, to flee into Spain. But if his passage be not ready, he may fall short of his pretended journey. For, on July 15, the provincial forces make head, and then they pass into Tyrconnel, where no doubt the rebels will get their just deserts. Connaught and Thomond are reduced to obedience, O'Rourke's country only excepted, which stands no longer than pleases Sir Conyers; yet he forbeareth O'Rourke to follow O'Donnell, hoping by that means to get the key of the province, which is the castle of Ballyshannon ["Ballashanell"], now in the hands and country of O'Donnell; also to keep O'Donnell's forces so employed that he shall not join with the Earl of Tyrone against the Lord Deputy, who took his journey towards Dundalk on July 5 "very honourably attended, and in great jollity." The successes of Sir Conyers, under great difficulties, especially of victualling: he has spent 2,000*l.* out of his own purse.—Athlone July 6. *Endorsed*:—1597, July 6. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 2.

1597. VOL. CC.

July 7. 13. Patrick Condon to Burghley. For redress in the matter of the wrongful procuring of his possessions by Arthur Hide and others. *Endorsed*:—1597, July 7. *Signed*. *p.* ½.

July 11. Callan. 14. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. His painful travail and charges in Her Majesty's service all these three years past. His good success as general of Leinster. Asks that so much as shall be laid down for him, may be delivered to his servant, Bartholomew Daniel. Is now again appointed (in the Lord Deputy's absence) to the same charge. Is lately recovered of a most dangerous sickness, which made his physicians despair of him. A great part of his living has been burned and wasted by the traitors against whom he served.—Callan, 1597, July 11. *Signed*. *Seal*. *p.* 1.

July 12. The Camp, near Newry. 15. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. His justification with respect to the military expenditure. Approves of the weekly lendings, and apparel at two seasons. Has ordered the money last sent over to be kept. Touching Sir Ralph Lane, perceives he is continued by patent, but will advertise him shortly of his remove, which yet he defers, because Sir Ralph is dangerously sick. The commissaries of musters will be necessary. Must respite their disposition till his return. Is forward in good likelihood to dispatch what he goes about. His obligations to Burghley.—The camp five miles beyond Newry, July 12. [*Postscript.*] The rebel has entrenched himself upon the water (the Blackwater), and "reinforced pases" for a retreat. If he abide by his trap, it shall be his last. *Holograph*. *pp.* 3.

July 12. [The Camp, near Newry.] 16. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Refreshed in the weariness of his march by Sir Robert's letters. The advertisement to the Earl of Essex of the canvizado [when Tyrone was nearly captured] was held unworthy of relation to Her Majesty. "I wrote it to the Earl, whose mind I desired to possess, that I was not without industry; the rather because, in the activity of his spirit, I might not be debased as a man idle, where business tending to Her Majesty's service might and should occupy me." Did not mention the matter to Sir Robert, as he had already sealed up the letter to him. Imagined that both he and the Earl of Essex were together in Court; for of a voyage he least deemed. Has omitted no other business of state to Sir Robert, to whom he will evermore be honest. "Whereas I wrote lately of the Earl of Ormonde's danger, and impossibility to live, I have it under his own wife's hand, which if I were at Dublin I would send; though I think I need not excuse myself with you, that I am not a rash apprehender of flying bruits. His amendment was not looked for, and yet in all men's opinion he is far spent in a diseased body. As for the suit I made I commenced it not greedily, and as easily I receive the 'denye' [denial]. The reason moving me was the condition thereof, whence there never was made benefit to Her Majesty. more I will not debate it: but as for the reward which deputies

1597. VOL. CC.

should seek after services, *non meum est quærere:* serve I will very devoutly, and, when I have done all I can, I shall think all too little. And, after I have ended this expedition, I hope I shall be left to the liberty of seeking repair to my estate, which I may not beg of Her Majesty, being resolved rather to sink in the sea, than to be distasteful, where the whole joy of my life hath consisted in contention how much I might please. In this Her Majesty's kingdom I will leave no unworthy note of my wants, neither of corruption, scraping, bribery, injustice, nor slothfulness."

"This day, God willing, I will march so far, as to-morrow I will lodge on the Blackwater; and so I hope to work all night, as the next morning to 'beat the Diana' in the proud traitor's fort, which he hath made upon the ford. He hath fortified upon all the bogs as I must pass, and barricaded the passes of the woods, having provided for many retreats. I doubt not by God's help to chase him from them all, or, if he will resolve on any, as he boasts, to seize him where he is boldest. If he turn any part that way I will follow to the utmost of all his strengths." Has 33 foot bands, which scarce fulfil 3,000, and divers horse bands amounting to 500. Cannot discover the certainty of Tyrone's forces, "for his people (as he falsely calls them) assemble daily"; but has ascertained that Tyrone has 1,000 more. "God (since he will not be converted) confound him."—July 12. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 1½.

July 12. The Camp at Carnebane, beside Newry. 17. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Writes in favour of the bearer, Mr. John Morgan, who had been recommended by the late Lord Deputy and Council.—"The Camp at Carnebane besides the Newry," 1597, July 12. *Signed. Seal. p.* ½.

July 12. Dublin. 18. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Sends the book of the half year's charge by the bearer, whom he knows to be faithful. Finds by advertisements from his friends in Court that he is "still pyked to Her Majesty with new taxations, and in danger of new disgraces for old imputations divers times by himself answered," and Burghley also satisfied with his answers, for which he is ever most bounden to him. Is forced to make an abridgment of the account of the checks imposed by him for every half year from 1 April 1595 to 31 May 1597, which is the date of these unhappy wars. The sum total, when compared with [that of] all armies in all ages, either in Ireland or elsewhere, which Her Majesty or her progenitors have had cause to use, shall be found to have surmounted all others. Blames not his deputies, but "the loose carriage of the supreme government" in Ireland. Time will discover this.—Dublin, 1597, July 12. *Holograph. pp.* 2½. *Incloses,*

18. 1. *A book of fifty-eight pages containing:—*

(*a.*) *Wages and entertainments due to the Lord Deputy, chief officers, and others of Her Majesty's army in Ireland for the half year ending* 31 *March* 1597. *pp.* 52.

1597. VOL. CC.

(b.) *A brief collection of Her Majesty's monthly charge for her army in Ireland, amounting to* 1,277*l.* 4*s.* 2*d. sterling. p.* 1.

(c.) *A collection of checks for every half year from* 1 *April* 1595 *to* 31 *March* 1597, *with the reasons for the greatness or smallness of the same. pp.* 3.

(d.) *A certificate of the strength of Her Majesty's horse and foot, as they were viewed by poll in camp,* 12 *July* 1597, *at Carackbawne beyond Newry. The companies of Captains Flower, Fitton, and Percie are marked as "all Irish," and the company of Captain Lester as "main Irish." pp.* 2.

*The four parts of the book are severally signed by Sir Ralph Lane.*

July 14. The Camp near Armagh. 19. Sir Robert Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. As to the way of finding one William Atkinson, late servant to Auditor Jenison. The man's ill-disposition is well known to himself and Sir Henry Wallop. Has not seen nor much heard of him for the last two years and more. Has privately acquainted the Lord Deputy with the contents of Cecil's letter. Both of them are likely to be long absent [from Dublin], so have directed Sir Henry Wallop to find Atkinson. Is many ways busied.—"The Camp near Armagh in Ulster," 1597, July 14. *Holograph. p.* 1.

July 14. Waterford. 20. James White, Mayor of Waterford, to Burghley. Has appointed the agent of the corporation, Nicholas Wise, to deliver where Burghley shall appoint, two bed-coverings, one green mantle, and "a rondell of aqua vitæ," of Waterford making.—Waterford, 1597, July 14. *Signed. Seal. p.* ½.

July 14. Waterford. 21. James White, Mayor of Waterford, to Burghley. Recommend the bearer, their late agent, in the matter of their suit for the transportation of sheepskins, and also, with respect to the wines sent from Waterford to England, that they may not pay a second impost in England, the impost in Ireland being already paid.—Waterford, 1597, July 14. *Signed. p.* ½.

July 14. Chester. 22. George Beverley to Burghley. The victual sent into Ireland on July 10. The soldiers there well provided for. The prices of grain at Chester, after London measure; wheat, the quarter, 4*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; rye, the quarter, 72*s.* 6*d.*; barley, the quarter, 70*s.*; butter, the barrel, 70*s.*; cheese, the waie, 58*s.* 8*d.*—Chester, 1597, July 14. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 14. 23. "The requests out of Ireland for victual." *Endorsed:*—1597, July 14. *p.* 1.

July 15. The Camp at the Blackwater. 24. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Capture of the fort at the Blackwater by Lord Burgh. He came to it at daybreak, waded into the river above his middle, and was the second man in

1597. VOL. CC.

the fortification. The place might well have been defended by the rebels, as they had cast up sundry trenches against the mouth of the passage, "with spikes to beat the ford," and flanked it on all sides. So now again Her Majesty is repossessed of the Blackwater, which till now could not be got since it was demolished and usurped by Tyrone. Hopes further good effects will ensure this good beginning, to the breaking of this rebellious combination in the North, if the army be thoroughly countenanced with victuals and other requisite helps. For the winning of this passage, being the key of his country, will no doubt breed no small astonishment amongst them, the rather where they shall see that by it Her Majesty's forces shall have a free way into Tyrone's other fastnesses, which, nevertheless, they understand by spies he has plashed and counterplashed in more defensible sort than has been used heretofore in this realm. They will make trial thereof within three days, when they will enter one of the most dangerous fastnesses he has between the Blackwater and his house of Dungannon. There he will do all he can to empeach their passage. The Blackwater being now made good, the Lord Deputy will draw through the heart of Tyrone's country, as far as Lough Foyle, where they expect to meet Sir Conyers Clifford, and to hear that he has done somewhat for the taking of Ballyshannon. Will advertise proceedings from time to time.—The Camp at the Blackwater, 1597, July 15. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

July 15. The Camp at the Blackwater. 25. Captain John Price to Burghley. The Lord Deputy very worthily passed over the Blackwater the 14th of this month. They won there a very strong fort from the traitor Tyrone; and skirmished ("did skrimege") with the enemy the same day after they had passed over the Blackwater. "Upon a great bog in their fastness we hurt and killed many of them; and of us sore wounded but three, but is like hardly to escape it." The Lord Deputy determines to leave a strong garrison in the fort the traitors had made there, and then to pass through their countries to Lifford near the sea in O'Donnell's country, and leave a garrison there. If these two places be well maintained they will quickly make an end of the wars in Ireland. "Paper is scant here."—The Camp at the Blackwater, 1597, July 15. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

July 16. Dublin Castle. 26. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to the Privy Council. Departure of the Lord Deputy from Dublin on the 5th inst. His passage of the Moyry, a place of danger between Dundalk and Newry. Understand he is past the Blackwater. Have been left behind by his Lordship, as well to furnish him with such necessaries as he might need, as to use their best care for the defence of the Pale and the borders thereof. Lord Burgh has left with them a cipher for conveyance of any cause of importance. Have just received from him the transcript of certain Ordinances of Her Majesty touching her army in Ireland, and of the Privy Council's letters accompanying them. As these consist of many points and are of great length, requiring some deliberation, they

1597. VOL. CC.

cannot herewith return answer. The army, too, is in the field under Lord Burgh and Sir Conyers Clifford, and many of the soldiers are dispersed in remote parts. The treasure mentioned by Her Majesty and the Privy Council has not arrived in Dublin. Cannot, therefore, with expedition observe the directions prescribed to them. Will, with all convenient speed, enter into consideration how they may be followed, and what difficulties they shall find "to contrary the same," and will advertise their Lordships. Think the Lord Deputy's and their letters touching the late borrowed money had not reached their Lordships when they wrote. Hope that the Privy Council will send money for repayment, and also for the discharge of other extraordinary growing charges which are necessary. [*Postscript.*] Hear nothing of the proportion of corn mentioned in their Lordships' letters. So have thought good to buy 300 quarters of Dansk rye arrived at Dublin, and have borrowed money for payment thereof, one-half at 3*l.* and the other at 50*s.* the English quarter. Have already sent, by the Lord Deputy's direction, fifteen days' provision of biscuit and salt, with some small quantity of wine and beer, to Lough Foyle for the army. Other provision in readiness.—Dublin Castle, 1597, July 16. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2.

July 16. 27. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Details of the passage of the Blackwater. Apologises for having to say so much of himself. Disposition of his forces for the attack. Description of the fortification constructed by the enemy. Leads the vanguard himself to prevent any staggering among his men. Success of the attack. No help given the rebels from Tyrone's camp in the woods hard by. Encounter with the enemy the next day. Wavering of many in Lord Burgh's force. His personal activity. Volunteers with him, viz., his brother Vaughan, Mr. Waller, his two nephews Read and Ashley, his cousin Clare, his cousin Tirwhitt, Mr. Evers, Mr. Beresford, and such others, "greedy of service." Death of Serjeant-Major Captain Turner. Vaughan killed. Read and Ashley sore hurt. Clare has his horse killed under him; also Beresford, who is himself slain. "All the men broken and amazed and the traitors still in blood." Lord Burgh rallies his men, and defeats the rebels who are exceedingly daunted. Mr. Waller shot through the hand. Laments the loss of his friends. "The necessity of all actions is otherwise laid on my shoulders than I expected, unless I would bring all the service into scorn. I have not that wherein my Lord of Essex is, and all generals be, in a journey happy; scarcely any of such understanding as to do what they be bidden, as he hath many. When I direct, for want in others I must execute." His burdens in this business, but he does not abate in confidence. The cause is his Queen's, "for whom I will boldly fight, and pierce, by God's assistance, the heart of this untamed renegade's country." Is erecting a fort at the Blackwater. Hopes to finish it within six days. Then he will pass to Lough Foyle, where he will again fortify, and take all commodities to endamage

1597. VOL. CC.

Tyrone. Besides his friends there were not above ten of his force killed. Eulogises the Earl of Kildare; his Lordship is not well, and must be sent homeward. [*Postscript in Lord Burgh's hand.*] Had written the foregoing letter in his own hand, but by chance blotted it, and so caused his man to copy it. Again apologises for having to say so much of himself. "Wherein it may seem I do the things which I might commit to others, I say, and too truly, I would to God I found ease by such; for at a word it is the rawest army that ever prince so long paid, and in a journey it is too late but by custom to be repaired." The common soldier is willing, and the officers may mend with use. Hopes that Sir Conyers Clifford and he may join shortly. Earnestly complains of not being allowed to bestow knighthood, and prays for liberty to do so.—July 16. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Signed. pp.* 3.

July 16. The Camp. 28. Sir Henry Bagenall to [? the Lord Chancellor Loftus]. Further details of the fighting at the Blackwater. The erection of a fort there proceeding apace. Phelim O'Hagan is to be delivered to Captain William Warren to be brought to the camp. Very special charge is to be given that the prisoner be fast bound. The enclosed letter of the Lord Deputy (*wanting*) is to be sent forthwith to Dundalk according to the direction.—The Camp, 1597, July 16. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

July 16. The Blackwater. 29. William Soare to Sir Ralph Lane. Lord Burgh's refusal to let either him or Mr. Kyffin muster the forces at Dundalk. The difference between Lord Burgh and Mr. Kyffin. Later on his Lordship himself assisted at the muster of the troops in camp. Sends musters of every company both of horse and foot (*wanting*). Out of the companies Lord Burgh drew above six score sick Englishmen, caused their arms to be taken from them, and gave them a passport to Sir Henry Wallop for their victualling at Dublin until the wind served for their passage to England. Sir Ralph, when he was in the North, had given a like certificate of the weakness of the army through sickness, but Sir William Russell and the Council would not believe him, but certified into England that which turned to his great hurt and discredit. Unjust certificate by Sir John Norreys at that time. "It is yet but young days with" the new soldiers in the camp, but before the end of September, if the journey go on to Lough Foyle, there will be another reckoning for the weakness of the army by sick men, than they that are not experienced do look for.

Has also sent a draft (*wanting*) of the taking of the passage of the Blackwater, most valiantly achieved on Thursday, 14 July, before daybreak. "I do know your worship takes a delight to have actions described by the pen, which I have done in as good sort as I can." They say the Earl [of Tyrone] has hanged twenty of his knaves that were appointed for the defence of the sconce; and in all they were not much above forty, which were left there in the night only for a watch. But they had been enough, if they

1597. VOL. CC.

had been men, for the rampart was high, the ditch so deep, and the hedge before both so placed, that Lord Burgh's thousand men had much ado, without resistance of any enemy, to break through the one and to scramble up the other. It is reported in the camp that the Earl swears he will repair this blow another way before he will stir from the place he encamps in, and will send neither letter nor message to the Lord Deputy for any imparlance.—The Blackwater, 1597, July 16. *Signed. pp.* 2½.

July 17. Rathfarnan. 30. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "I received this evening a letter from the elder of my three sons now attending the Lord Deputy in his northern journey, a branch whereof, touching his Lordship's passage over the Blackwater, I have thought good to send your Honour here inclosed. I would those services had heretofore been followed with like resolution; then had this poor kingdom been left in better state than now it is, and those proud traitors made to know the quality of their offences to so gracious a princess who hath sought by all courses of lenity and mercy to reclaim them to their obedience." Will not fail to advertise any occurrents, as they shall come from the Lord Deputy.—"From my house at Rathfarnan," 1597, July 17. *Signed. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

30. 1. *Edward Loftus to the Lord Chancellor Loftus. The fording of the Blackwater in face of the enemy's fortification. Lord Burgh's conduct. The skirmish all that day. Loss on both sides. The loss grieves the Earl* [*of Tyrone*] *much, and, more, the leaving of the fortification to Bryan Reagh, Phelim M'Feagh, and Morgan Kavanagh.*— 1597, *July* 15. *In the margin is this note:*—"*Phelim M'Feagh is son to Feagh M'Hugh. Bryan Reagh, a traitor of the Moores in Leix; and Kavanagh, one of the Leinster traitors lately come from Spain.*" *Extract. p.* 1.

July 17. Newry. 31. Captain Francis Stafford to Sir Henry Wallop. Sends letter (*wanting*) from Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall. Gives further names of those slain.—Newry, 1597, July 17. *Holograph. Seal.* Under the address Captain Stafford writes: "Mr. Oliver Wallop escaped without hurt." *p.* 1.

July 18. Horton. 32. William Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Presents letters received from Sir Ralph Lane for Burghley and Sir Robert. Sir Ralph's grief at Her Majesty's displeasure, which has drawn upon him many disgraces, especially in his being prohibited by Lord Burgh from the Council board. Beseeches Sir Robert truly to inform Her Majesty of the case. If her favour may not be recovered, Sir Ralph desires other employment in her service, leaving his office upon such consideration as will enable him to live "in sort convenient for his place and years, which are now grown gray in Her Majesty's service only."—Horton, July 18. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

VOL. CC.

1597.
July 18. 33. Paper headed :—"In Ireland. Amongst a number of wrongs done Her Majesty, here be briefly set down a few, but such as are important, which may be remedied with great profit to Her Majesty, and such honourable regards as shall be fitting the majesty of so mighty a sovereign."

"1. First, divers records which do entitle Her Majesty unto lands are both stolen and forged out of the Courts at Dublin, viz., such as did concern the lands of the Duke of Norfolk, the Lord Berkley, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the attainders of some of the Geraldines, and some of the Butlers.

"2. Her Majesty is intituled to some lands by forged offices, that the first finders may pass it at a more inferior rate. One Robert Brice, of Dublin, hath pleaded his pardon for such forgery, but the fault is not amended.

"3. Her Majesty's revenue is lost or abated, when she is intituled, sometimes by one title, sometimes by another, by mis-naming either counties or parties attainted, that, under colour of a better title, her revenue may be abated, as in one Francis Shane his case, and in one Peter Nangles', may appear, with infinite others.

"4. Amongst the rest, the Lord Chancellor of Ireland that now is caused his lands of Rafernan [Rathfarnan] (being better worth than ij hundred pound per annum) to be surveyed and passed to him in fee-farm at xxx*s.* per annum. Worse lands than they, and not so great of quantity, are surveyed at xx marks per annum; besides many other wrongs, which (in regard of his sons and sons-in-law) he doth to Her Majesty. And he did this. He caused a parsonage impropriate at the Naas, a town twelve miles from Dublin, which was then in lease, to be passed in fee farm, at an inferior rent, without fine, for which at this day the rent will be increased, and a thousand marks fine given to Her Majesty. This fee-farm of the parsonage he passed without any direction from England.

"5. Her Majesty was exceedingly wronged in a grant that she gave to the Earl of Kildare some six years sithence. She exchanged certain lands with the Earl for the maintenance of a fort called Catherlagh, in Ireland. The Earl's lands were surveyed at xlij$^{li}$, and so much Her Majesty passed to the Earl of her inheritance in Ireland. When the Earl had this grant, in respect of his debts he was enforced to sell the same. Whereupon he committed the trust of this sale to one Richard Neutterfield and one Henry Burnell, who most shamefully abused both Her Majesty and the Earl; for they impaired all her manors in the English Pale, they purchased the same lands to their own uses, and gave the Earl but eleven hundred pounds for the same. Afterwards, myself coming to the Earl's service, I found fault herewith, and complained of it to Sir Henry Wallop. He did much mislike hereof, and he offered four thousand pounds for the same grant. The calling of this matter in question hath procured me much hatred.

"6. Another practice is used to abate the revenue, when such as possess Her Majesty's lands can buy the lands to themselves, at a

1597. VOL. CC.

more inferior rate, of persons whom they suborn to pretend title to the lands. This is a usual practice in Munster, practised lately against George Stone, one of Her Majesty's footmen, by Champion, his tenant, who suborned one to make claim to the best part of that land; and, having compounded with him for little or nothing beforehand, did afterwards suffer him, with whom he compounded, to recover that parcel from Her Majesty.

"7. Her revenue is not gathered by men and parties sufficient, but either by such as take bribes to suffer it ungathered, or by such as pay it by [at] leisure, and die in her debt, or by such as run away. All this may be proved in the Sheriffs of Cork, Limerick, Kerry, Waterford, with others.

"8. Her Majesty shall find herself greatly wronged when she shall consider and examine which way her treasure sent over (but within these three years), with her revenue and composition money, how all this is spent and consumed, especially when the country is able to prove that the extortions and exactions upon them come to more than Her Majesty's charge of soldiers cometh unto. The country hath borne the charge of the wars; what needeth then the treasure?

"9. If Her Majesty allow viij thousand soldiers in Ireland, they are not four thousand men strong; one thousand of these have not pay. Sir William Russell can tell when captains of hundreds were not twenty, thirty, or forty full and strong.

"10. Her Majesty's pensioners are not paid, whereby they be forced to sell their pensions, and those that buy them are paid at full. As one Tieg Magill Patrick sold his pension to Sir Henry Warings for xliiij$^{li}$. He that sold it is dead, but the pension is paid yet. And so be other pensions paid when the pensioners are dead. Edm. Byrne, for want of pay, sold his pension of iiij$^{s}$. a day to a man of the Treasurer's for vij$^{xxli}$, but he is living.

"11. Imprest bills are bought most commonly for the third part of the principal. One Frith, a brewer in Dublin, sold lately an imprest bill of a hundred pounds for forty pounds. The uttermost will be reckoned to Her Majesty, and so soldiers beggared.

"12. But now, to increase Her Majesty's revenue in Ireland, to assure and recover a dangerous country, to abate the insolencies of rebels, amongst many let this course following be fully considered of, viz.:—

"Amongst the Irish lands go by succession to the eldest of the nation, and not by inheritance, but to the tawniest [tanist] as the Irish call it.

"It is known that divers lords of the countries, as the lord of Killultagh, Kilwarden, and Clandeboy, with others in Tyrone's country, have offered to surrender their lands, and to take them again of Her Majesty, by these means to assure their lands to their heirs for ever. But these, and others, have been crossed or not accepted, because, if such courses were accepted,

1597. VOL. CC.

these would depend solely upon Her Majesty, and not pay 40, 50, or 200 cows in one place, and as many in another, to the officers and governors adjoining.

"Let this profitable cause be considered by these two examples following. Sir Charles O'Carroll and Sir John Maccoghlan both are lords of great countries; both have been rebels, and more rebellious minds are not in Ireland; yet both are subjects, but why? They have rivals. There be others have more right to their lands than themselves; if they should not be subjects they lose both lands and lives. Their surrender to Her Majesty is their only security. These and others are commended for good subjects for their cutting off the heads of some of their name and nation; but those heads which they send in are better pledges of their own security than any kind of assurances of their loyalties.

"If this course were practised in Tyrone's country by such means as may be set down, it will overthrow him, for he hath feared this course, and hath therefore suppressed all them who attempted the same. He murdered for this matter the Lord of Killultagh, to whose mind I was privy, with much more that may be proved." *Endorsed:*—"18 July 1597. Matters of Ireland to be regarded in my simple opinion." *Holograph. pp.* 2.

July 19. Dublin. 34. Sir Anthony Sentleger and Sir Roger Wilbraham to the Privy Council. Concerning the settling of a claim made by Sir Geffrey Fenton for 59*l.* 19*s.* 2*d.* being one year's rent of the parsonage of Dunboyne.—Dublin, 1597, July 19. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 19. 35. State of the cause of Patrick Condon. Condon had been in the Desmond rebellion, but had submitted, received pardon, and done good service since. He craves re-instatement in the possession of his lands. *Endorsed:*—1597, July 19. *p.* 1.

July 19. 36. "A note of all Patrick Condon's lands, whereof part are in his possession, and [part] in the possession of Arthur Hyde and others." *Sir Walter Ralegh is in the list. Endorsed:*—1597, July 19. *One sheet.*

July [19]. 37. Petition of Patrick Condon to Burghley. Has been for nine years a suitor for his lands. *Endorsed:*—1597, July. *Copy. p.* 1.

July [19]. 38. A note of the lands that Arthur Hyde detains from Patrick Condon, of the lands in his possession that Condon does not claim, and of the lands that Arthur Hyde claims by virtue of his patent. Sum total: Fifty-nine ploughlands. *Endorsed:*—1597, July. *p.* 1.

July 19. 39. Robert Ardern to [Burghley]. Concerning a provision of butter and cheese that he had been directed by his Lordship to make.—1597, July 19. *Signed. p.* 1. *The endorsement, "July 20," is erroneous.*

VOL. CC.

1597.
July 20. Dublin. 40. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to the Privy Council. For payment of 400*l.* to Nicholas Weston, Alderman of Dublin, for rye and salt supplied by him to the army.—Dublin, 1597, July 20. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

July 20. Dublin. 41. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to Burghley. (*Duplicate of the preceding letter.*)—Dublin, 1597, July 20. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

July 20. Mallow. 42. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. "I performed with very great difficulty the remain of my journey to Limerick, having had, both in my travel and abode there, such extreme accidents, both of the stone and spleen, and since so continual access of fits, as, if they shall last long with me, I shall neither trouble your Honour any more with procuring my leave to seek remedy, nor blame the hardness of my fortune to be compelled to this unnecessary and healthless exile." Has no more to advertise concerning Limerick, which he found in the same state of strength as formerly certified. It is "a seat apt to be made strong, either in indifferent or higher degree; watered with a fair river, compassed with a sound wall, but not exceeding the thickness of six or seven feet, neither flanked without nor 'rampared' within; some small beginnings of ravelins, lately founded, are so decayed as scarce the appearance of them remains; and yet were they so few and so imperfect as in their best state served to little purpose." Concerning the charge of fortifications at Limerick. "I can assure your Honour that, although Her Majesty's pleasure were to have any fortifications begun, the general famine in the country, with want of persons and provisions fit for such works, will not suffer them to be begun whilst the season of the year will serve for it, the winter being (in this country) no time to lay the foundations of any earthen works."

"There are many appearances of almost a general ill-disposition in the Irish, threatening a relapse into disloyalty, so soon as they shall find the time fit for it, and many matters fit to be considered of, for the establishing of a more assured quietness in this province, which properly may not be committed to a paper that cannot reply, which at my being there [in England] I will endeavour to deliver to the best furtherance of Her Majesty's service. There resteth now no colour of cause to have me stayed any longer here, to the eminent danger of my life, if any account be made of the services I have done, or may do." Begs Sir Robert to make this known to Her Majesty. If he recovers, will show no more backwardness than before to do her service either at home or abroad. Presumes Lord Burgh will not mislike of his proceedings in dispatch of all things that might advance the good success of his late begun journey, which Norreys trusts may be such as to give Her Majesty contentment. "And thus, being as well affeebled in force to write as in all other things," begs that his imperfect letters may be excused, and that he may be continued in the benefit of Sir Robert's

1597. VOL. CC.

promised favour. *Endorsed*:—Mallow, 1597, July 20. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

July 20. Dublin. 43. Christopher Peyton, Auditor, to Burghley. Concerning an error in a grant of the rectory of Murragh, co. Kildare. Desires leave to go to London to show his Lordship the state of the accounts of Thomas Might and of Kettlewell, clerk of the works, anno 1582. Monies due from Might and Kettlewell.—Dublin, 1597, July 20. *Holograph. pp.* 1¼.

July 20. Clangibbon. 44. Edward Gybbon, called the White Knight, to Burghley. His gratefulness to Burghley for manifold favours. Has performed some small services of late, whilst Sheriff, against the M'Sheehys and Scots, who invaded the country out of Connaught. Will not brag of it, but rather leave it to the report of others. His sudden removal from the office of Sheriff will be a great hindrance to the services he can render. If he is continued in the office for a year or two longer he will do special good service. His costs and charges, and fidelity to the Crown of England. It is not rare in Ireland that Her Majesty's true and faithful servitor should be kept in office seven years together. Other gentlemen, of small desert only, in respect of favour with the State, have been continued in this office [of Sheriff] many years. His son will attend on Burghley for answer.—Clangibbon, 1597, July 20. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 20. Clangibbon. 45. Edward Gybbon, called the White Knight, to Sir Robert Cecil. [*To the same effect as the preceding letter to Burghley.*]—Clangibbon, 1597, July 20. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 21. Mallow. 46. The Lord General Sir John Norreys to Burghley. What he has found worthy to be advertised, since his coming into this province, he has written to Sir Robert Cecil. Has forborne to trouble Burghley for want of important matter. "I now remaining here, unserviceable to Her Majesty, by reason of my infirmities, do earnestly continue my suit to have license to come over to seek for remedy, for obtaining whereof I must especially rely upon your Lordship's wonted favour. I protest unto your Lordship my weakness is not counterfeited, and yet, if my stay here might any way tend to do your Lordship service, I should the more patiently endure it. The expectation of any Spanish invasion is like for this year to be past; the time of the year to begin any fortification clean overslipt; and, if it shall please Her Majesty to hear my unskilful opinion of those matters, or of anything else touching the state of the realm or of this province, I shall be much better able to give Her Majesty satisfaction by speech there, than by letter from hence." Begs Burghley's furtherance of his desire.—Mallow, 1597, July 21. *Holograph. p.* 1.

July 22. [London.] 47. Robert Ardern to Burghley. Concerning provision of butter, and of Holland and Suffolk cheese, for Ireland. It will be best to buy the Suffolk cheese on Monday next, St. James's day, at the great fair at Ipswich. A ship can also be obtained there to trans-

1597. VOL. CC.

port the cheese. The Holland cheese is presently to be had "here, in London." Desires further instructions. Has not received the 40*l.* from Mr. Quarles.—[London.] *Endorsed*:—1597, July 22. *Signed. p.* 1.

July 22. London. 48. Sir Richard Bingham to Burghley. Has been greatly impoverished of late by means of his troubles. Has neither land, living, nor entertainment. Unless he is, by Burghley's favour, someway comforted, supported, and relieved, his estate will be utterly wrecked and overthrown. Begs his Lordship's favourable letters to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, that he may be well dealt withal, and have a good and speedy dispatch about his accounts, and other his reasonable, just, and lawful suits and occasions there. Desires that his brother, Captain John Bingham, and his nephew, Thomas Bingham, late Vice-Constable of Athlone Castle, may have license to repair into England. Both live wholly upon himself. Is forced to keep five persons in Ireland, about his accounts and other occasions there: it is too great a burden for him to bear. Craves Burghley's especial favour on his behalf with the Queen. Her favour will be more comfortable to him than any earthly treasure; without it, his life is bitter and unpleasant to him. Begs Burghley not to think of him according to the reports of such as are not his friends.—London, 1597, July 22. *Signed. p.* 1. [*On the back of this letter Burghley has put a few genealogical notes about the Binghams.*]

July 22. Nantwich. 49. Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General of Ireland, to Burghley. Some details of the Lord Deputy's success at the Blackwater. Had license to return to England, not knowing but that it was his turn to read this summer in Gray's Inn, but, upon his arrival, learns that one Mr. Cawfield, who was coated two years past, is now called to read at this season: his own turn will fall in Lent. So, after a month's stay among his friends, purposes to return to Ireland, unless Burghley otherwise directs him.—Nantwich, 1597, July 22nd. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

July 22. L'Isle en Jourdain. 50. Examination of Bernard O'Donnell, who was taken on his return out of Spain, and brought to L'Isle en Jourdain, in Armagnac; 22 July, 1597.

Bernard O'Donnell is stated to have come from Connaught, and to be of the age of thirty-four years. In reply to various interrogatories, he deposes:—

That his father's name was Roger, and his mother's, Mary; and that he has two brothers alive in Ireland. His father died shortly after release from prison, into which both he and his wife had been cast, on account of their religion and of their kindness to foreigners. He was educated in Ireland, mostly by his father. He left Ireland in 1588, when twenty-six or twenty-seven years old, and went to Italy, remaining at Rome about three months. Thence he went to Flanders, where he stayed for three years, returning then to Italy,

1597. VOL. CC.

on his way to Spain. In the latter country he saw Magauran, Archbishop of Armagh, and Bishop Cornelius O'Neill, by whose persuasion he took holy orders in the year 1591. After nine or ten months in Spain, he went to France, to recover his health. At Toulouse he was two days in hospital, and then remained for ten months with the Cardinal de Joyeuse. From Toulouse he went to Brittany, intending to go back to Ireland. But after a short stay, he returned into Spain, where he remained about a year in various places. Then he was sent on a mission to Ireland, to assure the Irish of help from the King of Spain, and to exhort them not to conclude peace with the Queen of England. He was in Ireland about ten months. O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, and other chiefs, whom he found armed, promised that they would not conclude peace with the Queen of England. At the same time three Spanish ships arrived, confirming the news he brought. From Ireland he returned to Spain, bearing letters of credence from O'Neill and O'Donnell to the King of Spain and the Pope. Whatever replies related to public affairs were transmitted by the messengers of the King. His letters were taken from him in the town of Medina [? Cœli], when he and his travelling companion were cast into prison as French spies. After a stay of about seven months, he left Spain in July last, and went to Italy, to obtain some ecclesiastical living. He did not go from Italy to Flanders, although some letters of credence were offered him, nor did he bear letters from the Irish chiefs to the King of Spain and the Pope, on public affairs.

*Bernard O'Donnell is then closely questioned as to certain letters found upon him, which proved that he was employed on public Irish affairs by the Irish chiefs to the King of Spain. O'Neill, O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, and O'Reilly are mentioned amongst those desiring a new Sovereign.*

*Signed by Bernard O'Donnell, and six French officials. Latin. pp.* 16.

50. I. *Accompanying the above examination are copies of the following letters, &c. found on O'Donnell. These copies are in the same handwriting as that of the examination, and are signed by the same French officials, as well as by Bernard O'Donnell himself, who states that they are written "ex fragmentis." The certification, however, of the officials is dated* 1 *August* 1597 :—

(*a.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain. Acknowledges receipt of his letters. Daily expectation of help from His Majesty. Will eagerly renew the war with the Queen. Meantime prays for aid of* 6,000 *men and arms for* 10,000. *Entreats that a king may be appointed for Ireland. Also, that several ships, and about* 1,000 *men, with powder and munition, may be supplied immediately.*

(*b.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain. Gratitude for the letters of His Majesty. Have been offered advantageous terms for Ulster and Connaught, on the part of the Queen of England, but will renew the war, trusting to His*

1597. VOL. CC.

*Majesty, although the forces of the enemy increase daily by land and sea. The "Satanic wiles and flattery" of the English.*

(*c.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain.* [*To the same effect as the preceding.*] *Recommends the Spanish messenger.*

(*d.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the son of the King of Spain. Begs him to persuade his father to further the cause of Catholic liberty, and to deliver Ireland from tyranny.*

(*e.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to "Jean Didiaco,"* [*Don Juan de Idiaques*]. *Beseeches him to persuade the King not to let pass this opportunity for delivering Ireland.*

(*f.*) *"Machelian Bourg" to the King of Spain. The perfidious designs of the English against the nobility of Ireland. Will earnestly join in exterminating the enemies of the Catholic faith.*

(*g.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to "Jean Didiaco,"* [*Don Juan de Idiaques*]. *Thanks for his letters and favour. The satisfaction they have had from the King of Spain's letters. Commends Bernard* [*O'Donnell*].

(*h.*) [*Bernard*] *O'Donnell to the Lieutenant of the Governor of Medina* [*? Cœli*]. *Begs him for some assistance, that he may the more fittingly appear before certain men of the highest position in Madrid.*

(*i.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain. Has undertaken to defend the cause of Catholic liberty against wicked tyranny, and has dared to irritate all the virulence and truculent madness of a most cruel enemy. Implores the King to look benignly on "the slaughterhouse of our Ireland, now overthrown and profaned by heretics," and early succour those wearied with daily expectation. The ancient zeal of the Irish for the Catholic religion, and their origin from Spain.*

(*j.*) [*Bernard*] *O'Donnell, prisoner in Spain, to "un Jacopin." The letters of recommendation he carries are not believed in. His sufferings by sea and land for his native country and the Catholic faith.* (*Imperfect.*)

(*k.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain. Commends the bearer, Bernard O'Donnell, to whose sufferings he bears testimony.*

(*l.*) *List of those who are of the faction of O'Neill against the Queen of England. Includes O'Reilly, M'Mahon, Maguire, O'Hanlon, Magennis, &c.*

(*m.*) [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the Pope. The troubles introduced into Ireland by some most obscure but numerous disturbers of its peace. Beseeches the intervention and assistance of his Holiness. Prays him to appoint to no sees within his borders without his special commendation. Desires credence and favour for the bearer, Bernard O'Donnell.*

1597. VOL. CC.

(*n.*) *Fragment of a letter written by* [*Hugh*] *O'Neill,* [*Earl of Tyrone,*] *to the King of Spain. The central portion of Ireland at this time most favourable to the King.*

(*o.*) *O'Rourke* ["*Oroet*"] *to the King of Spain. Amidst his frequent sufferings caused by the tyrannical impiety of heretics, has had the abundant consolation of His Majesty's gracious letters. Promises the utmost fidelity to the King. Willingly subscribes to the replies sent to His Majesty by O'Neill and O'Donnell.*

(*p.*) "*Remond Derensis Episcopus,*" [*Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Derry,*] *to the Pope. Resistance of the chief Irish nobility to the tyranny of the English. Desires credence for the bearer. Prays His Holiness to look benignly on mourning Ireland, so long afflicted with innumerable defeats by the heretics, and to seize the present Divinely offered opportunity. The ancient fidelity of the Irish. Asks again that the bearer may receive favour.*

(*q.*) [*Bernard*] *O'Donnell, prisoner in Spain, to "Don Jorge de Baccabaro, Corregidor of Medina." A friend has persuaded him to write to his Honour concerning his afflicted condition. Credence not given to his testimonials. Exiled by English persecution, he first received holy orders in Castille. His sufferings for the Catholic faith and for his native land. His parents thrown into prison, where his father died. Faith and benevolence of his father. Prays for assistance.*

(*r.*) [*Bernard*] *O'Donnell, prisoner, to "Don Miguel de Brixianos, Abad de Medina." Sent the previous year by the King of Spain into Ireland to stir up the nobility there to war against the English, with promise of help from His Majesty. Sufferings endured by him from the Spanish authorities, on his return from Ireland. No credit given to his testimonials. Prays for deliverance.*

*Latin. pp.* 13.

[July 22.] 51. Abstract of the examination of Bernard O'Donnell taken at L'Isle en Jourdain.—[1597, July 22.] *Endorsed by Sir Robert Cecil* :—"Extracts out of an Irishman's confession, which had been in Spain." *p.* 1.

July 24. 52. "The state of the cause of Thomas FitzGerald humbly presented" to Burghley. Concerning the lands of the Palace in the counties of Limerick and Waterford. *Endorsed* :—"1597, July 24." *p.* 1.

[July 24.] 53. "The humble petition of the distressed inhabitants of the county of Kildare in Ireland, by Patrick Tipper, their agent." "The petition to be referred, by order of the Lords and the rest of Her Majesty's Privy Council to Sir William Russell, to be considered of and answered by him." *Sir Robert Cecil's signature is appended to these endorsements.*

Refer to former petitions made by them, craving payment of several sums of money due to them for sundry services and charges

1597. VOL. CC.

done and sustained by virtue of certain warrants addressed to the Sheriff of the county, the particulars whereof may appear in the annexed articles. Have not obtained such relief as is requisite, notwithstanding their Lordships' letters directed to the late Lord Deputy and Council, and are in worse case than before.

"For so it is (right honourable), that by this occasion, together with the thoroughfare of Her Majesty's forces, accompanied with numbers of boys, women, and horses and stragglers (a thing for charge, disorder, and abuse most intolerable), exacting and wresting your suppliants with all manner of cruelty, hardness, and extremity, the leaders and others of the said companies neither observing discipline, equality, or moderation, extort upon your poor suppliants provision of diet, such as they have not or cannot spare, devouring the same in most riotous manner, marching as they list, forward and backward, not holding the direct or nearest way, taking money in one place, and meat and money in another, not requiring or regarding, but contemning, the assistance or presence of any country officer, that could and would equally execute any warrant, but demeaning themselves as if they were directed to commit all oppression, desolation, and destruction. It is now come to pass that your suppliants are disabled to live and to perform such duties and services of loyalty and allegiance unto Her Majesty as they do owe. Which causes of intolerable grief and calamity being contrary and repugnant to Her Majesty's most royal and princely pleasure, and most tender regard of her subjects, and contrary to her most gracious compassionable composition with Her subjects, the violation whereof must be most offensive unto her Highness, having, for the continuance and preservation of the same, increased the pay and entertainment of her forces, and for the payment whereof Her Highness exhausteth her treasures daily, to her infinite charges, sufficiently to satisfy each growing charge; the benefit whereof your suppliants most humbly crave, and that these captains may be caused duly to pay their soldiers so as they may live on themselves, and [be] for their relief, not, left to trust to what, by their thoroughfare and other disorder, they may ravin and spoil. And yet, during their said disorder and passage, are they checked, each of them, of vj*d.* sterling per diem (as the said soldiers do inform us) for their diet; they in the meanwhile taking vj*d.* sterling a meal, the common soldier, and each corporal or other officer taking xij*d.*, 2*s.* or 3*s.* sterling a meal; a woman iiij*d.* and vj*d.* sterling, and iiij*d.* a boy each meal; with manifold other abuses and innovations not containable in any form of petition, so as Her Majesty's bounty (if it might be) is dishonoured and despised, the soldier beggared and defrauded, the inhabitants of the country robbed, spoiled, and abused, and all this wrought through the 'avarietie' and abuse of the same; the sifting redress and reformation whereof your suppliants most humbly pray for God's sake, for Her Majesty's honour, and your suppliants' relief and comfort. And, in regard that Sir William Russell, the late Lord Deputy, is now in London, that he may be required by your Lordships to show cause, as well why the tenor of your Honours'

1597. VOL. CC.

said letters were not effected, as also why Her Majesty's poor subjects have been so grievously oppressed, contrary to all right and Her Majesty's gracious intention towards them, and to take such course for their relief and satisfaction of such sums as are due unto them, as your Honours in your wisdoms shall think meet."—[1597, July 24]. *p.* 1. *Annexed are :—*

53. I. *A particular note of the charges and impositions on the inhabitants of the county of Kildare, by virtue of several commissions of the Lord Deputy and Council, from* 19 *Sept.* 1594 *to* 12 *May* 1597 *; and also, enormities committed in Ireland by Her Majesty's officers and others. Endorsed :—*" 24 *July* 1597. *Preferred by Tipper.*" *p.* 1.

53. II. *Copy of the foregoing charges and impositions. p.* ½.

53. III. *Copy of the foregoing "enormities." p.* 1.

July 26. Salamanca. 54. Francis Wadding to William Lincol. Received his letter with much satisfaction, which would have been far greater had Lincol informed him of his relatives and friends. At present has no need of the money he offers him. Prays God to reward him, and trusts he will one day be able to do some service to Lincol for all he owes him. His relative Alexander was not allowed by his superiors to remain in Salamanca, so he was sent to Lisbon well furnished with money, and with all besides that they could give him. Has had a severe attack of the tertian ague. Begs for information of his friends and of the wars in Ireland. Desires to be remembered to his friends there and to those at Bilbao. Prays Lincol to ask his (Wadding's) father to write and to inform him whether his father received the letters sent him in the beginning of the last year. The Bishops of Ossory, Clonfert, and Killaloe. No further news, save that in June last three Irishmen arrived in Salamanca. The seminary there in great need of alms.—Salamanca, 1597, Aug. 5. [*i.e.*, $\frac{26 \text{ July}}{5 \text{ Aug.}}$]. *Signed :*—" Yor loving cosen, Francis Wadding." Addressed to "William Lincol, Irishman, at the house of Dominic de Verganza [Braganza], Bilbao." *Spanish. pp.* 2.

July 27. Dublin. 55. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends a copy of the Lord Deputy's letter of the 23rd inst. to the Lord Chancellor and Council, his Lordship and Sir Anthony Sentleger being at their houses out of town. Is of opinion that what the Lord Deputy has done at Blackwater, and what further course he intends, is to better purpose than his going to Lough Foyle would have been. For, as soon as the army had passed the fastnesses of the rebels, they would then, very likely, have drawn back all their creaghts and cattle from the sea coast, into the hither countries and borders, and with many forces have entered the Pale, to destroy the same, leaving the plains to the Lord Deputy and the army, to the rebels' little harm and the wearing out of the army and its victual; and at the return of our men, have been ready to encounter them.

1597. VOL. CC.

Thereby the rest of the journey might have fallen out to no great purpose, as many former roading journeys have done. Still thinks that the principal way to prevail against the Northern men is (as now the Lord Deputy has well begun) to fortify and build among them, that with strong garrisons they may dwell with them; finding by experience that, within Her Majesty's time, roading journeys into the north have cost above 300,000*l.*, and that to this day no foot of land is possessed thereby, but that what they hold is kept by means of the fortifications done in ancient times. When Her Majesty shall be pleased to subdue Ulster, he presumes a strong garrison of 1,000 foot and 200 horse will be placed at Lough Foyle, and victualled beforehand for six or eight months. The place, being withal well fortified, will more annoy the Earl and O'Donnell than an army of 10,000 men making journeys into their countries without provision or means to enable them to continue in the field longer than has been accustomed.

Upon receipt of the Lord Deputy's letter he pressed a small bark to go to Lough Foyle to recall from thence to Carlingford four barks of victual already sent thither. Another, which should that day have sailed thitherwards, he has directed to Carlingford. The victual in these five vessels. The 1,700 quarters of wheat lastly appointed to come from England have not yet been heard of. It may haply be conceived that the 3,800 quarters of wheat sent since the end of February last should stretch further than the end of August. But considering (as the mustermaster has already testified) that the army consists of nearly eighty companies of foot and about 850 horse (besides all retinues and wards) who, through the extreme scarcity of grain in this realm, have had no bread or bread corn save out of the store, the proportion of 3,800 quarters would not have served out that time. Has been driven to take up, upon his credit, of Nicholas Weston, a merchant of Dublin, 250 barrels of Dansk rye, and to buy, of a Dutchman, 250 barrels more. For the satisfaction of these he is forced now to borrow money. If the 1,700 quarters do not arrive in convenient time to save the army in September, they will endure extreme want, since the country will yield little or no corn till Michaelmas. Begs that further supplies may from time to time be sent, lest the forces be constrained to live upon the small store of corn the Pale yields. If this happens, it will breed a greater dearth and famine next year than there has been this last.

From Connaught they have not lately heard. By the last they understood that Sir Conyers Clifford, with the forces attending him, was towards Sligo, drawing to Ballyshannon. For the supply of these forces conceives it will be well to appoint corn to go directly from England to Galway. Much time and charge are spent by sending it first to Dublin.

Received advertisement yesterday from Captain Francis Stafford, now at Newry, that Sir John Chichester, by the assistance of Neale M'Haghe, a competitor of the Clandeboys, has taken the castle of Edeirdocarrig, held by the traitor Shane M'Brien. The place is of

1597. VOL. CC.

good importance, and stands at the foot of Lough Eaugh, *alias* Lough Sydney. As the Blackwater and Edeirdocarrig will be a great bridle to the Earl, so, if Sir Conyers Clifford be enabled with victual and other necessaries to take the castle of Ballyshannon, it will both offend O'Donnell in his own country, and defend Connaught from his incursions.—Dublin, 1597, July 27. *Signed.* *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

55. I. *The Lord Deputy Burgh to* [*the Lord Chancellor and Council*]. *Finds the fortification at the Blackwater of special importance for repressing the rebels' insolencies, and also a longer labour and a greater charge than at the first he imagined. Understands by secret and certain intelligence from the rebels' camp that, as he groweth and "viketh" at this, so he makes small account of any harm he can take by any fortification to be yet directed at Lough Foyle. Design of the rebels to let the forces go there, and then to attack Monaghan, the Brenny, and the borders of the Pale. On the deliberate advice, not only of those of the Council with him, but also of the principal and most experienced officers of the army, he thought it very requisite to alter his determination for Lough Foyle, and to attend and fortify the parts where he is, and the others between them and the Pale, whereby the ruin* [*of the Earl of Tyrone*] *may most readily and apparently grow. Asks that the victuals to be sent to Lough Foyle may be ordered to Carlingford, thence to Newry, and thence to him and the army as employment shall give cause. Sundry soldiers, cowardly and treacherously leaving their colours, have fled towards the Pale, with purpose (as many of them are "English raw and of the last levy") to be shipped away for England. Prays that secret order may be given to all officers to make diligent search and stay of them, committing such as shall be stayed to several prisons, that, due example being made of some of them, the rest may be returned to Her Majesty's service. The Camp at Blackwater, 1597, July 23. Copy.* *p.* 1.

July 28. 56. John Burnell to Sir Robert Cecil. Has been at all the houses he suspects in London. The houses are shut up, and the people thereof be gone into the country. Was in the Marshalsea with the priests there to learn the news; they can tell him nothing. Thought good to go presently into Warwickshire, Cheshire, and Shropshire, where he suspects certain. If he meets them there, he will go into Ireland again. It is not priests that he follows, but traitors to Her Majesty. Thanks Sir Robert for his countenance and courtesy.—1597, July 28. *p.* 1.

July 28. 57. Captain Edward Russell to Burghley. Has raised and furnished, and for two and a half years maintained, at his own costs and charges, a band of 50 horse for Her Majesty's service. Begs for the payment of 563*l.* 15*s.* 5*d.*, being the arrears due to him and them.—1597, July 28. *Signed. Seal.* *p.* 1.

July 29. 58. Objections made by Sir Henry Wallop to the orders for lendings and apparellings. Apparel of soldier in Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1597, July 29. *p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CC.

July 29. Dublin. 59. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. His objections to the ordinances for payments and apparelling of the forces in Ireland. The rates of pay for officers and men per week, viz., captain, 28*s.*; lieutenant, 14*s.*; each of the other four officers, 5*s.*; and each soldier, 3*s.* Impossibility of his observing the ordinances by himself; several paymasters requisite. "Also I presume to put your Honour in mind of the great hindrance and loss that, in my conceiving, Her Majesty is like to sustain by these ordinances, as they are now laid down, unless some other course be devised to prevent the same. For the soldier receiving 3*s.* a week, whether he shall be victualled out of Her Majesty's store or dieted by the country, he must of necessity pay 5*d.* a day for every day's victual, which cometh to 2*s.* 11*d.* a week, so that he saveth but 1*d.* a week, making 3*s.* 6*d.* in the year, and against that the fees of the clerk of the band, surgeon, and armourer come to 8*s.* a year, and if, as in the ordinances is laid down, the rest of the soldiers' pay, being 20*d.* a week, which maketh 4*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* a year, shall be delivered him in apparel, according [to] the rates and parcels mentioned in the ordinances, then there is no means left how Her Majesty shall be answered for her munition and furniture, which always hitherto hath been by my predecessors and by me defalked of the soldiers' pay to Her Highness' use, as for my time by my account, remaining with Mr. Auditor Conyers, will appear. And whether Her Majesty's pleasure is to bear the charge and loss of all her munition and furniture that shall be issued to the army, or not, is not expressed in the ordinances, although the full pay of the soldiers, and their victual and apparel be apportioned, without provision how the munition shall be answered. Neither shall he have means to pay for his washing, or any other necessary accident that may happen. Therefore, seeing it is Her Majesty's meaning, like herself, to make royal and princely payment to her soldiers, it may please her to leave the ordering of their apparel to my Lord Deputy and Council of this realm, who will have them furnished here with more necessary clothes for this service, and 'far better cheape' than the rates from England, whereby about 30*s.* a year of every soldier's pay may be reserved towards the answering of his munition and furniture; and yet he receive more parcels of apparel, and more necessary, than those from England, viz., for summer, a cassock of this country's frieze, and for winter a mantle, both at little more than half the price that his cassock to be provided there should cost; also a pair of frieze hose for winter, and a pair of cloth hose for summer; but, by the ordinances, he should have but one pair of hose in the year. Also, by the ordinances, he shall pay 4*s.* for a shirt, 2*s.* 8*d.* for a pair of stockings, and 2*s.* 4*d.* for a pair of shoes. He shall be better fitted here with this country's linen cloth, which will continue longer than two of those shirts, for 2*s.* 8*d.* a shirt; a pair of this country's frieze stockings, more warm and necessary for such as march in wet than kersey, for 16*d.* or 18*d.* a pair; and, instead of one pair of shoes of 2*s.* 4*d.*, he shall have two pair of good brogues for 20*d.* Withal, any soldiers that hath seen the service of other

1597. VOL. CC.

countries and of this, can inform your Honour that the soldier must here of necessity use a mantle at all times for his lodging at night, and to keep him dry in the day, where such as serve in other countries find house-room, wheresoever they march." The hardships endured by the soldiers.—Dublin, 1597, July 29. *Burghley has added some marginal notes on this letter. Signed.* *pp.* 3.

[July.] 60. "The humble answer of the mustermaster to that his heinous charge for checking by discretion without musters, confessing and avoiding the same, who, by way of an accompt, showeth his proceedings in that his office to have been warrantable, and explaineth the whole by an instance of one band." *Addressed by Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil.*—[1597, July.] *pp.* 6.

July. 61. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Burgh. "My noble and dear Lord, although there cannot now be expected by you from us any new directions, but only attention of your future proceedings (wherein God make you happy), yet do I think myself bound, both in bands of love and public duty, to let you know what Her Majesty hath received from you lately, and what she hath conceived of you graciously.

"By your letter from beyond Newry to my Lord [Burghley], in answer of his long and many writings, your Lordship hath most deliberately and clearly answered all things required or needful, and I do assure you, before God, it was written with as judicial and apt circumstances as ever I heard or read, and such was the censure from the Queen's own mouth. For my own part, either I have gained an assurance in your heart, that I will not lie to you, or else I have lost much labour and affection. Believe me, therefore, that this is true; Her Majesty's conceit of you is infinitely raised, and by nothing more than that you promise as well to look to the reformation of expense as to make war. Since that letter came a letter from Mr. Secretary Fenton, of which I must say truth, and then leave it to your own wisdom, that it could not be more honestly described which (*sic*) you did at the Blackwater than as he reported it; both your diligent march, your discreet direction, your painful wading through the water, and your brave entering the fortification. To end that matter with few words, this I say, that your beginnings are so happy and so judicial as they promise sound success, *num dimidium facti, qui bene cepit, habet.* This late despatch of yours hath sent us word of some disaster happened to your own blood and friends, a loss known to be great to you, and not small to the Queen, in regard that they were able servants; but so far from any imputation of lack in your direction, or disreputation to the cause which is never free from such accidents, as Her Majesty in no wise is distasted with your actions, though sorry for their mischances. To your noble lady she will use all comfort that may be, and hath commanded me to tell you that you have not deceived her, for she did ever take you for such a one, and when she hears next from you, she will let you hear somewhat, with thanks for your private letters. I have urged the point of your giving

1597. VOL. CC.

knighthood, I do protest before God, and so did the Lord Admiral, who is nobly disposed to you, but we could not get a release of the restraint, but Her Majesty hath commanded me to require you to send such names as you mean to bestow honour upon, and she will give you authority, not doubting but you will use that respect in your recommendation which is convenient.

"My good Lord, for news of our fleet, it is yet half at Plymouth with the Earl and Sir Walter Ralegh, [and] the rest with the Lords Thomas and Mountjoy and Southampton on the coast, for that part did beat it up, the other could not. The next wind will carry all out, and a month's victual more is provided for supply. In short, for the farthest purpose, to take the place you wot of, and to keep it, the year is past. To burn the ships is now little hopeful, for they are too well provided, but the army being there and so strong, for us to put up our ships were dangerous lest they assail us. All I can promise by his going out is this, the Queen's fleet will lie between us and them, till the year be too far advanced, as it is well onward, and the land army will be returned, and the Queen's ships well manned, and lie in the way of the carricks and West Indian fleet. This is all I can promise, and for my wishes to him of good success, as a man whom now I love and honour, I dare make you my judge, and dare appeal to the world here for testimony, and I do thus conclude that in my conscience he is so persuaded of me. Because you love us both, I am bold to acquaint you, that you may now deal with us not as parallels.

"To use more words of the Queen's good opinion of you, how in your private you please her, and how in your public despatches you satisfy, were but to use superfluity to a judgment that hates it. I will therefore end, for this time, with this old song, that you have not living an [? a more] honest or more affectionate, though unfortunate heart-broken friend.

"Poor Anthony Sherley is come home alive but poor, and goeth out with the Earl. I thank your Lordship humbly for my hawks.

"Since my letter the Queen wills me to use no more but this watchword, that you are a Deputy, and in you her person represented, to which you must look, not to hazard any more than of necessity, which now she knew you could not avoid."—The Court, 1597, July. *Signed.* *pp.* 2.

July. 62. Thomas Pytt to [Burghley]. The prices in London of cheese and butter to be delivered in Ireland. Desires that money for the store desired may be appointed. *Endorsed*:—"July, 1597. Mr. Pitt of Bristol." *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

[July.] 63. Supplies of butter, cheese, and wheat sent to Ireland.—[1597, July.] *p.* 1.

July. 64. Docket of Irish suitors for money. For dieting of soldiers, arrears of pay, &c. *Endorsed*:—"July, 1597." *pp.* 3.

July. 65. Duplicate of most of the preceding. *Endorsed*:—"July, 1597." *pp.* 2.

VOL. CC.

1597.

July. 66. Docket of Irish suitors. "Particular suits." *Endorsed:*—"July, 1597." *p.* 1.

[July.] 67. Memorandum, drawn up by James Nott for Sir Robert Cecil, of matters tending to the furtherance of Her Majesty's special services in Ireland.

The reported intention of the Earl of Tyrone, if driven to extremity, to save himself, his wife, and such as he maketh best account of, by going into Scotland to his especial friends the Earl of Argyle and Angus M'Connell. The Queen's ships should be so stationed as to prevent this, and to see that no Scottish forces come to the aid of the Earl; also that no messenger pass with letters from the said Earl to the King of Spain, it being usual for such to go into Scotland, and thence into what part they please. The coming in of Tirlogh M'Henry, brother of the said Earl, is suspected to be in order so to win the friendship of the Lord Deputy, as to procure the enlargement of his son, one of the Earl's pledges remaining in Dublin Castle. Thinks it convenient "that Richard Weston, servant to the said Earl of Tyrone, be restrained for [from] going to the Earl, for that he is a most dangerous and cunning dissembler towards Her Majesty." Considers that order should be taken, upon the coming of merchants out of Ireland against Bartholomew fair, that none of them dwelling on the borders towards the rebels be admitted to carry with them, under colour of selling the same to the subject, "any great store of artillery or weapons in that kind," for he knows that Dundalk and other [places] furnish the enemy therewith, unless there be in every city or town one to take account of the number brought, and how they make sale of the same. Urges a reasonable agreement between the Lord Deputy and State of Ireland and James M'Sorley, who would do good service both against the Earl of Tyrone and Angus M'Connell. "One Alexander Steward, a Scot dwelling in the town of Glasgow," at one time sold to the Earl of Tyrone 2,000*l.* worth of gunpowder, and at other times furnishes him with as much as he will have, and brought to the Earl from Scotland three Scottish workmen who make muskets, culivers, and pistols. *Signed by James Nott.*—[1597, July.] *p.* 1.

[July.] 68. "An abstract of all Her Majesty's forces, as they be employed in the several Provinces and places ensuing; being so in list but not in strength, which Sir Ralph Lane, the Clerk of the Check and Mustermaster-General, was commanded to certify over."—[1597, July]. *pp.* 2½.

August 1. Dublin. 69. Captain Thomas Lee to Burghley. Acknowledges the good acceptance by the Queen and Privy Council of his late service upon the traitor Feagh M'Hugh. Has appointed his kinsman, Mr. Richard Lee, to be a suitor on his behalf for the payment of three concordatums due to him, amounting to 256*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.*—Dublin, 1597, August 1. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

VOL. CC.

1597.

August 1. Dublin. 70. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. To the same effect as the preceding, and asking Sir Robert to further his suit.—Dublin, 1597, August 1. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

August 2. Dublin. 71. Sir Anthony Sentleger to Burghley. Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, died on July 27 last at his house in the country; and the Bishop of Leighlin, Dean of St. Patrick's, lies dangerously ill. Thinks that, if the latter dies, there should be stay of the election of any new Dean until Her Majesty's pleasure be further known. For, of the fine imposed by the Star Chamber in England on the Bishop, and payable by 200*l.* a year for ten years, only four years and a quarter have been paid. The 200*l.* was assigned by Her Highness as an increase to the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Chief Baron, and the writer, and on the death of the Bishop this payment will cease. Sends a copy of the grant (*missing*). The Deanery is elective by the Chapter and Canons, and not donative by Her Majesty. Knows no better means than Her Highness's letter and express commandment to the Lord Chancellor and the Chapter not to proceed to any new election, before Her Highness's pleasure be first signified. To this effect there was, in Sir William Fitzwilliam's late government, a letter to the Lord Chancellor and the rest, but the same being of so old a date, and the place so for profit and ease desired, the writer makes bold to put Burghley in mind for the present renewing thereof. Has reminded the Lord Chancellor, "who well calleth to mind and confesseth the having of the same."

It is very hard to maintain their ordinary charges. All things are excessively dear, and at double the prices they had formerly been, especially these two years past the prices of all manner of victuals have trebled. Corn this year has been at four marks sterling the peck; heretofore it was wont to be at a noble or seven shillings a peck. All this dear time, has attended the State at Dublin, "having all things upon the penny," except a small quantity of port-corn assigned to him at Her Majesty's price, without which he had not been able to have kept house. The beeves assigned to them at Her Majesty's prices have not been paid these two years by reason of these troubles. For Magennis, who should have paid them, has been, and yet is, in action of rebellion with Tyrone. The small perquisites appertaining to his place are hardly able to maintain the clerks he must keep to enrol and estreat those things that pass the Great Seal. This done, ever since his coming, according to instructions; before his time it was not done. For this purpose only he keeps two clerks, and has no allowance for the estreats. Since these troubles the perquisites hardly bear the charges of one clerk. Having borne the brunt of these chargeable times, and the losses by these troubles, he is driven to be a humble suitor to Burghley to have some increase. Neither Sir Robert Napper nor himself ever yet had one foot or pennyworth of Her Highness's lands in Ireland leased unto them. The Privy Council wrote that they should have in lease a hundred pounds thereof for their better

1597. VOL. CC.

maintenance; and that now means may fall out (if the said Deanery should fall void) that without any further charge to Her Majesty, the three places [*i.e., those mentioned in a former part of this letter*] may be the better enabled to serve Her Highness.

No letters have come from the Lord Deputy or the camp since the 27th of July, at which time his Lordship lay at the Blackwater, not having fully finished his fortification there. Light skirmishes have been daily with the traitors, but no great hurt that they hear of since the loss of the Serjeant-Major, Mr. Vaughan, and Mr. Beresford of Lincolnshire, who by their too much forwardness, exceeding my Lord's directions, fell into an ambush of the traitor, and so were lost, on July 15.

No late certain news of Sir Conyers Clifford, but he is reported to have passed the Erne, not without fighting between him and O'Donnell, and some loss on both sides. On Friday last, the O'Reillys and others of the Brenny, spoiled certain towns in Meath and the barony of Slane; and Captain Parsons and his company, which then lay at Kells with some rising out of the country, encountered them on their return. The captain, with his officers and many of his company were slain, and the son of the Lord of Tremyleston [Trimletston] was taken by the rebels. The three London ships with corn and munition arrived safely at Dublin on July 29 last, but the treasure has not yet arrived. Since the writing of the above they hear that the Earl of Kildare died at Tredarth [Drogheda] of a bruise or hurt received at the camp.—Dublin, 1597, August 2. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2.

August 3. 72. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Has nothing worthy to deliver, but must do as a disburser, satisfy his audit of halfpence as truly as of greatest sums; there can be no faith without truth in these. The fortification whereof he last advertised has required more time than he expected, "or in good riddance needed." The State would it should be perfect and strong (for it is an eyesore in the heart of Tyrone's country, as he terms it, and he cannot abide it), and the soldiers are not apt to perform in any labour the duties they should. In the meantime has forced many fights, wherein the hurt has not been so much to Tyrone as the writer desired. "For, as he is the dishonestest rebel of the world so is he the most cowardly, never making good any fight, but bogring with his shot, and flying from bush to bush." On Friday, July 29, they so far invested the Earl that, by confession of his own men, he lost 200; and at three or four other encounters he has had blows of 50 or upwards each time. "I have devised how to give upon his quarters in the night, but it is impossible; for he lodgeth dispersed in the thicks, and holds no firm guards, but throws himself and all his into sundry groves, lurking scattered like wolves or foxes, fitter to hunt with dogs than to find with men; and so jealous and mistrustful he is, as he parts in the evening from his men, not suffering any to know his cabin, saving one or two to wait on him, and in the morning they meet upon some

1597. VOL. CC.

appointed place cut out in the woods, and, if they take an alarm night or day, they advise whither to fly beforehand."

Since Tyrone lost the passage on the Blackwater he has altered his resolution to resist Lord Burgh in going forward, and has bent to another mischief. To defeat the Earl of this has turned his own design. The Earl purposed to "embrase," behind Lord Burgh, all the borders "with fire and waste." Intends therefore to keep him ahead, and withal to "apprehend the commodity" of reducing the counties of Monaghan and Cavan by fortifying, and aweing all those parts with garrisons. Thence he wills to the Brenny, to recover Her Majesty's rents, and to settle those quarters. This is the scope of his purposes, wherein, God assisting him, he will do Her Majesty service. In all reason the rebel must thus perish, who otherwise preserves his followers, partly by stealth of cows, partly by imposition on those over whose lands and goods he is potent, partly also, and mostly, by the quiet habitation of those under him, who manure what he calls his country, and have all increase of corn and cattle as plentifully as in any part of England. Henceforward these new forts will not "spare him to foray," and will not suffer him to tax others (for either they may live under the favours of the forts, or else they will destroy their wealth), nor let him have object in the land, which hitherto sustains him, and (*sic*) shall hereafter be spoiled and preyed.

Will not complain of his own army, which hinders him from doing what else he might, "but this in general; some would not (as I may conjecture) his utter overthrow; others are more fearful than men of war ought to be; none of the officers honester than they should be in keeping complete bands. Hereafter of this point more at large. It is a subject to a large discourse." It is out of season for him to meddle with it now, and "during the journey it may be most dangerous to anatomize our members. I will be as good a physician against their diseases as I can, but thus much will I say. I came a stranger to them, and could not imagine so bad and false people. I now know them, and God, I doubt not, will deliver me from the burden of this business, with profit to my blissful queen."

Sir Henry Bagenall is a careful and good officer to Her Majesty. The Earl of Kildare's death at Drogheda. On Sunday night he [Lord Burgh] gave orders to some horsemen of the Marshal (who are excellent guides) to dismount, and to burn Dungannon town and the rebels' mills. This they executed, and returned safely. This scorn has exceedingly hurt Tyrone and his followers, and discountenanced him. Sundry would come in who only attend to bring away their creaghts. The falling off of his dependants cannot yet appear, because they have no means of living but by their cattle, and they cannot drive them to safety till Her Majesty has settled garrisons. Hopes speedily to diminish Her Majesty's expenses.

Commends his very faithful love to Sir Robert. Prays him to excuse the writer for this time to Burghley. Desires to be certified

1597. VOL. CC.

where "the noble Earl" [of Essex] is. Is drawn southwards towards Newry for beeves and victual; thence he goes forward as he has written. Prays that the bearer (who expects no pocket money) may be sent away speedily. — 1597, August 3. *Endorsed:*— "Received at the Strand the 19th of the same." *Holograph. pp.* 3.

August 3. Camp near Newry. 73. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Deputy, having finished the fort at the Blackwater on the 1st of this month, and having a purpose to pass further into the rebels' country, was driven to return hither with the army yesterday for want of victuals, not having one beef left at the time of his dislodging from the fort. Some beeves expected out of the English Pale. Till they come, his Lordship is driven to feed the army with biscuit and good words; in other sort he has no means to sustain them, which is no small crossing of this great action now in hand. As soon as the beeves come, the army returns to the Blackwater, to cast up another fort in the place where the old fort was, and so to leave a strong garrison in them both, able to keep and free the passage against all enemies, and also to make sallies into the rebels' country, and to spoil his creaghts. Hopes this last fort will be perfected in six or seven days, and then, if his Lordship may be furnished with any convenient proportion of beef, he will set upon Monaghan and Cavan. These two counties being reduced to Her Majesty, will strike off two of the best limbs that Tyrone has. Sees good probability to recover these two in short time with this army, if it may be sustained with reasonable provision of beef. Besides drawing in these two places, which must for a time be countenanced with strong garrisons, his Lordship, by dividing the companies upon those two countries, the Newry and the Blackwater, will greatly ease the English Pale of the burden of soldiers, which will be a matter most acceptable to the poor inhabitants there.

Will advertise further upon every commodity of passage. The burning, on July 31, of Dungannon, the Earl of Tyrone's famous house, by the Lord Deputy, "an honourable addition to his valorous winning of the Blackwater." — The Camp near Newry, 1597, August 3. *Signed. p.* 1.

August 3. Dublin. 74. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Burghley. Received from the Queen on the 8th of December, in the thirty-sixth year of her reign [1594], a letter concerning the Bishop of Leighlin, then Dean of St. Patrick's, and that Deanery. Sends copy herewith (*missing*). Death of the Bishop. Has, according to Her Majesty's commandment, both expressly charged the Chapter not to proceed to any new election, and also taken order that the fruits of the Deanery (except so much thereof as is already tithed) shall be safely kept until Her Majesty's pleasure be further known. How the remainder of the fine imposed by the Star Chamber on the late Bishop can be met out of the fruits of the Deanery. Desires instructions speedily, as the Lord Deputy may consider the Deanery to be in his gift; "and

1597. Vol. CC.

this honourable man, being a stranger unto me, I would be very loath to incur his dislike."

Death of Sir Robert Dillon, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. "There will be great lack of him by reason of his good skill in his profession, and perfect understanding of the state of this poor kingdom." Therefore it will be good that Her Majesty have some special care in the disposing of that office. "Mr. Bathe, the second justice of that bench, is a very honest gentleman, but sickly, and, by reason of his age and weakness, much decayed both in his memory and judgment in the laws. And here is Mr. Justice Walsh, an ancient servitor and Councillor of State to Her Majesty, a man, by the opinion of the judges here, very learned, and, for his continual good services in his circuits, and integrity in matters of justice, very worthy of good preferment. All which I have made humbly bold to make known to your Lordship, and do leave them to your most grave and wise consideration."—Dublin, 1597, August 3. *Signed. pp.* 2.

August 3. Dublin. 75. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Has not heard from the camp since the 29th July. Skirmish that morning. Movements of Lord Burgh.

Arrival of the ships sent from England with 1,700 quarters of wheat and a proportion of munition. The most of the wheat is so bad that the bakers will not undertake to make biscuit of it. Four hundred quarters are to be sent speedily to Galway for the relief of the army in Connaught. More might be sent thither directly from England. From Land's End it may in a manner be transported thither as soon as to Dublin, whereby much charge will be avoided. "So much ground here hath been untilled, and the corn on the ground for the most part so ill, as that of necessity the army must be relieved from thence before the last of November, or it is to be feared they will endure great penury." Her Majesty's forces in list now, as certified by the mustermaster, are 10,300, which will amount to a great charge, besides all extraordinaries. By his next he will send a particular book of the aforesaid number and charge.

On July 30 the O'Reillys of the Brenny and the M'Mahons made an incursion to prey the Pale towards Kells. The charge of the forces of that border was committed to the Lord of Trimletston. He himself was absent, but his son and the Sheriff of Meath remained upon the border with about forty horse and one hundred foot of the country. Captain Parsons, who lay at Kells with one hundred foot, joined them, and, as the rebels returned, encountered them. The horsemen fled presently, and overran our own footmen, whereby the aforesaid Parsons, his ensign, and serjeant were killed, and his lieutenant mortally wounded, besides fifty of the company slain. Notwithstanding the great charge given to the Lords [of the Pale] by the Lord Deputy before going on his journey, and since renewed by the Council, for their lying upon the borders, yet but very few of them perform this charge, and, as it is said, some of them make their profit by sparing some at home. Good direction has been given to prevent further mischief, and, if the Lord Deputy

1597. VOL. CC.

has repassed the Blackwater, he will doubtless take good order therein, when advertised of the accident.

Yesterday, the Earl of Kildare (who came some thirteen or fourteen days past sick from the camp) died at his mother's house in Drogheda; and this morning died the Bishop of Leighlin at his house in Dublin. "God send a good preacher and housekeeper in his deanery; the living is able to bear both." Her Majesty's directions therein. Death of Sir Robert Dillon. Recommends Mr. [Sir Roger] Wilbraham, the Solicitor-General, if he will accept thereof, his entertainment being now as good as, or better than, Sir Robert's; and, if he refuses, then thinks Mr. Justice Walsh the fittest, for he supposes neither Sir Robert Napper nor Sir Anthony Sentleger will exchange the places they now hold. Sir Roger Wilbraham is now at Namptwich with his father, by license from the Lord Deputy, for six weeks.

"This season is very contagious here, through an exceeding burning fever, whereof many have lately and do continually die; besides of this country disease, which reigneth much." The treasure has not yet arrived.—Dublin, 1597, August 3. *Signed. pp.* 2.

August 3. 76. Robert Ardern to Burghley. For payment of a sum of 216*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, for provision of butter and cheese for Ireland. Hopes to complete the provision by the 16th of this month. *Endorsed*:—"1597, August 3." *Signed. p.* 1.

August 3. Bristol. 77. William Yate, Mayor of Bristol, to Burghley. Concerning provision of butter and cheese made by him for Ireland.—Bristol, 1597, August 3. *Signed. p.* 1.

August 4. Dublin. 78. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Encloses a plot (*missing*) of the esconcement made by the Earl of Tyrone to impeach the passage of the Blackwater, very valiantly and fortunately achieved by the Lord Deputy. Knows Burghley's liking that actions should be "platted forth in lineal descriptions" to him, as well as circumstantially by letter. Encloses also a letter (*missing*) written to him by his deputed Commissary for the musters of the army, giving the strength of the same on the day of its muster before the Lord Deputy.—Dublin, 1597, July 20.

"Right Honourable, before the perclosure of this my letter, tarrying for a wind, there was in the meanwhile delivered to me a letter from your Lordship of the third of July last, signifying to me, in Her Majesty's grievous indignation towards me, through sundry informations against me, particularly by Sir William Russell and others, of my insufficiency, negligence, and abuse of mine office, Her Majesty to have commanded to discharge me of any further execution of it, as also that my patent should be determined." Received, also, the day after, from Sir Henry Wallop transcripts of certain ordinances signed by Her Majesty, and of a general letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, bearing the said date [*i.e.*, 3 July], wherein was set down his said discharge,

1597. VOL. CC.

and his office appointed over to Commissaries, to be chosen by the Lord Deputy, together with a surveyor to receive the certificates of them, and extinguishing the dead pay. No mention is made in the ordinances of the determination of his patent, which is for his life, with the entertainments and duties belonging to the same. Thanks Burghley for defending him. No precedent during the Queen's reign for the determination of a patent before the time of its expiration, or before a lawful proved forfeiture thereof.

Can not only clear himself, and lay the whole burden of his insufficiencies, and of all his supposed errors and omissions, upon Sir William Russell, his principal accuser (as he understands), who most unjustly refused and rejected his sundry petitions, both by word and writing, for Commissaries to be assigned him in the remote garrisons, but can also "apparently prove" that, by his industry alone, and at his own particular charge, Her Majesty has been served to her far greater benefit in checks, in any one of the mean half years of these Ulster wars, than was gained to Her Majesty in three of the best half years of the wars in Munster; and that upon such an army as, before the supply of May last, was greater than this by a thousand foot and horse. Yea, and his predecessor was so approved by the State for his diligence and faithfulness, that he was not only rewarded in Ireland by concordatums, but recommended into England for a further reward, which he had granted unto him in land about Dublin. Refers to previous accounts, and to Burghley's former satisfaction with his defence thereof.

Still charged anew unto Her Majesty with matters old, and the same formerly answered, and that to the full. Now lastly, "the deadly wound of Her Majesty's indignation, even for the self same supposed crimes, inflicted upon me, in the ordinances instantly set down to my perpetual (though undeserved) disgrace, as also unto the hazard of my utter undoing." Knows not which way to turn save to God, and to Burghley, "the patron of justice and piety to all in general living under Her Majesty's royal sceptre." Beseeches his honourable mediation with the Queen on the writer's behalf, for a fuller inquiry into the crimes imposed upon him; wherein if truth and sincerity do not acquit him, then let doom of justice, in any rigour of Her Majesty's laws, without any mercy, deprive him of execution, patent, and all. "But if, my most especial good Lord, the fire of Her Majesty's grievous indignation shall appear to have been blown by the bellows of envy in others against me, or for some other their particular designs or humours, and not upon any just ground, either of Her Majesty's service or profit, to my guiltless overthrow, both in credit and state, in this world, and their own just damnation in the world to come, being peradventure so great as a poor man's wrong can take no hold to be righted upon them in this world," beseeches again Burghley's mediation with the Queen on his behalf. Craves pardon for his passionate, tedious, and overbold writing. Imputes it to his "extreme pinches at heart,' because of "this most unchristian dealing" towards him. Prays that

1597. VOL. CC.

he may not be utterly ruined at once by an extreme sentence of condemnation, before he has been lawfully convicted of the crimes most unjustly supposed, and imposed upon him by his accusers. His gratitude to Burghley.—Dublin, 1597, August 4. [*Postscript in Sir Ralph's hand.*] Craves pardon for not writing the letter himself, as he is even now either upon his "bed of cure" or his bed of death. This were better, if so it pleased the Almighty. Deaths of the Earl of Kildare and of the Bishop of Leighlin. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 3.

August 5. Dundalk. 79. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Owing to the great want of beef in the army, he has been sent back by the Lord Deputy to the English Pale to have the want remedied. Has no hope to prevail much, considering the extreme poor state of the country, but will try and work the inhabitants to answer this turn for 600 or 700 beeves, upon which help resteth the whole enterprise of Ulster. The day before he departed the Lord Deputy sent to Lecale to be furnished with 200 there. Doubts they will not be had in that wasted country. The rebels have driven their creaghts into their several fastnesses, and lie themselves between their cows and the army, close to their woods, not daring to come into the plains. So it is not possible to help themselves to preys from the rebels, without attempting their strongest fastness, which were to hazard the army to all overthrow; for in no sort can they draw them out above a culiver shot from their woods, though sundry provocations have been used, as well by stratagem as by open skirmishes.

Upon any help of beeves the Lord Deputy is to return to the Blackwater to finish another fort there, without which no garrison can be laid sufficient to annoy the enemy. The further plans as to Monaghan and the Brenny. Of biscuit the army has good store, but of butter and cheese none at all. Whilst Sir Geffrey is in the Pale the Lord Deputy has appointed him to practise with some of the Brenny men, to work a party for Her Majesty. Thinks this will be the last thing he will do this summer; so it will be the "middest" of next month, at the nearest, before he meets his Lordship there. If, in the meanwhile, Sir Robert pleases to direct any letters to him, his abode will be for the most part at Dublin.—Dundalk, 1597, August 5. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

August 8. Dublin. 80. Sir Anthony Sentleger to Sir Robert Cecil. When Sir William Weston, Sir Robert Napper, and himself came over to Ireland, the Queen granted each of them 100 marks a year as an increase of their small fees. This was payable out of the 200*l.* per annum paid by the Bishop of Leighlin, then Dean of St. Patrick's, towards the fine of 2,000*l.* imposed on him by the Star Chamber. The Queen's former letter about the fruits of the Deanery. Death of the Dean on August 3. Prays that the Deanery may be allotted to him who shall succeed Sir Robert Dillon as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to Sir Robert Napper and to himself, as some increase of their allowances, or, at the least, that some larger

1597. VOL. CC.

portion be made to them out of the same. The extreme dearness of all things, and especially of corn. His whole entertainment is hardly able to bear his ordinary charges. Attends the state in Dublin in "the most chargeablest place of the realm." Has six clerks in pay, and his only entertainment is his "ancient fee" of 37*l.* 10*s.*, and the said 100 marks per annum. Has, above the rest, borne the brunt and charge of these most dear times.—Dublin, 1597, August 8. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

August 9. Namptwich. 81. Sir Roger Wilbraham to Burghley. Recommends that Sir Robert Napper, now Chief Baron, be promoted to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, a place "equal in fee, and superior in dignity and ease," and that some sound and expert lawyer be sent from England to be Chief Baron. Thinks this "would be a good means to prevent the ruin likely to fall upon the revenues." Death of the Bishop of Leighlin. "The Deanery this dear season of corn was worth better than one thousand marks, as the Bishop hath confessed to me; at other times not above half the value." Purposes about three weeks hence repairing towards Ireland, yet would be glad if Burghley enjoined him any service, that he might attend him at the Court. Heard this morning from Chester that the treasure is not yet gone to Ireland for want of wind; yet there is hope this day that they will put to sea.—Namptwich, 1597, August 9. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

August 9. Namptwich. 82. Sir Roger Wilbraham to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommends the promotion of Sir Robert Napper to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, "a place higher in dignity, equal in fee, of more ease and less scandal," and that "some worthy man" be sent out of England to supply the place of Chief Baron; "it would, I hope, support the decayed and tottering estate of the revenue." Death of the Dean of St. Patrick's. Value of the Deanery. Is come to England to visit his old father, but purposes to return about the end of this month towards Ireland. Will be glad to wait on Sir Robert at the Court.—Namptwich, 1597, August 9. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

August 9. Athlone. 83. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy of his letter to the Lord Deputy and Council, written on his return out of O'Donnell's country. Trouble is like to follow, in that the Lord Deputy took no better setting in Tyrone. Assures himself his Lordship has done all in his power, yet the rebel there expected much more offence, "and the iies of all other ill disposced rebells stodd to behowld that acction."

Tyrone accounts himself free for this year, and will stir by all means as many parts as he can to disturb the whole kingdom this winter. By Sir Conyers' little experience they are in all places so ill affected that he may do great harm with no difficulty. What is more dangerous, he will solicit and bring a hope of aid from Spain: and, albeit he may assure himself this will be hard to do, yet the bruit will serve his turn.

1597. VOL. CC.

"The kingdom is full of wicked priests to whom the people hearken much more than they have done. They come so subtly instructed that I assure your Honour they do great mischief."

Weakness of his forces, notwithstanding great numbers of men come daily for supplies and great disbursements of money. "There is great abuse, either by us that are captains or by those that should disburse money unto us." This abuse has not happened in the time of Lord Burgh. His Lordship seeks by all means the strength and honest reputation of the companies. Asks Sir Robert to consider one point. "The rebel is Irish, the soldier is the same, whereby, this last journey of mine, I find so great inconvenience that, whilst I live, I shall never think them fit to prosecute this war; and, in my conscience, horse and foot, two parts of Her Majesty's army are of this country's birth." Had in his company the two Earls of the Province, and six gentlemen attending them both; but, in extremity, he had, at the best, but their persons, "nether shall any man except I be disceaved."

"This war, in my opinion, is grown to this charge by sufferance, and if your Honour find by this last two years' treaty there be no hope to win this people again to sound obedience, Her Majesty will then but consume men and money, except Her sacred Majesty will be pleased to look into all men's employments here, and so strictly as no minister may have any scope, Treasurer, Victualler, Commander of men, or soldier; and that, with good advice, Her Majesty enter royally; and, if there be no greater difficulty, then I see Ireland may be quieted in six months as well as in a thousand years. The heads in chief are but two, Tyrone and O'Donnell; the main prosecution must be upon them, and, albeit many inferior men trouble divers parts, yet, they being but abated of their high pride, the rest will do anything [that] can be required."

The Province was for the most part in rebellion at his coming. O'Donnell and Maguire, by the loss of Sligo, made themselves provincial rebels, and in the division amongst themselves, O'Donnell undertook the ruling and defending of the Province against Her Majesty's force.

The number of men he had with him never, at the most, exceeded 1,500 foot or 120 horse. The forces of O'Donnell, Maguire, and O'Rourke were 4,000 foot and 400 or 500 horse. Yet, "with God's assistance, and with the least help otherwise that ever man had," he has kept the country from O'Donnell and the rest, banished M'William, brought many inferior men to obedience, and cut off many wicked and most malicious traitors, as Con M'Adwalto in the county of Roscommon, and John M'Ricard of the county of Mayo. These were as well cut off as any might be in this country except M'William. And if his [Sir Conyers'] means had been but reasonable, whatsoever the opinion of the world may be to the contrary, he thinks O'Donnell might have been sent into Scotland. It only stood upon the taking of Ballyshannon, and Sir Conyers was so near that, if Tyrone had not aided O'Donnell, Her Majesty

1597. VOL. CC.

had been possessed of that place. Had not full 1,200 soldiers of all sorts, nor any victuals or powder, and what honesty any man may have by leading so unprovided an army I leave to your Honour's wisdom." When the Lord Deputy returns, must be a means for allowance of what he has disbursed, whereby he may be able to work amongst this people again. Will then make a large offer of service, and, if it prove not as he promises, let him lose his credit with Sir Robert.—Athlone, 1597, August 9. *Holograph. pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

83. 1. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council. Hastened all he might to discharge his Honour's commandment, and to be at Ballyshannon by the time Lord Burgh appointed to be at the Blackwater; but the travail of the companies after his coming last from Dublin, and the scarcity of victuals in the Province, made him unable. Protests he omitted no diligence until he performed his coming into that place.*

*On the 29th of last month he lodged upon the Erne side, over against the town of Ballyshannon, where he took the best view he might of the passage, but, finding that ford very difficult by reason of the castle, he seemed not to see any such thing, but encamped there, hoping thereby to draw O'Donnell to withdraw his forces from all other passages (which in truth he did), saving very few. Upon this he commanded Sir Calisthenes Brook to draw an hour before day unto Belleek; and himself with the rest of the army, all ready to march, kept the camp, to put the enemy out of suspicion and with the break of day marched after Sir Calisthenes Brook. When the enemy saw this they hastened to prevent him, but he used such expedition that it proved in vain for them. Most commend the exceeding worthiness of Sir Calisthenes Brook, who behaved himself with as much judgment and valour as might have been expected. His Honour's young captain was not backward, and John Allen, lieutenant to Sir Calisthenes, behaved himself very valiantly, and was the first man Sir Conyers appointed to lead over the ford of the river.*

*After his passage with good success, saving that the Baron of Inchiquin miscarried by his too much desire to be over with the foremost, he lost not three men in passing the whole army. This much amazed the enemy, for they made little account he could pass, the strength being good which they had made for defence, and upon the place they held some forty or fifty shot. They presently fell into skirmish, and thought to impeach his passage any further; but he marched in despite without any loss until he came to the Abbey of Ashers ["Asseroy"], three miles from this entrance [Ballyshannon], and there encamped. This much amazed them, whereupon they offered no further impeachment all that day to any purpose.*

*The next day he rested the companies, which had endured much travail and great want. The following day came in the provision he had ordered by sea. Then he disembarked two small field pieces, which were the best Athlone could afford. With them he had*

1597. VOL. CC.

*no hope to batter for any breach, but he used no delay to practise them against the enemy's flankers. After taking away one flanker upon the side where he meant to enter, he drew down seven companies to keep in the ward, and to defend them from any further succour. This he effected by the next morning, and possessed himself of a cellar, where Captain Foljambe was on guard, and behaved himself well.*

*The next day Maguire and O'Rourke came to O'Donnell, and that morning, by ten of the clock, they sought by force to put in men to give comfort to the ward. Notwithstanding their furious coming on he quickly discouraged them, and "put them to retire," with the loss of many men, especially a chief man of Maguire's.*

*Now began the great misery of himself and his men, for by this time it seemed his Lordship had withdrawn. The same day Maguire and O'Rourke passed themselves in great jollity over the Erne, as it were to stop his passage; giving out with great noise to the ward that his Lordship had retired, and willed them to hold out but that day, and that he (Sir Conyers) was in their hands, for the Earl and all his forces would not fail the next day to be with O'Donnell.*

*All this time he never heard from his Lordship, and the villainy of the people was such that a messenger of trust could not be found to deal faithfully. The companies with him had now lived five days and nights continually in arms, with as much scarcity of victuals as ever men endured. Yet not believing the new rumour, and being in assured hope of the house, and so of the country, he thought it better to endure for that time rather than leave it after so much necessity and misery. But that night a harper, whom he had sent to O'Rourke's, came to him, and assured him his Lordship was gone; for he had seen a letter sent from his Lordship unto Sir Conyers, which the enemy had intercepted, and told him part of the contents, adding that the next morning Cormack M'Baron would be there with 200 horse and 700 or 800 shot. This indeed proved true.*

*Upon this, and for the extremity they were in, he resolved to quit the place; and that evening drew up the ordnance, and brought both pieces to ship by break of day. One piece was lost in shipping the same. "These beggars gave proudly out that I would steal away, and so watched all the passages in the night; but, my honourable Lord and the rest, for what danger soever, God forbid any such cause of pride should be given them."*

*Saw his own danger every way; the misery the men had endured with hunger and travail; the number of them that were Irish; the only munition left, one barrel of powder and a little lead. So he was put every way to provide for a great extremity. Had no choice but to go, and, as nigh as he might, he chose to go honestly. Could expect no relief in three days, and "of force" must travel twenty miles a day, to come to any place for relief. They (the enemy) all vowed to follow him to Athlone, and made as*

1597. VOL. CC.

*full account to have given an overthrow as they might well do, but that God alone was his defender.*

*"In this extremity I made a brief speech, and desired the companies not to be dismayed. They should see how little I accounted of them, and, where they gave out I would steal away, I was so far from any such course, as I accounted it a great happiness if we might see them to fight in so just a quarrel. The poor men with great comfort swore to follow whatsoever I would appoint. Whereupon, two hours after day, to assure my company the more they were without danger, I passed the ford with the sound of drum, and all the ensigns flying, and the baggage, and so the rear guard, where Sir Calisthenes Brook deserveth another high commendation. The enemy, before I could fully set all things in order, fell upon me of* (sic) *both sides the river in great pride and fury. And truly, my good Lord and the rest, they were many men, but we showed them we had set our lives at a great price, and so set unto them as they gave us leave to put ourselves in order. That done we marched, and they again set upon us, and so continued for six long hours, with, at the least,* 1,000 *shot and* 300 *horse close up beside us. And, my honourable Lord and the rest, they were, in two battles of foot following them, at the least* 2,000 *foot more, and* 200 *horse to relieve them, or upon execution to come in. There was no part of our army uncharged, and with great fury; but, by God's merciful assistance, we gave them as good as they brought, and killed many more of them than they of us. For, whensoever they charged, they never went off without loss, many times of their chief leaders.*

*"My companies began now to retire for want of munition, and, in the instant, fell so great a storm that neither they nor we could discharge one piece, and by this means they discovered not our want; but still they followed and came close, horse and foot, to our battle and we still defended ourselves with pikes. Thus they continued until we came to Bunduff, eight miles from Ballyshannon, which, my good Lord and the rest, I think we were five or six hours in marching. And for so long time I know there could not be seen a greater fight.*

*"Then began their footmen to give us over, and their horse still kept close with our battle, and so watched when we would sit down; and thus they continued seven or eight miles further; and, after seeing we could not be gotten without great danger and loss to them, they, like foresworn beggars, gave us over. And I trust it be high time now for Her sacred Majesty to provide so for us here, as these villains may live no longer in this pride; and God knoweth, if they may be thoroughly followed, these wars will quickly be ended."*

*Has got some little experience amongst them, and, if hunger and poverty be kept from the soldier, Her Majesty may quickly have an account of this rebellion being taken yet in time. But, if this winter be overslipped, they will be in great hope of the Spaniards, and besides, if they be not spoiled in their corn, they will the next year be hardly impeached. Assures himself no part of England*

1597. VOL. CC.

*has "more plenty" of corn than the country of Tyrconnell. If they reap, and have time to hide, this, they will not easily be impeached.*

*The army now in Connaught is weak in numbers, and utterly destitute of all things, so that, until they be fully supplied, he cannot carry them again into the field. Yet he doubts there will be great necessity, for, seeing the army has staid no longer amongst them, he fears O'Donnell will offer to put in M'William again; besides his suspicion, upon his going the last journey, he met with letters from some of the Clandonnells, assuring O'Donnell that, if Sir Conyers possessed not the country of Tyrconnell, they would join with him.*

*Has sent five companies to prevent as much as he may of that plot; but, until he sees Tibbott Ne Longe, he knows not what to doubt. Has sent O'Connor Sligo and Theobald Dillon to Tibbott, to command him to apprehend those of the Clandonnells. Knows not yet any good cause why Tibbott went not the journey with him by sea, as he had given him, his mother and brother amongst them, in money and other necessaries, 200l. Cannot enter into any jealousy of him, nor be too much assured of his brother.*

*Trusts his Lordship and the rest will find his means to have been little to maintain the companies under his own leading, and to supply all other companies many times with money and victuals for the several wards of Athlone, the Abbey of Boyle, and Ballymote [besides the] rewards to spies, guides, and messengers, and "contentments" to gentlemen, both for service and encouragements. For the most part he has not received in money, as Mr. Treasurer knows, above 2,000l.; for the impost of Galway, 250l.; for the rents and composition of Thomond and Clanrickard, 200l.; and in corn, before his going that journey, but a scant proportion. What has since come to Galway he has yet no note of. This corn has been for the maintenance of twenty-one companies of foot, three of horse, and for the wards and pledges, which has been no small matter. Has had no benefit from the impost of Galway, but has used it for these services. The compositions of Thomond and Clanrickard have been employed only for beef. Dares demand nothing of other places until the country be settled. Only he has taken 700 beeves of the county of Mayo of their agreement for arrearages; further he dares not move them. So that, unless his Lordship and the rest be a means to see him fully satisfied of what he has disbursed of his own, he will be discouraged, and the country where he has given his word to see them paid, will by no means hold them any longer contented. Will send in his accounts, and hopes to find so much favour that he may be fully satisfied upon the next treasure; otherwise he knows not what to do any longer there, where, he takes God to witness, he has only consumed his poor estate, and endured more misery than ever man before him did. "And I beseech thus much favour, that times past may not be looked into, for in no sort this province was ever as it is now. For, besides the waste of the place, and that nothing can be had amongst them, they think Her Majesty should give them some thing for*

1597. VOL. CC.

*acknowledging obedience, and yet that after such a fashion, that I dare demand nothing but for them to forbear actual rebellion. But, when God sends time, they must learn another lesson. And if I may be made* 2,000 *foot strong, and* 200 *horse victualled and paid for three months at one time* [*and*] *the Earl kept from me, I will, by God's grace, give a good account of especial service upon O'Donnell. I know him and his country; but, without I may be fully provided for that time, I dare undertake nothing. And God knoweth it is a small matter, considering how many months' pay will be spent without any service, not being orderly appointed, and at one time. My opinion is, this winter they must be followed; and for this place, if I may have money for extraordinary provisions, I will make my entry so as he shall neither, by God's grace, prevent me nor resist me."—Athlone,* 1597, *August* 9. *Copy. pp.* 3¼.

August 10. 84. Memorandum stating that Her Majesty was exceedingly wronged in a grant that she gave to the Earl of Kildare some six years ago. She exchanged certain lands with the Earl for the maintenance of a fort called Catherlagh. The Earl's lands were surveyed at 42*l.*, and so much Her Majesty passed to the Earl of her inheritance in Ireland. When the Earl had this grant he was enforced in respect of his debts to sell the same; whereupon he committed the trust of this sale to one Richard Netterfield and one Henry Burnell, who most shamefully abused both Her Majesty and the Earl. For they impaired all her manors in the English Pale; they purchased the lands to their own use, and gave the Earl but 600*l.* for the same. Afterwards the writer, coming to the Earl's service, found fault therewith, and complained of it to Sir Henry Wallop. He did much mislike thereof, and offered 4,000*l.* for the same grant. The calling of this matter in question procured the writer much hatred. *Endorsed*:—"10 August 1597." [*See also under July* 18, *No.* 33.] *p.* ½.

[August 10.] 85. Similar memorandum on the same subject.—[1597, August 10.] *p.* 1.

August 11. Dublin. 86. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to Burghley. After a very earnest letter from the Lord Deputy at the camp, for a further supply of beeves to be made for the army in Ulster, they, with great difficulty, raised the proportion required, being 300. Not after the usual manner, by "plotting them upon the country," nor at Her Majesty's wonted rates, viz., 15*s.* sterling the beef; for the scarcity of beeves, and poverty of the inhabitants of the English Pale, could not bear it. They were driven to employ some butchers of Dublin [to go] into the several shires and markets of the Pale, to buy them at the best rates they could, as if it were for themselves, paying ready money. By which device they furnished with much ado the said proportion, at 30*s.* sterling the beef, and have taken order for their sending to Dundalk, whence by convoy they are to be driven to Newry, and so to the

1597. VOL. CC.

camp. Besides the difficulty in getting the beeves, Burghley may see how chargeably it riseth to Her Majesty, by paying a double price for them, and that in ready money, which the Treasurer borrowed hardly of several merchants; otherwise the necessity of the army had not been answered. Yet the Lord Deputy has sent direction to make a further provision of beeves. Know not how to perform this with the speed that is required, but will use their best endeavours as in this last case; for in other sort they are not to be gotten unless they used compulsory means, which would overmuch discontent the people.

In regard of these difficulties as to beeves, and seeing that the army, when it is disposed into garrisons, will be in great necessity of victuals in store (for such must be their sustenance all the winter), pray Burghley to give order that a good proportion of butter, cheese, and fish be sent out of hand to Carlingford, whence it may be conveyed to the several garrisons in Ulster and the borders. Also, that better care be used for the carriage of the cheese than there was in the last proportion, which in effect was all perished for want of well sorting and packing in the ship. "And if it would please your Lordship likewise to cause some malt to be sent, it would greatly comfort the soldiers, and prevent a lamentable weakness they fall into daily for want of drink, being driven only to live upon water, which in reason cannot be but one principal cause of so great a diminution of the army, as happeneth daily by sickness, death, and running away, to eschew that extremity, to the which they have not been inured." Importance of the relief of these impediments.—Dublin, 1597, August 11. *Signed.* *pp.* 1½.

August 11. Dublin. 87. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. The difficulty in levying beeves. Pray for some round provision of butter, cheese, and fish; "also a proportion of malt to make beer for the soldiers, who, having no other drink than water, do fall daily into no small weakness of body, to the great hindrance of the service, and not without offence to a good conscience, to see so many Christian souls perish in that want. I, the secretary, being now returned by the Lord Deputy from the camp, have been, not only at this time, but in many other journeys before, an eye-witness of this calamity, the same not a little grieving me, specially for that the hurt thereby reboundeth wholly upon the English, such as are sent out of England, who otherwise might be made men serviceable, and so to continue a long time."

The store of corn, converted and not converted, will not continue above the last of October next by estimation, as the Treasurer has of late advertised. "The present dearth is not like to be relieved this year, for that much land in the Pale was left unsown this last year."—Dublin, 1597, August 11. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

August 11. Dublin. 88. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The extreme scarcity of beeves, and the unwonted prices paid for them, being

1597. VOL. CC.

far above all former times. Thought this might be made known to Burghley apart, rather than to the rest of the Privy Council, to the end that his Lordship, who is specially careful over the wants of this chargeable kingdom, might be a mean to have them relieved with dry victuals instead of beef, viz., with cheese and salted fish, and "with some malt for drink for the soldiers, who I see daily to perish for want thereof, against the rule of Christian compassion." The joint letter to his Lordship is large enough. If Sir Geffrey added more, it would be but to amplify the misery they are in which he knows could not but bring grief to his Honour, as it discourages himself who is daily, more than any other of the Council, an eye-witness with the soldiers in the sufferance thereof.

Is now in hand to raise a further supply of beeves for the camp, wherein he has little comfort to prevail; and yet it must be done, or the good success of the general enterprise is like to quail. Is advised to send officers abroad to take them where they may be found, but he sees reason to resist that device, seeing it cannot but imprint in the hearts of the people a dangerous discontentment, to have their goods taken from them by force, which they know is contrary to the freedom of subjects, and against the mild and righteous course Her Majesty has used to them always heretofore. How hardly soever it go with the soldiers for want of beef, yet it is harder to raise their relief of the subjects by a course of violence, contrary to law, and not with their own contentment.—Dublin, 1597, August 11. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

August 11. Dublin. 89. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. That the allowances granted to the three Judges out of the Deanery of St. Patrick's may be continued to them owing to the great dearth, "far exceeding all former times," and because their stipends are totally unable to answer their charges. This is an easier way than helping them out of the revenue.—Dublin, 1597, August 11. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

August 11. Athlone. 90. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. "I received a letter from your Honour, whereby I conceived great contentment of your favourable exposition of my endeavours in this toilsome and wicked place, and, albeit I have not done that which either I desire or see most requisite to be done, yet I most humbly beseech your Honour to consider of the means I have had, the estate of this Province when I came into it, and how much is different from all times past, by the open passage and great fort O'Donnell from time to time gives aid (*sic*). So that my employment is not against those in action naturally of this country, but against him and Maguire at all times, and, as the Earl is not busied, against many of his forces, whereof I have felt the brunt, as well in defending [*i.e.*, forbidding] their purpose for the placing again of M'William, as now upon my invading of O'Donnell."

Cannot answer Burghley's commandment for particulars of the whole proceedings of Sir John Norreys, until the return of the Clerk of the Council for Connaught, who went into Munster on Sir

1597. VOL. CC.

Conyers going this last journey, and who keeps the books. Found Connaught for the most part in rebellion. The means he has had have been nothing to reclaim it, yet God has given so favourable success, as there is great alteration. Protests that since his coming he never made attempt but that there were great odds against him. No army for the time has endured such misery. If Burghley finds Her Majesty has made better allowance it will profit this service much to see an account of every man's action. For, if means come thus disproportioned as they have to him, it will be Her Majesty's great charge, if it prove no worse.

Burghley may be pleased to have the army first looked into; there, in Sir Conyers' opinion, is great abuse. For as they are not answerable in number, so in [to] his knowledge two parts are Irish throughout the whole kingdom.

Secondly, the captains complain they receive no money, and what Her Majesty disburses Burghley is privy to.

"Thirdly, it must be a great pride to the enemy that Her Majesty's army should be driven to leave the field for want of victuals in twenty or thirty days, and of this I know Her Majesty will find great prejudice. This summer lost, the rebel will begin a new winter practice in all parts of the kingdom, and what hope he will imagine to draw from Spain there may be great doubt. God give us all grace to discharge our duties, and that this waste of men and money may be lessened by some sound policy, or that Her Majesty will be pleased to enter with that force and means, as these unnatural beggars may be constrained to their obedience. For my own part, I have felt so much of the misery, and pity so much the poor men employed, as, to free them and ease Her Majesty, I would think my life well sacrificed. And, if this government were ever pleasure or profit to any man, I protest unto your Honour, as I am a Christian, directly or indirectly it was never worth to me sixpence, and my travail hath been so much against my strength as nothing but my duty to Her sacred Majesty could make me endure it any longer."

Sends copy of his letter to the Lord Deputy and Council. With small allowances and forces he had to contend against M'William and the whole county of Mayo (except only William Burke of Shrowle, who had not one man with him), O'Rourke and all his country, the whole county of Sligo, all the M'Dermotts in the county of Roscommon, the sept of O'Connor Don (under the leading of Con M'Dwaltagh), the Kellys under Feriagh M'Hugh, the Magarotts, and other inferior septs, to the number at least of 300 or 400 other traitors of the Province. He had further to encounter the forces of O'Donnell and Maguire, and many times those of Tyrone. For all this he had never 1,500 foot or 120 horse.—Athlone, 1597, August 11. *Signed. pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

90. I. *Sir Conyers Clifford to the Lord Deputy and Council.* [See enclosure to No. 83 above, of August 9.]—*Athlone,* 1597, *August* 9. *Copy. pp.* 3½.

1597. VOL. CC.

August 11. Talbotston. 91. Captain Thomas Lee to Piers Hackett. "As for that woman that brought letters from Feagh M'Hugh's sons unto Cahir O'Toole, do not meddle nor make with her, but let her have free passage, coming and going, for herself and her goods. I have taken another course for that matter, which you shall hear hereafter. So fare you well."—Talbotston, 1597, August 11. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

Also, on the same page:—

Lieutenant Thomas Ball to Piers Hackett. "I have delivered your letter to my captain, but I perceive he hath taken some other course as concerning the woman that came with the letters; so that he hath no liking to trouble them in their determination, but rather he desireth that they might be encouraged to come with all speed, so that she may not be crossed or troubled. I find that you have been wronged by some means, but care not for them, for I am sure that you are a better warrant to deserve well than any babbling fellow of them all. So desiring to hear from you, and you shall find me so firm and sure to yourself as you can desire, I leave, wishing all happiness to yourself."—Reibane, August 11. *Copy.* *p.* ½.

August 12. Dublin. 92. Sir Anthony Sentleger to Burghley. That the 200*l.* granted to the three judges out of the Deanery of St. Patrick's may be continued to them, or even that some increase of the grant may be made, owing to the extreme dearth of all things in Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, August 12. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

August [12]. 93. "Sir Henry Wallop's objections against the orders for lending and apparelling in Ireland." *Endorsed*:—August, 1597. *p.* 1. [*See also Nos.* 58 *and* 59, *of July* 29.]

August 12. 94. "An answer to Sir Henry Wallop's objections." The last paragraph runs:—"I know little of the Irish manners for I was never in the country. In my opinion English apparel will do best for English men, and I cannot perceive how a soldier shall serve and carry his mantle. It may be that practice hath made the Irish perfect; but it is like that the English will find it troublesome, and cast it away in fight. If the experience of one season bring any inconvenience it may be reformed in the next." *Endorsed*:—"12 August 1597." *pp.* 1½.

August 13. Athlone. 95. Sir Calisthenes Brooke to Sir Robert Cecil. By the advice of his friends and the miserable state of military men in Ireland, he is enforced humbly to entreat his Honour to put him into some other war. Though journeys be rare, yet many captains of the Low Countries, going this last one with the Earl of Essex, should by course of war make place for others. If this happen, beseeches his Honour to remember him. Protests to God he desires not to absent himself from this [war], either for toil, danger, or bad payment, which in truth all others complain of; but only because he neither does, nor will, see or act anything to make him a soldier, or fit to serve the State in any other place. He altogether loses his

1597. VOL. CC.

time, and will, so long as he stays, which is exceedingly grievous to him. Three times since his coming have they fought with the rebels. "In this last, where all their forces were joined together, if there were anything worth the noting more than valour in men, never give me credit, I do think a good huntsman capable of these wars, and, whatsoever he is that hath served forty years in the best discipline (*sic*) wars, shall find no use of his experience. It is so barbarous and hateful to us all that, if your Honour will please otherwise to bestow me, I shall think myself most bound to you of all the world, and during my life I shall acknowledge myself raised by you from the dullest and obscurest war our nation serves in."

The occurrents of their last journey to Ballyshannon have been advertised to his Honour by Sir Conyers. The lack of victuals and munition, from which the army was like to have perished. The rebels were in number 3,000 foot and 400 horse; they themselves were 1,200, three parts of whom were Irish. The Governor behaved himself very discreetly, and beyond all expectation valorously; he was driven, by the slackness of the horse, himself to charge twice or thrice, and all the day after he marched on foot with the rear of the army.—Athlone, 1597, August 13. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

August 13. 96. A note of wheat, butter, and cheese sent into Ireland from Bristol since January last, and of butter and cheese waiting to be sent into Ireland from London. *Endorsed*:—"13 August, 1597." *p.* 1.

August 16. The Camp towards Cavan. 97. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. Has written to Sir Robert Cecil of the course he is now in, and, as he has further matter to fill up paper to his Lordship's trouble, he forbears repetition. Difficulties as to the order for the entertainment of the army by weekly imprests and provision of apparel. No allowance for extraordinary charges. In the disposition of Her Majesty's treasure hitherto, much has been wasted, and yet the soldiers unfed and country spoiled. The soldier has been starved, for he received his biscuit "at uncertainties," without other relief either of flesh or drink. The country has been run as long as anything was to be found. Weekly lendings are in all probability meetest to be applied, if Her Majesty be at a certainty; so many bands horse and foot, so much money. The soldier will best like to make his own provision, and the country will again yield fruit to be converted into money. Here it may be objected that, if there were ever so much money, yet there is nothing to be bought. But, for ready payment, the towns will furnish and find sufficient to be distributed into the garrisons.

Advises that, whereas the Hollanders transport much butter and more cheese than would feed the army, merchants may be dealt with to bargain with them for the provision of Ireland. Thinks it may easily be done. The Hollanders traffic for gain, and whatso-

1597. VOL. CC.

ever they raise on the Queen in price will, he doubts not, grow due again from the soldiers' allowance of 8*d.* a day; and yet something remain for bread and drink, and apparel besides. Touching clothes, he knows it will be laid before Burghley, that they are cheaper in Ireland. "But look into the consequence. They be friezes and such like, which, though they be immediately bought in the towns, yet through some few hands they come from the rebels, who, by like conveyance, receive Her Majesty's good coin, wherewith they buy out of Denmark, Scotland, and other parts, powder and munition to maintain their rebellion. To eschew this, and for other special causes, I assure me it is best to reserve so much money in England as will clothe the bands. When I shall return to Dublin I will write more particularly. At this present, the little wit I have is overhaled, and these three days together I have had a continual fever, which by marching I hope to shake off; yet am I very weak."

Received from Dublin a copy of the letter the Council are sending to Burghley about the beeves bought at higher prices for the army. [*See above, No.* 86, *August* 11.] If the numbers of men he has in the field were distributed into garrisons, much more must be expended in meat, for now he draws them to march, and gives them no leisure to kill flesh above thrice or, at the most, four times a week, when he makes little journeys; whereas, lying still, they will always be fed, or mutiny. Now no company has above four beeves in a week, whereas then eight and ten suffice not. The like with all things else used by the army. "I should write much more to your Lordship, whereof I am full, but, so God help me, extreme faintness throws me into my bed.—The Camp towards Cavan, "within two days' marching" [1597], August 16. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

August 16. The Camp towards Cavan. 98. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. According to his last has turned the way of the two counties Cavan and Monaghan, especially because the rebels had in purpose to fall [upon] that part, and offend near or in the Pale; and likewise because his council, being fortified with some chief officers in the army, protested against any other undertaking. Notwithstanding all this he would have "perced," but that this murmur bred in the common soldier (to whom it descended by the officers) a tumultuous complaint of victuals, which they said must be more lacking in going directly on. Flesh indeed was already scarce. The harm the rebel could do behind him would have been a small impediment, for he "counterpeased" the ill that way, by the benefit of disabling him (after chasing him out of his own country) from future mischief. As for the lack of flesh, he was out of doubt that he would break in amongst the rebel's creaghts, and so be furnished; or, if the worst came, they had plenty of biscuit, and, for so great a service, their horses would supply the want of beeves; and, on all hands, their duties had them endure some extremities.

1597. VOL. CC.

Since his last he had re-victualled Her Majesty's fort, and rein forced it with men and munition. The proud rebel offered, but durst not abide Her Majesty's ensigns coming on. There were not five hurt of all ours, and the rebels ran, as in all encounters they have done. "After this the traitor sent to me, and prayed I would admit one from him, who should propound on his part more than ever. I answered I would not refuse a humble voice. His messenger came, but his discourse was so large, tending to the only safety of Tyrone, and no ways making Her Majesty more assured of him, as I thus dimitted him, 'Let him from whom you come deliver Cormac M'Baron and his own eldest son for pledges of his duty, or else I will never be drawn to crave pardon of Her Majesty for him.' This person required safety to any one who should bring me a letter to these points. I granted. The next day this insolent [letter], the copy whereof (together with my answer) which (*sic*) I send you, was brought me. At the instant a spy of mine came from him, who told me he heard him use these braveries before all his rabble: 'The Deputy demands pledges of me, which he shall go without; and as for this fort it is an eyesore but for a time. Of long maintaining it the Queen will be weary. I have written to him for peace, which, if he treat not with me, to-morrow in his march he and his shall dearly buy it.' I had dispatched my letter first, or else I would have touched some part of this bitterly to him. But, to despite him more, I took further pains than I purposed, and went directly to as strong a country as he hath any, and as well tilled and inhabited, whereof I confess I had not thought, but that the disdain I took of this information made me more inquisitive of a revenge; whereby I supposed he must be engaged to fight, or, with his very followers, be condemned as a vaunting coward. I executed my purpose, and burnt all along, and stayed where corn was, and wasted the fields. Nevertheless I heard not of the rebel. The country I passed is called O'Neill land, seven miles wide of Armagh to the north-east; and so along I coasted Magennis's domains, whose daughter is now wife to Tyrone. Now I am onward to the Cavan, where I am told all his power is set, to assist O'Reilly. From thence I will advertise at large."

Is compelled to make the best use of his necessity, being infinitely grieved that he can do his sacred Queen no more fruitful service. Will never cease to practise. Hopes before two months to compass a garrison at Lough Foyle. His project is such that if he fails little will be lost by the adventure; and, if the attempt succeed, much will be gained. It may be said this manner of proceeding is "delayfull" and expensive. It is true both these incommodities follow, yet is there no other remedy, where Her Majesty may not endure the indignity, not the danger, of a rebel to contest with her in her own kingdom; and where he will not fight, but, when he is forced, flies to the woods till an army be decayed "under the endurances within itself." Therefore it rests, by fortifying upon him, to consume him. Hopes yet to prevent all these delays. "They say Tyrone accustometh in the winter to harbour in islands en-

1597. VOL. CC.

vironed with loughs, where he holds himself secure. I will wait him every way, and, if I can so lodge him, I will waken him when he least thinks I knock at his door. I vow to God there shall want no diligence in me to destroy him, if I may, by stratagem or peril of my life, compass him." Would be silent, since his actions are so far short of what in spirit he contends, if the duty of his place did not bind him to yield a certificate. Is sure of Sir Robert's favourable constructions, because he knows Lord Burgh's devotion and zeal in this business, and that he has *ardentem animum revertendi*, and would not for the world be excluded [from] that gracious countenance, wherein he has heretofore been blessed.

Has lately received letters from Sir Robert, enclosing one of Her Majesty's, signifying her pleasure in favour of the Countess of Ormonde. Any present execution thereof is avoided by the recovery of the Earl of Ormonde. Expresses his deep friendship and love for Sir Robert. Desires to know when the noble Earl [of Essex] returns.—The Camp towards Cavan [1597], August 16. *Holograph. pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

98. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Deputy Burgh.* "*Right Honourable, my duty remembered. I perceive by the speech that your Lordship sent me, that there is no likelihood that your Lordship will deal with me according as I expected; for your Lordship doth demand* [*of*] *me such pledges, as by no means I will condescend thereunto. And in duty I thought good to crave peace, and purchase my prince's favour, if your Lordship would accept of my proffer. And seeing I have done of my part what I might lawfully do, and that your Lordship accept*[*s*] *not thereof, I think I am discharged in duty, of which I desire your Lordship* [*to*] *consider, and do refer the same to your Lordship's good consideration. I commit your Lordship to God. I take leave, the* 10*th of August* 1597." *Copy. p.* ½.

98. II. *The Lord Deputy Burgh to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone.* "*The speech I had with your man was reasonable, and required such pledges as in duty you ought to deliver, when Her Majesty might be moved in her great goodness to forgive your disloyalty. But you, hardened in your ill proceedings, maintain the ways of your rebellion in all insolent deeds, and think to escape the curse of God and man, by dissembled shows of messages and letters, where indeed you would no other quiet in this Her Majesty's kingdom, than such as might enlarge you to oppress the people, and become a tyrant over those under the law of your will, whom Her Majesty would govern in the indifferency of her justice. To the contents of your letter, you say you seek peace; a proud word to your Sovereign, wherein you are as false as unwise. The conditions of peace are to be propounded between equals; from you, the proposition to be made is to ask forgiveness, which as you dutifully crave not, it argues your meaning to be treacherous; and as the phrase wanteth comeliness, so it signifieth you have as little wit as honesty. To be short, Her Majesty hath committed me to* (sic) *the rule of this king-*

1597. VOL. CC.

*dom, wherein her princely charge was that I should cherish her good subjects, and chastise those who, by their own pride, would not be conformable to law and obedience, but seduced and forced those who otherwise would live loyally to follow them in their treasons, whereby the blood of many poor men is pitifully shed. The capital of these troubles in this common weal you manifestly declare yourself to be; wherefore I must, as I am bound in allegiance, care to reduce Her Majesty's people, whom you have led out of the way; and as there is no other remedy to save them I must pursue you; from the vengeance whereof all your popish shaven priests shall never absolve you, God destroying the counsels of the wicked taken against his anointed. By me, T. Burgh." The Camp,* 1597, *August* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

August 16. 99. Edward Fitzharris to Burghley. That the suit for pardon preferred by Maurice FitzGibbon, son of the White Knight of Munster, be not granted. Charges against FitzGibbon and his father. *Endorsed:—"*16 August 1597." *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

August 16. 100. Robert Ardern to Burghley. Concerning provision of butter and cheese made by him for Ireland, according to Burghley's instructions.—1597, August 16. *Signed. p.* 1.

August 17. Dublin. 101. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. Send him letters received from the Mayors of Drogheda and Waterford, giving intelligence from Spain. Think they contain no great likelihood of truth, especially in the point of the galleys and number of men.—Dublin, 1597, August 17. *Signed. p.* 1. *Inclose,*

101. I. *Bartholomew Elcock, Mayor of Drogheda, to the Lord Chancellor Loftus. The day before, late in the afternoon, there arrived a French bark from Bilbao, having left that place on August* 10. *One John Rathe, a merchant of Drogheda, who came in it, says the news there is, that there are a great number of men in Ferrol, and that soldiers and shipping are coming there daily. The general report is that there are bound for Ireland ten thousand men, ready to set sail by the last of August, or by September* 10 *at furthest. He says also that there have gone to Brittany seven galleys with two thousand men, and that they have arrived there. These make great store of shallops for landing men. This same merchant saw a letter, which one Mr. West, an Englishman dwelling in Bilbao, and who came from Madrid, had to the above effect.—Drogheda,* 1597, *August* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

101. II. *James White, Mayor of Waterford, to the Lord Chancellor Loftus* [in the covering letter this is stated to have been directed to the Lord Deputy]. *This day there arrived a ship of Waterford, which left Bilbao six days before. The merchant, being examined, tells that on August* 2, *according to Spanish computation, Prince Andrea Doria with* 120 *galleys arrived at Ferrol.*

1597. VOL. CC.

*There were at that place, before the coming of these galleys,* 140 *ships, great and small, and* 340 *pinnaces, from ten to twenty tons each. This navy (by common report there) is to set to sea for Ireland, on or by September* 15, *after their computation. The Adelantado is general of the ships, and Andrea Doria general of the galleys. Others in Spain are of opinion that this navy is to go to Brest or Calais. "Whatsoever they purpose, God deliver us from them." This day there also arrived other shipping from Rochelle, some of whose company tell that six great ships and eight galleys came lately from Spain to Blavet, and were kept out and not suffered to enter there by the captain of the fort, who was an Italian. He alleged that he was "behind of six years' pay," and that if the King of Spain would not pay him he would still hold the fort until he were paid. Thereupon the ships and galleys went for Nantes. The number of fighting men in the army at Ferrol is, by common report,* 25,000.—*Waterford,* 1597, *August* 13. *Copy. p.* 1.

August 17. Greenwich. 102. The Privy Council to Burghley. Her Majesty has granted a Privy Seal for the sum of 4,000*l.* to be issued and paid unto such persons of the Irish suitors as by any six of the Privy Council (of whom Burghley was to be one) shall be thought meet in regard of their necessities. Think the sums contained in the annexed schedule should be paid to the persons therein named. Direct Burghley to pay the same, "as parcel of the debts demanded by them."—The Court at Greenwich, 1597, August 17. *Signed. p.* 1. *Annexed,*

102. I. "*Schedule of those sums of money that are to be paid out of the warrant of four thousand pounds to the Irish suitors.*"—*The Court at Greenwich,* 1597, *August* 17. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

August 18. 103. Robert Ardern to Burghley. For payment of 584*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, being the cost of provision of butter and cheese made by him for Ireland. Has stayed some malt in the river [Thames], as Burghley wished to be furnished with a certain quantity.—1597, August 18. *Signed. p.* 1.

August 19. Dublin. 104. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to the Privy Council. Recommending the appointment of Mr. Justice Nicholas Walsh, as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in succession to Sir Robert Dillon, deceased.—Dublin, 1597, August 19. *Signed. p.* 1.

August 19. Dublin. 105. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks him for his great favours in countenancing his suit. A poor manner of gratitude, yet such as his poor directed fortune can no better for the present, and [has] less hope of remedy hereafter. All his former services are upbraided with ill acceptation, at a time when he thought he had deserved some manner of recompense. His grief is the more, when he sees others respected and often rewarded, who know not how to do Her Majesty good service, nor at any time have, or will, put their lives in venture against her enemies in

1597. VOL. CC.

Ireland. Howsoever these disfavours of Court disable him to stand in Her Majesty's services, as he ought and would, yet they shall never discourage him from doing his best, though it come to the losing of his life, which with all his heart he wishes were ended in a day of service against the enemies of this government, rather than prolonged, as it is, in disfavour, disgrace, and poverty. If in writing this he has somewhat erred by infirmity, not tempering the motions of nature as he ought, begs Sir Robert not to let it work any ill opinion in him towards the writer. Has laid up all his hope of future good in him, "when the spirit of all goodness, Her sacred Majesty," shall think him meet for it. — Dublin, 1597, August 19. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

August 21. O'Carroll's Country. 106. Captain Thomas Lee to Sir Robert Cecil. Great means now offered him to do Her Majesty acceptable service. Prays Sir Robert's furtherance therein. Feagh M'Hugh's wife, now remaining prisoner in the Castle of Dublin, has offered him, upon good assurance, that, if she may have her liberty, and afterwards her pardon, she will "draw such a draught upon" Feagh M'Hugh's sons, and upon their followers, whom Captain Lee has banished from those parts, that he shall have the killing of them, which no doubt would be a very good piece of service. The Earl of Tyrone sent him word, when he was with the Lord Deputy at the winning of the fort at the Blackwater, that he [the Earl] would send Feagh's sons, and one Brian Reogh, a notorious traitor, with a thousand of his men, into the Glynns, to keep Captain Lee at work there. Understands they are in a readiness to come. If they do then he doubts not but that, with God's help, with the small company he has now in pay, and with the help of his own friends, he will "knock them very well." Prays that Feagh's wife may have the benefit of the Privy Council's former letters, and in the meantime may have her liberty to be employed as aforesaid. The Lord Deputy has, at Captain Lee's request, stayed her execution for a time, which he hopes will be to a good purpose, otherwise he wishes not her life. Sir William Russell, the late Lord Deputy, forbore to give her the benefit of the Privy Council's former letters, in respect of the odiousness of her late husband, who did highly and continually offend the State, and in regard of the great desire he had to do Her Majesty good service, which he shortly after most honourably effected, to the great quiet and contentment of all Her Majesty's subjects in these parts. Feagh's followers hate the woman mightily, and daily use all the means they can to have her cut off, lest hereafter she should offend them. Two of her sisters are married to Feagh's two sons, which will be a good means to further Her Majesty's service. Is the more moved to believe her, and to entreat Sir Robert's letter on her behalf as aforesaid, because she was the only means, in the first troubles in Sir William Russell's government, of the apprehending and cutting off of Tirlogh M'Feagh, the worst of all Feagh's sons.—From O'Carroll's Country, 1597, August 21. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CC.

August 27. 107. "An estimate of the charge for transporting 100 barrels of butter and 300 ways of cheese, for Her Majesty's service, from the port of London to Carlingford in Ireland." Also, order for payment of 213*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*, the cost of the same.—1597, August 27. *p.* 1.

August 31. Dublin. 108. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Lord Deputy's household expenses far exceed his allowances, owing to the great dearth of the times. Puts Sir Robert again in mind of this, as the Deanery of St. Patrick's is now void, and might be a good means to relieve his Lordship for a time. Has himself seen lately into the state of the Lord Deputy's household charges, and is assured that they exceed all the means he has for his maintenance by 30*l.* a week, and some weeks by more. This is far above the rates of his predecessors, and yet his Lordship cannot remedy it, until it please God to remedy the dearth. The longer the surcharge runs on in this sort the further will it impair his estate, which were a wrong to be suffered, considering his Lordship's well deserving in Her Majesty's service. On this occasion of the vacancy in the Deanery he reminded his Lordship to write to have it converted to him for a time. "And truly, he doth so toil in the service, as he hath little time to consider of his own estate, and may say with the prophet that the zeal of Her Majesty's service hath eaten him up." His Lordship does not know that Sir Geffrey is writing thus much. Begs not to be made known further than Sir Robert pleases.

Certain Spaniards with some friars have been lately put "a land" by Englishmen on the west of Ireland. Advises that warning be given to their men of war at sea not to set ashore in Ireland any prisoners that they take, for it will be but an encouragement to rebellion to the ill-affected. It were good if these Spaniards, numbering twenty-five, were exchanged for as many Englishmen out of the galleys. Therefore has caused them to be stayed until Sir Robert's pleasure be further known.—Dublin, 1597, August 31. *Signed, Seal.* *p.* 1.

[August.] 109. "The substance of the Earl of Tyrone's letter to the King of Spain." Acknowledge His Majesty's letters received last March by Don Roderigo de Voyen telling them to go forward in their enterprise, and that His Majesty would have present aid sent for the relief of "this poor afflicted country." Hope their answer by the aforesaid Don Roderigo has been received. Beg His Majesty not to believe any information against them until he sees it under their hands. Although great offers have been made to him and his followers by the Queen of England, yet they will not break their oath and promise made to the King. Thought good to advertise their estate at this present. They are compassed round in such order that, except God of his infinite goodness help them, they will be undone. But as yet they have given them [the English] "the worse." Killing of divers English officers. The Lord Deputy "very narrowly escaped" him. The retreat of the Governor of Connaught before O'Donnell. Most humbly crave His Majesty's present succour.—[1597, August.] *Copy.* *p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CC.

Sept. [2]. Dublin Castle. 110. The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Privy Council. Recommending Mr. Pilsworth, a graduate of Oxford, for the vacant bishopric of Leighlin. He has served as chaplain to Sir John Perrot, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and lastly to Lord Burgh, for thirteen years past. The Council greatly commend him for his honest conversation and diligence both at home and in the field, and likewise for his good service as justice of the peace where he is beneficed. Has heard him preach very learnedly and commendably. The vacant see should be supplied with a well-qualified man like Mr. Pilsworth, and the rather because they of that diocese are for the most part English of the Queen's County and Carlow. But, forasmuch as the living is so small that it is utterly unanswerable to the countenance of that calling, the lands thereof being continually subject to the spoil of the Kavanaghs and other Irish borderers, prays that the small living Mr. Pilsworth has already may also be held by him, or be bestowed on him *in commendam*.—Dublin Castle, 1597, September [2]. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 2. Rathfarnan. 111. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Recommending Mr. Pilsworth for the vacant bishopric of Leighlin.—Rathfarnan, 1597, September 2. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

[Sept. 4.] 112. Names of the several pledges taken, and of the castles captured, together with the principal men executed, by Sir Conyers Clifford, since he received the government of Connaught.—[1597, September 4.] *One sheet.*

Sept. 5. 113. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Is returned to Dublin. Cannot write much at present, but is busy with a more substantial relation, which shall immediately follow. Disposition of the foot bands throughout the realm. To distress Tyrone is despatching six bands to Lough Foyle, where he fears not but they will settle, and in a few months his endeavours will bring forth their fruits by God's assistance. Thinks he will have to cass more captains for not holding their numbers complete. His hopes are more awaked after good successes than he will now write. "I will not be idle, and shortly will be abroad upon the rebel, against whom I will make many roads, having fitted the garrisons to advantage. Make favourable interpretations till the end of this winter, for I trust to make this traitor stoop, if the means fail not, the fault whereof shall be none of mine. He hath written into Spain how straitly he is beset." Is promised copies. His sundry intelligencers advertise him thereof, and, indeed, if Tyrone be not helped thence, and if Her Majesty continue six months' expense, it is like to go hard with him, and to be worth the cost to Her Majesty. All his powder comes out of Scotland. Begs Sir Robert to procure Her Majesty's letters to the King to restrain his subjects. His obligations to Burghley.—1597, September 5. *Holograph.* *Seal.* *pp.* 2.

Sept. 5. Dublin. 114. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Death of Serjeant Corry, Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-Laws in Ireland. Thought to

1597. VOL. CC.

signify this among the first, that Sir Robert might consider of some fit man from England to supply his place. This may greatly advantage the revenues and Exchequer causes, which, for want of good assistance, have hitherto grown to no small disorder and prejudice through the weakness of her officers, among whom the Solicitor only has taken more care and pains than all the rest. Disadvantages of an Irish Serjeant.—Dublin, 1597, September 5. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 5. Dublin. 115. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Has often travelled over most parts of Ireland. All this summer has continued with the forces in camp, as well in Connaught as in the late journey made by the Lord Deputy into Ulster. Did not leave the camp until the dissolving thereof and the distribution of the companies into garrisons. On his return now to Dublin, understands how Her Majesty and the Privy Council have sent over, and commanded to be put into execution, the ordinances for the due manner of payment and mustering of the forces. Accordingly the Lord Deputy has already appointed Commissaries for the Provinces and places requisite, and has willed Kyffin to give them particular instructions. This he has done. "But the matter of Sir Ralph Lane's resistance and contradiction in this business is not, as yet, ordered. He striveth against this course of reformation, in regard of the loss of his peculiar commodities, which, having bred so many public discommodities, are duly to be retrenched. And whosoever henceforth should attempt the like private profit, with the common damage and detriment of the State, ought to be severely punished." The Surveyor of the Muster Rolls is not named in Her Majesty's ordinances; his appointment is left to the Lord Deputy. He ought to be one that well and thoroughly understands, by his own travel and experience, the state of every garrison and company in the land, and is able, by sound skill and reason, upon view and examination of the rolls, to find out and prove the errors and corruptions incident in the musters taken by "unexpert" or "unhonest" Commissaries, and thereupon to proceed forthwith duly to redress the same. If singular good care be not had, all that is, or can be, ordered herein, is, as it were, but the mending of one ill by adding another to it. "For mine own part God doth know, and my very enemies can witness, how sincerely, and with what continual toil, costs, and danger I have hitherto executed my charge; living here in the midst of bribery and extortion, and yet standing clear even from all suspicion thereof before God and the world; having, withal, myself alone broken the ice to this hard exploit, and sustained all the perils and difficulties opposite to the good of Her Majesty's service. But my greatest grief and discouragement was to be robbed of the fruit of my labours, Sir Ralph still certifying my checks in his own name, whereas he sustained no part of the pain, travel, and charges, nor could yield any manner of reason herein." Hopes he has fully answered and discharged the trust reposed in him, as Burghley by the event can best judge.—Dublin, 1597, September 5. *Signed.* *Seal.* *pp.* 1½.

1597. Vol. CC.

Sept. 7. Dublin. 116. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Divers captains claim great sums of money, which they say Her Majesty owes them for the time past. No good reason can be found for this. For either such sums of money are grown due to their companies, which are dead and dispersed long since, and thus but the least part can be due to the captains themselves; or else those debts are founded on false musters, together with the corruption of the officers of musters. This cannot but somewhat appear upon due examination of the muster rolls of those times, if any rolls and records at all were kept by Sir Ralph Lane; and if not, then let the world judge how Her Majesty has been served.

Since there was no honesty or conscience in the traitorous deceivers, it is good justice and equity, and most requisite for Her Highness, by bringing the same to light (if it may be), to call back and correct those foully fore-passed accounts, and to tax and deduct thereout such checks as may be justified by sound reason and proof. —Dublin, 1597, September 7. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 8. Dublin. 117. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Enforced to exhibit at the Council table a tedious but a necessary justification of himself in all truth, by reason of the intolerable burden of Her Majesty's indignation laid upon him. It will be to his utter ruin both in reputation and means of living, if some just and conscionable course be not holden towards him. Appeals to Burghley and Sir Robert to uphold him.—Dublin, 1597, September 8. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 10. [Dublin.] 118. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. Since he returned to Dublin, has been so busy in digesting a course for the execution of the ordinances, that he could not write to Burghley as behoved him. Has put them in practice in all places, except a few remote garrisons northward. Thinks they will fall out much to the benefit of the service, by comfort to the soldier and people. Victuals wanted for certain garrisons. Begs the hastening of the clothes for the foot bands, because the want is great and the provision necessary. The horse bands can have no deduction made for clothes, because their whole allowance in weekly pay will do no more than maintain them; "and give them that, they will shift by booting and forays to apparel themselves." As to the foot, their imprest and clothing will reach to all their due, so that nothing will be reserved for arms and munition. This must be foreseen, either in making the garments of coarser and cheaper stuff, or in suiting the foot but once a year, in the winter season, except stockings and shoes, which must be oftener furnished. Hopes the places taken and fortified "upon" the traitor [the Earl of Tyrone] will, before this winter end, show the commodity of this summer's undertaking. "I shall be glad that so my labours may bring profit to Her Majesty, in which regard I will give myself as little ease as any man hath done, who was at any time committed to this government; for none can thirst more to finish these troubles than I do, that so I might return from the business of this State infected with more hidden corruption in every condition of man than ever any was, else could not these wars have dured so long."

1597. Vol. CC.

Has sent Burghley a particular how the garrisons answer each other by neighbourhood; as those to the north especially, which he hopes will devour the arch-traitor. "It is not in my power to send your Lordship a topographical description of the places, none that I can meet being skilful in lines with pencil and by scale to describe them; but I will harken out somebody, and will as soon as I can perform this to your Lordship." Is now busy in calling the Treasurer to make certificate of the issue and remain of treasure, as also the Victualler and Master of Ordnance to give their accounts, that all may be sent and compared before Burghley. Will shortly send them all over. Prays that a provision of corn and cheese especially be sent. The Muster-master is making up his checks, which shall be transmitted when they are perfect.

Will lie this winter much on the borders, that he may "lay hold on every occasion." A chief advantage to Her Majesty's service will be that the King of Scots make a restraint of powder, which ordinarily is served out of Scotland. "I can assure your Lordship, it is scarce with the rebels at this instant, for this summer hath made them blow off much. I therefore beseech your Lordship, procure Her Majesty's earnestest letters to the King of Scots. The merchant will hardly without great compulsion be stayed, for he sells it for 2*s.* 6*d.* the pound. It was thought the rebel had little money; but truly, my Lord, he hath had store of English coin till this present; now it scanteth, for his charges have been beyond his ability, and he hath cessed the country almost to the utmost penny, to keep his bonnaghts together this summer. To apply all against him this winter must needs break his neck, for he can make no longer defence than he can keep those kern, which he calls his bonnaghts; they can abide no longer than their maintenance may grow by cess of the country; the country can yield fruit no longer, when it is inflicted with continual incursions, which shall, God willing, ever travail them; only, I pray God, Her Majesty be patient with expense for a while, whereof I trust to free her cares." Prays Burghley to pardon him if he writes not fully, "for I confess I am not competent to the business committed to me, in the charge of the affairs of this Her Majesty's realm." His gratitude to Burghley.—[Dublin], September 10. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 2½.

Sept. 10. [Dublin.] 119. The Lord Deputy Burgh to his "kinsman," Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England. The success of the journey has not brought an end to the troubles of Ireland, but the appearances of commodity to Her Majesty's service are many. The places gained in the bosom of the great rebel, and garrisons planted so that the benefit of his cesses cannot be answerable to the expense and burden he must bear, will consume him, if out of Spain he purchase not his delivery, or Her Majesty give not over pursuing him, now that he is in a manner besieged and distressed. Could never draw him out of the bushes, and, where the Earl was wont to "coast the army" where it passed (as the old soldiers of Ireland tell him), he now would never show out upon any advantage. He received good

1597. VOL. CC.

knocks when they forced the woods upon him at sundry times, but it was impossible for Lord Burgh "to get a thorough killing," so favourable were the thick groves to their scattered running away. Means to keep him awake, for now the companies lodge, so that he can suddenly call them, and invade as by spial he may conceive profit. To this end, will this winter dwell on the borders. Lord Howard may see by the list sent to Sir Robert Cecil how the bands are planted. His obligations to Lord Howard. Beseeches his Lordship to solicit Her Majesty that he may make some knights of those whose blood was shed valiantly at his side. Will not exceed four. Asks the liberty to grace a worthy gentleman, Mr. Brunker. "Your Lordship's kinsman to be commanded, T. BURGH."—[Dublin], September 10. *Endorsed*:—"1597." *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 10. [Dublin.] 120. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Since his last, the captains have promised to reinforce their ensigns. The necessity is such that, for a while, they must be filled with Irish, till supplies come from England; those heretofore sent being consumed before ever he saw them, or that they came to service. Choice shall be made of the most "civil" parts of Ireland, and they shall still be kept busy. Other remedy there is not, for to cass any bands now were to lose the work, which is in such forwardness that ere long it will yield Ireland that quietness with which Her Majesty's sceptre governs England. In the meantime it may please Her Majesty to countenance this entrance [into Ulster], against which the rebel desperately rages. Trusts he shall find no advantage to favour his lewdness. He sees himself beset, and has no hope but that the Queen's army will be weary. To divert the forces, he has disposed sundry vagabonds to burn and spoil in the borders and the Pale. Is confident that the royal spirit of Her Majesty will not give over the punishment of a proud traitor. Being happy in nothing but that he is the servant of so gracious a Sovereign, will never spare, to the utmost of his life, both to prevent Tyrone's mischiefs and to pursue him to the vengeance due to his disloyalty. As yet Tyrone has done nothing. Has provided for every quarter where his firebrands are appointed to make their descent. As for Tyrone himself, doubts not before Christmas to give him a chase, if not worse. Will, to that end, still be "coasting" the borders, whither after a while he will go, that the charge Her Majesty sustains may be to purpose.

"I could wish there were English to supply the deficiencies; but such be sent over as die for fear, or are such wretches as can not undergo the penalties of the wars; therefore I know not how to solicit that which were very behoveful, to avoid the falsehood and hazard in any trust of this people." The number deficient is so great that less than 1,500 will not make the bands complete; he might say many more. All those who, about the time that he came to Ireland, were transported, vanished or died before he went into the field, which was the first time that ever he could see the ensigns, or reprove the abuses. Now he must make the best commodity of them; Her Majesty shall have the checks, and they shall ever be

1597. VOL. CC.

set a work to one exploit or other till that be compassed, which may bring an end to arms, and give way to the long gown. Protests that, if the great rebel be not relieved from Spain, and if the necessary means be not wanting to the army, this winter will make such an alteration as he speaks of. One thousand men should be levied to secure the garrisons in the bosom of the rebel from treachery. The men should be those heretofore hardened to journeys, and of this sort good choice may be made in the counties. Does not mean to erect new bands, but to reinforce the present ones. If the men be granted, they must be speedily despatched. If Her Majesty distaste it, will, nevertheless, go forward as he may in winter prosecutions of the rebel. Must, as he is bound, endeavour with few or many, and will never be idle till, by something done, he may be worthy to return. This his spirit covets.

There are other things he must demand, which, as they require the issue of money, he recommends to Burghley. Her Majesty's pleasure is expected in the directing a Governor to Munster. The charge of Chief Commissioner has been continued on Sir Thomas Norreys. Would fain write to Her Majesty, but his pen fails, his mind not being satisfied with the barrenness of his small services. "If anything would have urged the proud rebel either to fight, or abide any place, I would have trusted to make a relation to Her Majesty of worthy matter; but, as he is a running beast, I hope God will enable me to chase him out of breath." In the sundry fights with him in the last journey is credibly certified he lost about 600 men. They skirmished so loosely, and ever flying scattered, that he could not gain better days on them. His own loss was a little above 100. It may fall out, when the nights are long, that he will make marches to start Tyrone out of his dens. Sends a list how the garrisons are placed, and a small note (*both list and note are wanting*) by which Sir Robert may gather how the forces in Ulster may readily assemble to any exploit. "I still defer to particularize the impediments which I meet among these captains. Some be good, but many would unwillingly see an end of the wars. I will not yet speak of them, lest you think it may make the actions which I propose fruitless, when you consider the likelihood of holding back in those whom I must procure forward."

"Sir, there is a secret which I will impart with (*sic*) you. One hath offered to kill the traitor. I made him be spoken with; myself should have wronged the place which I exercise under Her Majesty's commandment, if I had treated in this condition. But being offered, I caused him to be entertained, and promised 1,000*l.* Much credit may not be given to these overtures, neither do I depend on them; yet in my allegiance I might not reject him who would proffer to kill a monstrous rebel. The party is nearly waiting him, when he trusts none else." — [Dublin], September 10. *Endorsed*:—1597. *Holograph. pp.* 3.

Sept. 13. London. 121. Henry Billingsley, Lord Mayor of London, to Burghley. Concerning the shipment for Ireland of some butter and cheese

1597. VOL. CC.

provided by Robert Ardern.—London, 1597, September 13. *Signed.* *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

121. 1. *Certificate of Michael Bouthe and Francis Shaw, appointed by the Lord Mayor of London to see the above-mentioned butter and cheese properly shipped, that portions of the said butter and cheese are unserviceable.*—1597, *September* 12. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 14. Dublin Castle. 122. The Lord Deputy Burgh and Council to the Privy Council. Recommending the bearer, Captain Par Lane, who has valiantly served Her Majesty in Ireland, as by sundry wounds received by him may appear. Desire that he may be paid his arrears, and receive such further recompense as their Lordships may think meet. —Dublin Castle, 1597, September 14. *Signed.* *p.* 1. *Annexed,*

122. 1. *Petition of Captain Par Lane to the Lord Deputy Burgh and Council. That he may have, of his warrants of full pay, due for a space of nine months, one-half paid by the Council's order out of this treasure; and, for payment of the other half, the Council's letters of commendation to the Privy Council. Endorsed:* —1597, *August* 29. *p.* 1.

Sept. 14. Dublin Castle. 123. Warrant of the Lord Deputy Burgh to Richard Colman, Esq., Her Majesty's Chief Remembrancer for Ireland, to make forth a fiant of the wardship of Oliver Tinte, son and heir of John Tinte, late of Shanagh, co. Westmeath, deceased, to Sir Geffrey Fenton.— Dublin Castle, 1597, September 14. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 16. Dublin Castle. 124. Warrant of the Lord Deputy Burgh to Captain Thomas Lee for the continuance of martial law in Leinster and the borders thereto adjoining, during his Lordship's absence.—[Dublin] Castle. *Endorsed:*—1597, September 16. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 16. Dublin. 125. Sir John Chichester to Burghley. The obligations of himself and family to Burghley. During the time of Sir William Russell's government he continued Serjeant-Major over Her Majesty's forces that were employed. Since the revocation of Sir William, Lord Burgh appointed him Governor of Carrickfergus. The companies assigned to that place. What his deserts have hitherto been he rather chooses Burghley should hear from others, but thinks it his duty to acquaint his Lordship how his time has been spent since his coming to Dublin on May 23.

At that time he found the country somewhat far engaged by the rebels, and the Castle of Belfast in their possession, through the surprise and killing of the warders. The place stands eight miles from Carrickfergus, on the river, where the sea ebbs and flows, so that boats may be landed within a but shot of the said castle. He made its recovery one of his first works. This he attempted on July 11 with some 100 men, whom he transported thither in boats by sea. Their coming was so unlooked for, that in no long time they took the place without any loss, and put all they found therein to the sword.

1597. Vol. CC.

About the last of July, Brian M'Art, Arthur Magennis, and Shane M'Brian, the principal men of action in those parts, assembled their whole forces to the number of 700 foot and 300 horse, and came towards them, intending to prey them, making no reckoning but to do it, in respect of their numbers. Understanding this, he drew out some 250 foot of the garrison and his 30 horse, and met them on the way, marching close by them, within less than culiver shot, till the body of his troops was opposite theirs. All this while he did not suffer a man of his to spend a shot upon them, though they bestowed many in vain on his men. Then they gave together upon the enemy, and brake them, so that they killed divers of them on the place, and followed, killing them, for some four or five miles. Twenty-one heads he afterwards sent in to the Lord Deputy.

Since then he took the castle of Edenduscarrick, though he must confess without any meaning on his part, at first, to attempt the place itself. He had divided 300 men of the garrison into three parties; one to take certain horses of the enemy that were grazing far off from the castle; a second, to attempt a prey on the enemy; and the third, led by himself, to attend any who might sally out from the castle to the rescue. This in truth happened, and he fell presently "pell mell with them," and entered their bawn. After two assaults they gained so near the castle, wherein was said to be an infinite store of provisions, that they set it on fire. The said castle stands twelve miles from Carrickfergus, closely adjoining Lough Sidney. This lough runs into the bawn, and by water from thence the fort of the Blackwater may be victualled, being but fourteen miles from the said castle. These services touched the enemy so nearly, that since then Shane M'Brian, Neill M'Hugh, Neill M'Brian Fertogh, who are lords of both the Clandeboys, are come in with their followers, and have repaired with him to Dublin. There they have submitted, and have put in, as pledges of their future loyalty, the two sons of Shane M'Brian, and one of every sept of the country besides.

The doubts held of James M'Donnell and Randal his brother. Although they have not yet absolutely declared themselves in disobedience, yet they have so behaved themselves of late towards Her Majesty's service, that it promiseth little better fruit at their hands. They have obstinately refused to do any service without maintenance from Her Majesty, detaining her rents, notwithstanding he has often demanded the same of them. They have also broken down two of their castles, viz., Glen Arm and Redbawn, fortifying themselves only at Dunluce, where they have planted three pieces of ordnance, which were had out of one of the Spanish ships that came upon that coast after the fight in 1588. Has demanded the said pieces that he may place them in Carrickfergus, for the better strengthening of the town, but they have utterly denied the delivery of the same. Besides, it is reported that one of them shall marry the Earl [of Tyrone's] daughter. Desires to know Burghley's pleasure as to what course is to be taken with them.

Offer of service by Angus M'Connell. Sent him to the Lord Deputy and Council. Asks for provisions. Desires a commission

1597. VOL. CC.

and all customary privileges whilst executing the charge entrusted to him by the Lord Deputy.—Dublin, 1597, September 16. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 3.

Sept. 16. Dublin. 126. Sir John Chichester to Sir Robert Cecil. His indebtedness to Sir Robert. Refers him to the preceding letter addressed to Burghley.—Dublin, 1597, September 16. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Sept. 17. The Court at Highgate. 127. Sir Robert Cecil to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Prays him to consider this as a private letter, and not as any "directory or dispatch autenticall." It is noted that his Lordship in nothing uses the hands of the Council, but writes only private letters. Rashness of his march across Tyrone's country, and the peril in which Sir Conyers Clifford was. Lord Burgh speaks of more supplies against winter, when all this while in many letters he promised to diminish charges and to cass bands. This is expected. Sir Robert wrote to his Lordship that if he sent word whom he would make knights the Queen would send him release for them. Has had no answer. The Lord Admiral this day showed him Lord Burgh's letter. It is well for his Lordship to be at hand on the borders, but considers he ought to use some other, and not be absent from the State at Dublin, "for surely the wars will be but against rascals that burn and spoil." Report that Lord Burgh had struck one Warren. Desires to know the cause and manner. Doubts not but he did it upon great and just merit. Prays to hear by his Lordship's next that Lough Foyle is possessed and victualled. If they have to feed the garrison often, and ships go about Ireland to it, they had need never have under sixteen months' victual, for it may be sometimes six months before England can send thither. Begs Lord Burgh to take all he writes for the best, as it is so meant.

The Earl [of Essex] has lain before Ferrol two days, but they [the Spaniards] would not come out. The Adelantado is only on the defensive, and has an army of 15,000 ready. The fleet went on to the southward to the Cape where they all are. There the Earl will stay till October begin, and then return. Amiens is taken by composition. Thinks it would be well if the Secretary, or some well instructed person, were sent over to acquaint the Queen with the condition of Ireland, and to report on this summer's charge, and "proceedings futurly." To letters men cannot "argumentally" reply, nor be satisfied in scruples. "Surely the Secretary is the fittest who is a mixture of a soldier and a long robe." Many places are void in Ireland, but he commends none to the Queen upon any suit until he hears from Lord Burgh. "Make no excuses for any of these toys I pray you, but proceed in all things as you find cause, for you can know those things there which here are unknown; neither are these things noted by the Queen, but by carpers at all men." Lord Burgh's last despatch to Burghley and Sir Robert bore date the 10th inst.—From the Court at Highgate, September 17. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph, but without address, so perhaps not sent. pp.* 3.

VOL. CC.

1597.

Sept. 19. Drogheda. 128. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Burghley. When he was busy, and thought to have done Her Majesty service in the account of her charges and disbursements, he was compelled to another duty, and called to the borders to give countenance to the weakness of the bands placed there, who consume so strangely by death and running away, that it is a great encouragement to the traitor to look up again. A few days ago, he was so daunted that he speeded his trustiest servant into Spain to bewail his dangers. Is sure the soldier has never been better provided for, being by Burghley's wise foresight, ever since Lord Burgh came, supplied with as much as could be desired. That worthy payment has not been returned under him for this, and yet that he has been so well enabled, stirs him to an extraordinary strife to deserve better. "The cause of all decay amongst us is the ill-choice of men, who come so wretched as they be half dead when they first land, and many such silly creatures as die for fear. Truly, my Lord, there be of them that will say they had rather be hanged than follow the wars." As nothing can be better than to provide the apparel out of England, so should it be sent soon, for the soldier is bare, and winter draws on. Beseeches Burghley to move Her Majesty that 1,000 men be speedily sent for the supply of the borders, and as many more for Connaught; then he hopes that by the end of winter ease will be given to Her Majesty's treasure. Does not wish more ensigns, or to draw the Queen to a higher charge, but to reinforce the bands that be. To supply them with Irish were not safe.

Before the 10th of October he must refresh the fort of the Blackwater. The traitor gathers strongly to impeach him. Is weak in number, but, where the quarrel is God's and the Queen's, he cannot fear. If they encounter, hopes by his next to inform Burghley of good blows. Cannot, through lack of leisure, write as he would of the general estate of Ireland. "This troublesome rebel, emboldened by the decay of the bands, hath diverted me to oversee him." Will before long render a better reason of his office. Prays for a supply of cheese for the garrisons that are in the heart of the rebel's country.—Drogheda, September 19. *Endorsed:*—1597. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 2.

Sept. 19. Drogheda. 129. The Lord Deputy Burgh to [Sir Robert Cecil]. His sudden call to the borders. Great decay of the bands. Tyrone emboldened, and has called O'Donnell to him. This night they assemble with all the forces they can, except M'William and O'Rourke, who have undertaken to disturb Connaught, where likewise the men be consumed under much misery. What the particular purpose of this coming together is, he knows not, nor can espy hitherto; but, to prevent what he may, he is towards the north reviewing the ensigns, and disposing all things as far as his judgment will lead. "My burden is great; first, to be encountered with a base cowardly rebel, who has ever hitherto run away from before me, when I advanced Her Majesty's ensigns, so as I could not overtake him, nor exercise that which my profession and devotion hath endeavoured to put to best practice; next, to be so affronted with impediments,

1597. VOL. CC.

as the traitor waxeth bold, when he was near humbled, and the companies which should have accomplished, according to their happy beginning, perish under such conditions as are, by any wit or industry of me, inevitable. Nevertheless I will be firm, that God and the cause will work against all oppositions. So is the time, as I may not hang down my head with this people, nor dare not yet discover our weakness to the utmost, by sifting the faults of captains too narrowly; for, if both countenance and substance fail, the action will fall to the ground. But to you I must deliver the truth, who, as a councillor with Her sacred Majesty, may digest the necessities in this kingdom. I protest to God, I do not think any army could be more royally furnished with corn, munition, and money than this, since I was committed to the sword; yet have the soldiers died and run away, notwithstanding all the care [that] could be taken, so as I am sure in all the parts of this realm there be not 2,500 English. The Queen's service hath not miscarried for lack of such supplies (I must say truly, though, to you), such hath been the vigilant consideration and dispatch of my Lord your father; but, indeed, partly the distemper of the air, and more the bad and refuse people sent over, who die for fear, and cry when they should fight, makes a weak army, and stops all honest endeavours, when they be forward according to wish. I did hope these companies, coming from the field to rest, should have been stronger and enabled to any undertaking; contrarywise they be vanished to the half, even much more in their garrisons than when they were in camp."

Had designed many things, but all must wait an opportunity, the traitor having banded to these parts, taking courage by the weakness of the troops. Shall yet trust that it will cost him a dear price to take a full view of them. Is presently going to Dundalk, and thinks he will make such a show there as will keep Tyrone "in attent." The latter knows Lord Burgh must victual the fort of the Blackwater by the 10th of October. Is informed he will impeach this if he can, and that, for this chiefly, he has gathered all the strength of himself and O'Donnell, presuming O'Donnell may awhile be spared from the attendance of the Connaught garrisons, so out of case he understands they be. Has ordered the frontier bands to put themselves in readiness, and called out other assistance. Will furnish the fort with more men and means, notwithstanding Tyrone. Does not see how they shall miss meeting, the fort being so great an eyesore to him, and he is engaged by his threats to resist Lord Burgh. If Tyrone be resolute, Sir Robert shall hear of good knocks. The issue Lord Burgh will advertise with the first. "I will say thus much of our past encounters; he hath lost more than he might well spare, and, after all these, the Cavan being re-victualled five days past, the rebels left a quarry of fifty heads, and some of name of the best septs; and in a skirmish wherein a sally was made out of the Queen's castle in Cavan, there fell of them double as many more. The fort of Blackwater issued out another day in their quarters, and cut off above forty; and, to say but that which all Ireland will and themselves confess, there

1597. VOL. CC.

hath been this summer, in the journey, a great killing won upon them. So yet I hope they shall more feel the weight of Her Majesty's sword than till the success they can look for." Begs a supply of 1,000 men for the bands on the borders, and of another 1,000 for Connaught, "where the governor hath done great service under all extremities; whose worth deserves extraordinary cherishing; for he hath kept that Province in good order, and beaten M'William out of Mayo, and kept O'Donnell short, and much more would have done, if he had been able to fortify Sligo. To return to the matter of most importance: I do assure you it is in Her Majesty's power to suppress this beggarly traitor speedily. For, if these garrisons thus planted be but held up this winter, he is driven to the extremity that may be wished, [it] being impossible to him to hold his followers, and to them to contribute more to maintain his bonnaghts."

Tyrone has dispatched Bremmigen, his chief negotiator, to the King of Spain, signifying that he is besieged and hardly set to. Is sure he is, and shall be so. If it please Her Majesty to let Lord Burgh pursue it, the work will be worth the charge; and the charge by delay will be multiplied, which, seasonably followed, will soon take end. What Her Majesty's will is, he will fulfil, and never be idle till he recovers "her blessed sight." Begs Sir Robert to forward the supply of men and apparel from England. "Wish well to my re-victualling the Blackwater, which is tender to me, as my first begotten child." Will at his return write fully. Tirlogh M'Henry proves very honest, and he is a great man in his country, and may do much service. He makes humble petition that his son may be redeemed from Tyrone by exchange of Cormack's, who is a pledge in Dublin. Desires to know the Queen's pleasure.—Drogheda, [1597], September 19. *Holograph.* *pp.* 4.

Sept. 20. The Court at Richmond. 130. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy Burgh. Warrant for Sir Thomas Norreys, knight, to be President of Munster, in the place of his brother Sir John Norreys, knight, news of whose death has been received, to the Queen's "great grief."—The Court at Richmond, 1597, September 20. [*Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 42b. *Copy.* *p.* 1.]

Sept. 20. 130A. Another copy of the preceding. *p.* 1.

Sept. 20. Tower Hill. 131. James Quarles to Burghley. Upon the receipt of Burghley's letter, he repaired aboard the *Mary Katherine*, a ship laden with butter and cheese to be transported for Ireland. With the advice and help of two skilful men, whom he took with him, he viewed and handed over all the cheese, and opened every firkin of butter. Eight hundred Suffolk cheeses, and seven hundred Holland cheeses, are very faulty, "hooven,"* mouldy perished, and will not endure to be transported. A good part of the remainder aboard is coarse

* *Hooven* or *hoven, i.e.*, heaved, or swelled. *Hoven bread* is leavened bread.

1597. Vol. CC.

cheese, termed "flotten" cheese, and may hold good. Of the butter they have rejected twenty-eight barrels two firkins, [which are] tallowed, "fennoed,"* and will not last. Much of the remainder is Essex butter, and may serve, if God send a speedy passage, and it be first spent. No more cheese should be laden in the ship. The weight of the unserviceable cheese shall be sent to Burghley in the afternoon.—Tower Hill, 1597, September 20. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 20. 132. Declaration of the quantity of butter and cheese laden in the *Mary Katherine* for transportation to Ireland; stating how much is serviceable, and how much rejected as faulty.—1597, September 20. *Signed by* James Quarles. *p.* 1.

Sept. 20. 133. Robert Ardern to Burghley. Concerning the deceit of the merchants, who supplied the butter and cheese for Ireland. *Endorsed:*—1597, September 20. *Signed.* *pp.* 2.

Sept. 21. Mellifont. 134. The Lord Deputy Burgh to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the replacing of Sir John Dowdall in the fort of Duncannon, and the removal therefrom of his Lordship's brother, Ashley, according to instructions from the Privy Council. Recommends Ashley to Sir Robert.

Is labouring to bring the weak ensigns to some strength, least the towardness of affairs be interrupted, and the rebel grow thereby more insolent. Tyrone in his pride bade his followers not to fear, for the Queen would be weary. The traitors are assembled, and make full account to defeat his journey to the Blackwater, and so to free Tyrone. Is on the borders, calling together Her Majesty's forces, intermeddling with the officers, by chiding and fair speaking, proving what time will accord them to their duties. Some way he hopes to prevail; and sure he is that he will, God willing, maintain the Queen's fort, and give no ground to the proudest sword that shall ever be drawn against her right.

"I am not so much troubled with provisions against Tyrone, as I am embroiled in a care of that which is helpless. Whensoever I have any service in train, the nobles and gentlemen of the Pale round about, write to me, they shall be fired and spoiled; and in so many parts as, to tell you truly, if an army of a hundred thousand were here, they could not supply to all cries. But, sir, such is their sluggishness and cowardice in their own case, as when they hear of ten swords clustered in a wood, or bog, they abandon their dwellings, or lock themselves close in a stone castle, and never rely themselves to any defence, which they might easily do, and so save their goods, and chase all these vagabonds from the borders. I have reproved them oft hereof, and showed unto them how they might defend themselves, and laid before them how ungrateful they were to Her Majesty, who, expending so much for the common weal, had so little ease by them, as they would not lift their hands to save every man himself from private harm, much less strike a stroke

* Fennoed or fenowed, *i.e.*, mouldy.

1597. VOL. CC.

for the general good. To speak freely to you, so the Queen had cheese and biscuit in her garrisons, I would they had burnt and spoiled each other thoroughly; the end would be, to consume themselves, who be all nought, and this kingdom might take beginning of a new stock of English. This is the breath of a desperate counsel, caused by a multitude of letters even now brought me; but yet it were sure and infallible in policy."

Has written to the Earl of Ormonde to come on the borders with his risings, whilst he himself is northward. Doubts not but the Earl will do his part. All things have been plentifully furnished since Lord Burgh came; only men waste, to whom God alone can give life. Prays Sir Robert to expedite the transportation of more; the work must be ended by them.—Mellifont. *Endorsed:*—1597, September 21. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 2¼.

[Sept. 21.] 135. William Saxey, Chief Justice of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. That there may be further prosecution of the treasons of John FitzEdmond, committed in August 1593. Also, that the abuses in the administration of law in Munster may be reformed by Sir Robert's private letters to Sir Thomas Norreys. His private wrongs Saxey is contented to remit, in hope of better usage. Is assured he would obtain Sir Robert's favour, were he as well known to him, as he has been for thirty-seven years past to the Lord Keeper and the Judges. As for any information against himself, will not appeal to any more competent judge than Sir Robert.—[1597, September 21.] *Holograph. One sheet.*

Sept. 21. Youghal. 136. John FitzEdmond Gerald to Sir Robert Cecil. Although a stranger, is emboldened to write, upon the report of his very good friend Sir Walter Raleigh, who lately certified him that, upon the discovery of some false collections made against him by one Saxey, Sir Robert employed himself to father the writer's innocence against that untrue impeachment. Saxey evidently aimed only at gaining credit for other his bad practices. The writer's assured loyalty, and his gratitude to Sir Robert for defending him.—Youghal, 1597, September 21. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Sept. 23. Dublin. 137. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Has forborne to advertise him of the Lord Deputy's drawing to the borders of the north, expecting some success in a service plotted to be done there. Lord Burgh has failed, "through double intelligence of a false brother, which is over familiar in this country." His Lordship had also a meaning to revisit the Blackwater, and impeach Tyrone from breaking into the Pale, by keeping him awake in the heart of his country, till the subjects upon the borders might draw in their harvest. One of his Lordship's chief purposes in this journey was to review the army, and with his own eyes to see the strength of every company. Knows he will find cause to cass many, by reason of their extreme want in numbers, and with the discharged to reinforce the residue. Thus Her Majesty's purse shall be saved, and the

1597. VOL. CC.

strength of the army be none the less. Thinks it is high time this course should be adopted, although envy and hard reports will follow, and prays Sir Robert to help to bear up the Lord Deputy in so good a matter. Sends a note of bands discharged by Lord Burgh before his going. Amongst them could not be called out able men to fill up two companies of foot, and of the horse, less; so great is the diminution, notwithstanding their long time of refreshing, since the last journey to the Blackwater. Yet they cannot justly complain of want of victuals, especially of bread, of which Burghley has sent plenty from time to time. Without that providence in corn sent from England, the army could not have stood, nor the Pale have been kept from extremity of famine.

Difficulties of the garrison at the Cavan, because sundry septs of the O'Reillys have not yet come in. Hopes most of them will be won ere long, as this will be the settling of that country, and of great consequence both for the safety of the Pale, and because it will revive a revenue for Her Majesty. The State does not more labour to recover this country to obedience, than the rebels of the north are busy to hold it still in rebellion. So long as it is a party to them, it gives them commodity to make their incursions into the Pale, and to disturb the borders.

Is advertised that O'Donnell has made a great gathering of forces, to send M William into Connaught, and to set him up again. Fears he will not find the resistance that were meet, through the great weakness of the army employed in that Province. Through lack of victuals it has greatly diminished, and such is the famine and poverty of the Province, that the companies find little relief there, and depend for the most part upon succour from the State, which is more troubled with care to provide sustenance for the forces in Connaught, than for all the other garrisons in Ireland.

Leinster remains unsound still, notwithstanding the cutting off of Feagh M'Hugh; for his two sons, with sundry of the best of their adherents, have been all this summer with Tyrone, soliciting for force to raise new stirs in Leinster. They do but await the commodity of the long winter nights to come down and set their wickedness abroach. The Lord Deputy uses every means of prevention. There is little gotten by cutting off the head of the monster, seeing he has left so dangerous a tail behind him. Still holds his first opinion, that a small fire kept burning in Leinster, being near the heart, is far more dangerous than if it were in all the outward limbs of the body. Wishes Feagh M'Hugh had been taken last year, when Her Majesty sent direction for it; then had Leinster been secured, and no means left for the great rebel of Ulster to draw further dangerous alterations there.

The principal disturbers of Clandeboy have lately submitted, and have returned pardoned. It is to be doubted they came in with Tyrone's privity and consent, on purpose to win time to get in their harvest, so that they might be the better fitted to start out again to serve his turn in the winter. They are all of the O'Neills,

1597. VOL. CC.

branches of Tyrone's own family, but more perfidious and treacherous, if more may be.

"Lastly, I am not a little grieved to see the troubles of Ireland grow more and more lingering, and less expectation to ease Her Majesty's charge amid so many wants as abound within the realm, and (under your Honour's wonted favour to allow me in my plainness) it cannot but be further chargeable to Her Majesty to follow a war in a country so much afflicted with famine, and which is able to yield no helps at all; besides, the long bearing of the burden of the war hath not a little altered the hearts of the people. And lastly, all the parts of the realm, declining still into distractions, only upon the ground of this rebellion in the north, a dangerous gap is kept open to let in the Spaniard, who, though he hath been put off to attempt his entry this year, yet, the occasion continuing, he will be the more apt to perform it the next year, and it is like he will not defer it longer. These are but cautions rising out of mine own conceit, and addressed only to your Honour under confidence that you will secrete me, or at least protect me therein; not daring to proceed to give further advice, for that I feel heavily, to my grief, how much my labours before used in the course of pacification have distasted me and my doings there, albeit my duty and conscience assureth me that I did nothing therein but to serve Her Majesty's turn, according her own princely directions and warrant. But still this I say to your Honour, under the same assurance, that this rebellion of Ulster, and the branches springing from it, hath been prosecuted with force now almost three years, at Her Majesty's excessive charge, and yet the traitors in the same pride they were at first, or more, the state of the kingdom further distempered and endangered by the way made for the foreign enemy, and (which is the worst) Her Majesty's charges like to increase, and little appearance to suppress the rebellion by force, but with a great length of time, and many perilous sequels to ensue, such as were better to be avoided than suffered."—Dublin, 1597, September 23. *Signed.* *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

137. I. *A note of captains and companies cassed. Seven of foot and five of horse.*—1597, *September.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 23. 138. Geffrey Story to Burghley. Served Queen Mary in the wars in Scotland, and Queen Elizabeth both in Scotland and in Ireland. Spent his goods, ventured his life, and lost his blood. Has for six years been a humble petitioner for some recompense for his services. Grant to him of the pension of one Lancelot Cleyton of 2*s.* sterling per diem, from the time of Cleyton's death, now three years past. How Sir Geffrey Fenton has opposed and wronged him. His wife and children ready to starve for want of maintenance. The charges he has been put to. Beseeches Burghley's help. *Endorsed*:—1597, September 23. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

[Sept. 23.] 139. Petition of Geffrey Story to Burghley. Served Queen Mary and Her Majesty for these forty years past. Lost fourteen horses,

1597. VOL. CC.

twenty-four of his kinsmen, and is utterly undone. Prays that he may receive the pension of Cleyton granted to him. His great losses and charges. Desires to get back to Ireland. — [1597, September 23.] *p.* 1.

Sept. 27. Rathfarnan. 140. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. "I have received your letter of the 15th of this instant, wherein you write for a deer's head which I had here. It was found in the ground, and not so carefully taken up by the first finders thereof as it should have been; whereby it was broken in the beams and edges of the palms thereof. Yet the rare greatness of it made me to have it fastened again together, and set up in the hall of a poor house which I built here; and have now with some difficulty taken it down without breaking, and delivered it safely to Lumley, the bearer of your letter, who hath promised to carry it carefully unto your Honour; which, when you see, I wish might be the rarest monument in Christendom, or such one indeed as my love to your Honour might the more appear in bestowing thereof upon you." His devotion to Sir Robert.—Rathfarnan, 1597, September 27. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 28. Dublin. 141. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. "A merchant of Wexford, arriving out of Spain two days past, wrote unto me these intelligences following: that the plague is hot in the King's army, insomuch as at Castro 5,000 are dead, and in Cascales a great number. That a commandment is come from the Court of Spain to command all French, Flemings, and English, inhabiting near the seaside, to withdraw themselves twenty leagues into the inland. That the fleet keepeth still together in harbour, giving out that some of them shall go for Ireland, but it is not known when they will depart. That order is given for the building of twelve great ships in the passage, and six in the river of Lisbon. That the English fleet is in the river of Lisbon, and have (*sic*) landed 5,000 men there; that the English fleet have been in that river now six or seven days past. This is the substance of his advertisements, which I thought good with the first to transmit to your Honour. The party was in Spain the 27th of this month, according the new style."—Dublin, 1597, September 28. *Signed.* *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Sept. 30. Kilkenny. 142. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "I cannot, in discharge of my duty to Her Majesty, but acquaint your Lordships with the state of this unfortunate realm, never in so ill case (in mine opinion) as at this instant. How it standeth in Ulster and Connaught, I doubt not is made known to your Lordships by my Lord Deputy and the Council, and myself (*sic*) (being of late General of Leinster, having suppressed the dangerous rebellion begun there, and put to the sword, and executed by law, most of all the principal leaders of that rebellion, with a great number of their men). Now is the traitor Brian Reogh sent out of the north with three hundred shot, Irish and Scottish, to stir rebellion here; and I am advertised that Feagh M'Hugh's son is presently to come

1597. VOL. CC.

with 400; one Tirrell with two hundred; one Edmund Delvin with 200; and one Morgan Kavanagh with another company. Wherewith also my Lord Deputy and Council are made acquainted, who thereupon have laid upon me my former charge in this Province, for the prosecution of these rebels, my Lord Deputy being now in a journey towards the north, and forced to take with him to that service all Her Majesty's soldiers in these parts, saving only fifty left to keep the fort in Leix. So as (neither soldiers, munition, money, nor other provision, left me for this so urgent service), I must now into the field at mine own charges (as formerly I did) without allowance for myself or any of my companies, and am driven (for want of others) to draw unto me divers of the Irishry that were in actual rebellion, whose blood I drew in prosecution of them, which maketh me doubtful how to trust them, when I shall come to a day's service, against those that were their associates the last year; yet will I do all I may to the uttermost of my power." Prays their Lordships to take speedy order for supplying his wants. —Kilkenny, 1597, September 30. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 1½.

[Sept. 30.] 143. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. On his return from O'Donnell's country he advertised Burghley of the success he then had, and how, through the great want of all things, he prevailed no better to the depressing of that great rebel, by whose power Connaught hath continual invasion. At this time the banished M'William has entered again the county of Mayo, and there means to keep himself this winter, by the strength of bogs and woods, presuming Sir Conyers will not be able to follow him, for want of victuals. This is true, the waste of this country is grown so great.

Found, by a letter from Burghley to the Lord Deputy, that Burghley conceived Belleek to be the fitter place to be builded for the stay of O'Donnell out of Connaught, and that he set down the situation upon the Erne as the reason, being the passage out of his country, and so a fewer number might impeach him. If Burghley looks at the map of Ireland, and if the river Erne be there truly set down, he will find Belleek stands so high upon the river, that it joins upon Lough Sydney; and also that it stands four miles above Ballyshannon. By reason of a rock, which is naturally seated, betwixt the sea and Ballyshannon, the river is not navigable to that place, whereby there is no possibility of victualling so great a number of men as may rebuild Belleek. This cannot be done under, at the least, 3,000 foot and 500 horse, all which must be victualled for three months. Lime, too, must be wrought upon the place, there being no way possible to have any brought by sea. Again, the castle of Belleek stands so high upon the river, that all the fords and passages are below it, and thereby it cannot, with a small number, impeach O'Donnell's passage, when he attempts to come. Agrees with Burghley that Sligo is too far in the Province, and that a great garrison will be required to stop O'Donnell. For he is now stronger in men than any of his ancestors ever have been, and, by spoiling the country, better able to maintain them. At Sligo, when it is builded, there can lie no fewer than 300 foot and 50 horse, so

1597. VOL. CC.

long as his pride stands. When Sir Conyers desired means to rebuild Sligo, it was only that a place might be made to stay O'Donnell with a reasonable company, because, as it now stands open, he makes his daily incursions. "Albeit, since my coming, he hath not gone free with any of his purposes, yet, my honourable Lord, the toil is not to be endured, to draw the forces Her Majesty hath here at all times to a head, by reason of the waste of the Province, and, I protest to your Honour, I never drew the army down, but I was in danger of starving with the whole companies."

Ballyshannon is the place which must relieve Connaught, and break O'Donnell. It is easier to be taken than Belleek to be builded, and it is the place for which the whole country of O'Donnell has a special regard. Is assured, that, notwithstanding all leagues betwixt O'Donnell and Tyrone, that place will be no sooner taken, but there will be found in O Donnell's country many who will fly from him. Since his coming [to Ireland], Sir Conyers once marched to the riverside by the castle with not 1,000 men, and O'Donnell durst not meddle with him. The last time Sir Conyers went, his number of fighting men was not above 1,500, yet he passed the river, encamped about the town five days, and would have won it, if his wants had not been great, and had he not also doubted the force of Tyrone, who hastened all he might to overtake him. Their purpose this winter is to keep the army busied as much as they may in Leinster and Connaught, whereby the garrisons the Lord Deputy has placed upon the borders of Tyrone may not impeach him this winter. If they prevail herein, they gain another principal commodity. "For, my Lord, they will, in the dead of the winter, feed those beggars amongst us, to continue our scarcity, and to keep the plenty of their own countries, which I daresay was never in that abundance, as these two traitors have their countries, these hundred years; and hereby they provide for summer, at which time only they doubt invasion."

Their instruments for Leinster are Feagh M'Hugh's sons, Tirrell, and Brian Reogh O'More, who will want no number to accompany them. For Connaught they have already sent M'William with 700 men, Feriogh M'Hugh [O'Kelly], Ulick Burke (that murdered [George] Bingham), and divers other Connaught rebels, whom, since his coming until now, he has made to live out of the Province.

Tyrone hopes to keep the Lord Deputy from victualling the fort upon the Blackwater. O'Donnell has promised to keep the passage of Sligo open, to succour these traitors, who bound him to it before they would come. Albeit the time of the year is far spent to build, yet, if he may once be assisted with means, they shall not stop him from building Sligo again. Foreseeing these mischiefs, he has often desired this from the State in Ireland; and, if he had had the means and time, he would have stayed the coming of the traitors, and thereby many other special services would have been likely to follow, as the coming in of O'Rourke, "upon whom I have had a plot, either to get him upon safe and humble terms, which I yet keep upon him, or else to get his head for reward."

1597. VOL. CC.

Sends herewith the names of the men in action at his coming into the charge, the alteration by his time, the names of the chief men that are slain, the prisoners he has taken in action, and yet keeps alive, to win the people if it may be, and the castles that are of name.

Although he signed the articles with Tibbott Ne Longe, considering that the getting in of him would greatly further Her Majesty's service, yet he has not promised any confirmation, until his service deserve it, and because he had a care not to prejudice Her Majesty. Reserved the rent charged upon every quarter of land, according to the composition betwixt Sir Richard Bingham and the country. "Besides, my Lord, as the state of this Province standeth, there was not one quarter of land inhabited throughout the whole Province (but in Thomond and Clanrickard) for Her Majesty to receive rent from, before my coming, and now only in Mayo, which this new coming of M'William will much alter again."

Reasons for two of his articles with Tibbott Ne Longe. Never people were more obstinately in rebellion than those of Connaught. This must be imputed chiefly to the hope they are in of aid from Spain. They are maintained in that opinion by O'Donnell, from whom may never be expected any sound conditions of peace, until his pride be abated; which, by God's assistance, shall be done, and with the number Sir Conyers now has, albeit O'Donnell's number far exceeds Her Majesty's forces in Connaught, with the help of Maguire and those of the Province still in action, all which are continually employed only to busy him. Desires only supply of powder, and that he may be paid according to the last orders sent from Her Majesty. So the people may be satisfied for the time past, upon whom only the army has lived, "for, in all the time of my being here, I have not been supplied with one month's victuals of my store, which is now eight months, and I had, my good Lord, never less to provide for than 21 companies of foot and 100 horse." The greatest part of this has been taken from such as he brought in, and to whom he promised that nothing should be taken from them but for money. Had he been paid this, it would have been a great encouragement for those that are come in, as also a good example for others to submit themselves.

At this instant, Tibbott Ne Longe has sent him the head of Thomas Burke, M'William's brother, and no less mischievous than M'William himself. Tibbott has also killed, as he sends word, forty of Burke's men.—[1597, September 30.] *Endorsed*:—Received the 7 of October 1597. *Signed. pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

143. I. "*A brief declaration of the Province of Connaught, how the same stood at my coming, and as it is at this present, with the names of the chief gent. of the septs.*"—"*Men in action.*"—"*Principal prisoners reserved upon several killings.*"—"*Castles of account taken also by me and so kept.*" — [*September.*] *Endorsed*:—[? *Received* 7.] "*October* 1597." *pp.* 2½.

1597. VOL. CC.

Sept. 30. Athlone. 144. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends an account of the present state of Connaught. Has endeavoured all he might, with the small means he has had, to settle the country again, but, until he is made able to prosecute O'Donnell, he is "at the furthest." The building of Sligo will put O'Donnell to the greater trouble, and it will be "more danger" for him to find a good garrison in the place. Is not able now, through its ruin and the waste of that country, to draw so often towards O'Donnell, as he may, with small numbers, do great mischief.

The matters he will desire shall not be great, and he trusts the Lord Deputy will conceive it is the likeliest way for the finishing of this general war to go roundly upon him who cannot stand. "His country is so open and champaign; and, to prove the same unto your Honour, I will undertake upon my life, if my Lord do stay Tyrone from me four months, having but the number I now have paid for this time, I will banish this prince of beggars, and then it may be considered how little while Tyrone can stand; and because it will be great trouble for my Lord in the winter to draw his companies into the country of Tyrone, his Lordship may go this way; where, I protest unto your Honour, I will faithfully do him all the service I shall be able. His Lordship is now gone a journey of great hazard but most necessary. I offered my service, but his Lordship thinks not so best."

Fears the lingering of this war has secretly wrought many to join, who yet do but lurk, and therefore, in his opinion, nothing is so material as dispatch, and better for Her Majesty, if any way may be, to break them in the winter, though it be more toilsome for the soldier. There is no longer time to be given for any respect, the proceedings being well observed. "I have had in my company in this prosecution many, but find few of this country['s] birth that have any disposition to venture themselves, or any way further the service, except the men I have wrought to peace, and upon my life they will not spare any. I have experience of them; they have put their hands far in blood, and upon their nearest kinsman. I do assure your Honour this service of Tibbott Ne Longe hath showed him to be most loyal. After the return of my Lord Deputy, if O'Donnell give me leave, I will wait upon my Lord Deputy. After, I will deliver my opinion, and then your Honour shall hear what I will wish him to undertake only by the knowledge I have of this people's natures."—Athlone, [15]97, September 30. *Holograph. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

144. 1. *Account of the state of Connaught.*—[1597], *September. Duplicate of enclosure to preceding letter. pp.* 2½.

Sept. 30. 145. "A certificate of the receipt and issue of victuals, together with the defalcation and loss growing thereupon, in the victualling of Her Majesty's army and garrisons in Ireland, between the first of October 1596, and the last of September 1597." *Signed by Robert Newcomen. pp.* 11.

## Vol. CCI. 1597. October—December.

1597.

Oct. 1. Dublin. 1. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to Sir Robert Cecil. There have been brought to them of late two or three letters of advertisements, written from Spain to some merchants of Dublin, by their factors there. Send abstracts of these. Are of opinion that these preparations of Spain are made larger by report than they are in deed; as by former observation has been found to be true.—Dublin, 1597, October 1. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

*Inclose,*

1. I. *Abstract of three letters, dated* 16 *September, lately sent out of Spain. That a straight commandment is come from the Court of Spain to warn all Frenchmen, Flemings, and Englishmen, dwelling near the seaside, to withdraw themselves into the country, or* 30 *or* 40 *leagues into the inland. This commandment was published the* 26*th of August last, and carried a penalty of confiscation of their goods and three months' imprisonment, and to take beginning within twenty days after the publishing thereof. It is reported that there are at Ferrol* 24,000 *"landing men" to go for Ireland, and that they should have been at sea the* 15*th inst. On the* 25*th news came that the English fleet was descried at sea forty leagues from Cascales. That great provision of biscuit and other victuals daily passes to Ferrol from St. Sebastian, Bilbao, Alaredo, the passage, and other parts of the coast of Biscay. That there have been sent from the cities and towns to Lisbon,* 12,000 *proper fighting men, besides* 10,000 *old soldiers, who were there before. That there are in the bay of Lisbon twenty-four galleys to keep the river, and twenty-four galleys that came out of Italy with* 12,000 *old soldiers, who, arriving at Calais, were appointed to pass thence to Lisbon. That Madrid sent also, at its own cost, to further the King's intent,* 900 *soldiers in suitable liveries; so that the Spaniards report they were never so fitted for the coming of the English fleet. That at Bilbao there is great building of ships, viz., six great ships in that river, and twelve in the passage; but the plague is so great that they do not go forward in the passage. The plague is also round about Bilbao, and at least* 56 *towns are infected. Signed by Sir Geffrey Fenton.—Dublin,* 1597, *October* 1. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 2. Dublin. 2. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Sir Robert Cecil. Touching the vacant Deanery of St. Patrick's. Has received no answer to his letters to Burghley concerning the same. Lately directed by the Lord Deputy to deliver over to his Lordship's steward all the bonds taken of several persons for the payment of the corn due to that living, that the same may be used for his Lordship's house. Has answered the Lord Deputy that he has already written into England, and is expecting an answer daily; and that, upon the

1597. VOL. CCI.

receipt thereof, unless otherwise directed, he will be very willing to satisfy his Lordship's desire in any reasonable matter. Craves to understand Her Majesty's pleasure. Prays that the Chapter and himself may proceed to an election, according to the charters and foundation of that church, as they have ever done.—Dublin, 1597, October 2. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

Oct. 3. Dublin. 3. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. His great grief that Burghley should have taken offence at his letter to Sir Robert Cecil concerning the ordinances. Sent his opinion as it was asked. Has had no disposition to have impugned them, but has furthered the putting of them into execution. The supposed great commodities of his place. Has so maintained his band of foot, that no company has been so continually in action. Denies that he has taken 4*d.* in the pound for payment of fees and wages. The long time he has spent in Her Majesty's service, and his manner of spending it, no way tainted, he hopes, or to be touched. The great charges he has been put to. Had he not had an estate in England, he could never have run through as he has done. None of his allowances are so great as to countervail the burden even of the accounts he is subject to. Holds himself an unhappy man, but will ever be found, he hopes, an honest man. Nothing can be more grievous to him than Burghley's hard conceiving of him, which he has not deserved by writing as he did about the ordinances. Once more humbly beseeches Burghley to be satisfied, or that he may have leave to go into England to purge himself of these imputations that thus work his disgrace. The conclusion of Burghley's letter very comfortable to him.—Dublin, 1597, October 3. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 4.

Oct. 3. 4. Allowances given to the Lords Justices when there was no Deputy in Ireland, amounting to 2,001*l.* 2*s.* 1*d.* per annum for each. *Endorsed*:—1597, October 3. *p.* 1.

Oct. 4. Dublin. 5. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. The sharply written letter received by him from Burghley. His grief thereat. Nothing was ever further from his purpose or meaning than to cross or impugn the ordinances. Has justified himself to Burghley. Sends copies of his Lordship's letter, and of his reply. Hopes that Sir Robert will not only be satisfied, but mediate with Burghley for him. Otherwise, craves license to repair into England to justify himself; "for, as I am here for the present, I shall little stead Her Majesty for her service, being made in manner the subject of all men's speech that come out of England, and so report of my disgraces at Court, and the hard opinion there conceived of me, as I am held unworthy and in little regard, and thereby disabled to discharge such duties as otherwise would prove happily of consequence for the service of Her Highness."—Dublin, 1597, October 4. *Signed. pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

5. 1. *Burghley to Sir Henry Wallop. Has seen the letter of July 29 sent by Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil, and is surprised at*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*the contents. Wallop's opposition to the ordinances, after the Lord Deputy had approved of them, on two particular grounds. First, the difficulty of paying particular bands dispersed into sundry parts of the realm. "The second objection is a pretence that the soldier may be better furnished with Irish stuff, as to have Irish frieze for good English cloth, or to have Irish brogues of calf skins or sheep skins for good shoes of neat's leather out of England; and instead of English cassocks of good cloth, to be provided of mantles of Irish frieze, an apparel far unfit for a soldier that shall use his weapon in the field; but the end hereof is, that where Her Majesty meant to have so much money stayed within the realm of England, and in lieu thereof to send good apparel, at as reasonable prices as her soldiers be served in the Low Countries, you, her Treasurer, would force Her Majesty to send the money by your hands to be there employed by your direction, and to have also allowance for portage thereof out of England, as you have very liberally paid you for all other treasure, yea, many times for sundry sums of money paid here in England by your servants, and never carried a mile from London." Has written to the Lord Deputy to confer with Wallop. Will be more ready to execute his Lordship's opinion for the benefit of Her Majesty and the weal of her country, than he will be ruled by Wallop's "indirection against Her Majesty's service and profit." Thinks that Wallop has less cause than any other Councillor for his opposition, because of his divers good allowances. Enumerates these. "Other allowances are known that you take without warrant to my knowledge; that is, 4d. upon the pound in payment of fees and wages; into the reckoning whereof I do not mean now to enter." Means not to give great credit to other common reports in Ireland, "in what sort the bills of captains be bought aforehand for small sums of money paid to your servants and deputies." "And this I pray you to accept as [? from] one that hath of long time made estimation of you, and cannot but frankly deliver unto you what I mislike in you at this time."—The Court, 1597, August 12. Copy. pp. 2.*

5. II. *Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Duplicate of the letter of October 3 above (No. 3).—Dublin. Endorsed:*—1597, *October 3. Copy. pp. 3.*

Oct. 5. Dublin. 6. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. His friends at Court have advertised him of certain other dislikes conceived of him, so presumes briefly to satisfy Burghley. It is offensively taken that of all victuals sent to Ireland no deduction is made, nor for any victuals delivered by the country, and that no checks are deducted, the bands being known to be much weakened. Further, that he has not allowed the entertainments of captains and others in pay upon the rents due by them for farms they hold of Her Majesty. Whatever it shall justly appear he has omitted to defalcate to Her Majesty's use for victuals or checks, according to the certificates, he is content to pay himself out of his poor worth. Therein has used all due regard. The Clerk of the Check and the Victualler do but

1597. VOL. CCI.

half-yearly deliver in their certificates to him. The like answer he makes for [the victuals delivered by] the country. As for not allowing the captains and others holding farms of Her Majesty their entertainments upon their rents, many of them by special warrants have such allowances upon their entertainments, but, if all should be so allowed (considering the revenues of Connaught and Munster are received by the Governors of those Provinces, respecting also the decay of the revenue by these troubles), the residue would not suffice to pay the Judges and other patentees, payable out of the revenues.—Dublin, 1597, October 5. *Signed.* *pp.* 1¼.

Oct. 5. Dublin. 7. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Even now it is advertised that the fort of the Blackwater was assaulted three days ago with thirty scaling ladders. In this attempt Tyrone had made choice of certain resolute men, of the best training amongst all his forces, and had caused them to take an oath and to receive "their Papal Sacrament," not to abandon the enterprise till they had carried the fort. But the captain, who had charge there for Her Majesty, drawing them by device to his own advantage, put them from their purpose, with the loss of all their scaling ladders, and sundry of their best men left dead upon the ground. Makes bold to acquaint his Honour with this, as one good matter amongst so many distresses of the Government. This is the day on which the Lord Deputy promised to begin his march towards the Blackwater [fort], to re-victual it Hears nothing as yet of any alteration.

There are come within two days into Leinster certain Robin Hoods, set on and enabled by Tyrone, namely, Brian Reogh O'More, and the two sons of the late Feagh M'Hugh, who yesternight made some small burnings in the Queen's County and borders of Kildare, and are now passed over to the Glynns, their old den. Doubts not they have a large confederacy amongst the Kavanaghs, the O'Mores, and O'Connors, with other septs in Leinster. This is a beginning of the unsoundness of Leinster, which he has so often touched upon in his former letters. It is not known yet what the number is of these new disturbers. Thinks they do not exceed 200, and that they have not done much, beside some petty burnings, which might have been prevented if the country had shown themselves as they ought to have done.—Dublin, 1597, October 5. *Signed. Endorsed:*—"Received at Whitehall the 9th of November." *p.* 1.

Oct. 8. Dublin. 8. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Did not write concerning the issue of the last treasure, as the Lord Deputy had said he would. His Lordship's present sickness at the Newry may be a hindrance to his purpose. Can make no particular certificate of the issue, as the paymasters' books have not been received from Athlone, Newry, and Carrickfergus. Some particulars of the issue of the said treasure, which amounted to 22,100*l.* To pay the lendings for October some 1,500*l.* more will be required. For the time to come they rely upon a supply. Accounts not yet received from Sir Ralph Lane, Mr. Kyffin, the Victualler, and the Master of the Ord-

1597. VOL. CCI.

nance. If the Lord Deputy's sickness be of any continuance will send a certificate of the issue of the treasure before his return.—Dublin, 1597, October 8. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 1½.

Oct. 10. 9. Declaration of the account of Sir Henry Wallop, knight, Sub-Treasurer of Ireland, for one year, ended at the feast of St. Michael, in the thirty-eighth year of Queen Elizabeth.—1597, October 10. *Signed by the Auditor, Christopher Peyton. One sheet.*

Oct. 11. 10. Sir Thomas Norreys to Burghley, "I presume to present my excuse for not acquainting your Honour by my letters with the grievous accident of my brother's decease, which I thought might be performed in more convenient time and in fitter manner by your honourable son, Sir Robert Cecil." Expresses devotion to Burghley.

Munster is in reasonable good quiet, the M'Shees, who the last winter infested them most, being in a manner all cut off, with their adherents and "relivers." Very lately apprehended and executed a base son of Lord Roche's, who, for his aptness to do mischief, held a great reputation amongst men of his quality. By this means those parts are much quieted. What most troubles the poor inhabitants of Munster is the granting out of writs and certioraris from the Courts in Dublin for small trespasses and matters of no moment, by which means they are not only deprived of the speedy execution of justice, but also many times robbed, spoiled, and murdered in their travel thither. Burghley can be informed of further particulars by the bearer, Mr. Nicholas Curteys, who has long served as Clerk of the Council with great honesty and diligence, and who acknowledges to have received his first advancement from Burghley. —1597, October 11. *Signed. p.* 1.

Oct. 12. Waterford. 11. James Sherloke to Sir Robert Cecil. Against one Thomas Fitzgerald, a foundling of Sir Francis Walsingham's, who is now at Court, laying claim to M'Thomas's lands, and also to other lands belonging to Sherloke and other gentlemen in the county of Waterford. Attainder of one of the family. Has written to Burghley.—Waterford, 1597, October 12. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Oct. 13. Newry. 12. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to the Queen. "I presume to make humbly bold to acquaint your Highness that it hath pleased God to take to His mercy my most honourable Lord your Deputy this present evening; a gentleman who, for his forwardness and valour in your service, was as zealous in his prosecution thereof as any whatsoever his predecessors in my time, and did, with as great honour to your Majesty, during his short continuance, acquit himself in all his actions. It is my part to signify thus much in respect of the duty I bear your sacred Majesty. I would humbly crave pardon to be more prolix, were it not I am privy to certain instructions, as also to a letter framed in the beginning of his sickness, containing as well the whole course of his government, as his opinion

1597. VOL. CCI.

of the necessity of the service to be continued. Therefore, as it pleased his Lordship to have often conference with me, especially about the Ulster service, so have I made bold to write my opinion to your Secretary, wherein I imagine I have concurred with him in judgment, and whereunto (under correction be it written) no man of experience, and of late exercise in this kingdom, can justly gainsay." Refers to the bearer for further particulars. His prayers for the Queen and Ireland, "this poor and distressed commonweal." Has spent much of his patrimony in England to do her service against "this proud vassal and his complices." Will not leave to lose both patrimony and life till he shall (as he hopes) see him and them brought to utter confusion.—Newry, 1597, October 13. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 13. Newry. 13. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to Burghley. Did not think he would have been troublesome to his Lordship at this time, as he had written to Sir Robert Cecil so largely concerning the miserable state of this distressed commonwealth, now become in much more desperate case by the loss of so honourable a Deputy, whose whole thoughts and designments were only tending to the defence of the subject from the incursion of the rebel and extortion of the soldier. Yet thought it his duty to write a few words to Burghley concerning his own entertainment. This was much greater at the first erection of his office, by reason of the perquisites. Now he has but five shillings *per diem* (scarce the moiety of the entertainments of divers commanders, serving in Ireland but in mean place). Has altogether wasted his own patrimony, and his charge by this war is doubly increased. Beseeches the grant of some extraordinary entertainment for his relief and encouragement.—Newry, 1597, October 13. *Signed.* *Seal.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 13. Newry. 14. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. "Right Honourable, this noble Deputy received, as it seemed, a letter from you, or my Lord your father, wherein he was required to send over some man of trust, well furnished with the knowledge of the present state of this kingdom. He thereupon made choice of this gent., and gave him instructions, as also a draft of a letter to Her Majesty, purposing indeed (as it seemed by his conference with me) to give thereby a reason of all his former doings, and to show a necessity of the continuance of the course begun. He, falling more sick every day than other (contrary to all expectation) is this present night dead; his servants are dispersed, and no man that I see taking care of the former honour of the dead but this bearer, who is going over with that business, in respect of his Lordship's command in my hearing, as also to know how Her Majesty will be pleased to dispose of the dead carcase, for that, since my remembrance, no Deputy hath died before in this kingdom. I send you herein the last testament of his Lordship, had he been able to have signed it, for, in his very ordinary conference, he made semblance of more love to your Honour than to any other that I heard of; howbeit, in respect of his more being in the field, I had continual occasion to be with him,

1597. VOL. CCI.

and to observe his affection. I must be an humble suitor that there may be a present resolution sent for the bestowing of his carcase, according Her Majesty's pleasure, so that then some order may be taken to license his people to leave their attendance, whereas now they remain with me to attend the body as is convenient. For the advancement of Her Majesty's service his death came very untimely, and, in a word, my opinion (under your correction) is that, without another fit man, able to second the course already begun, all that money spent in this government is lost, and besides there hangeth an imminent danger of a present and general revolt throughout the kingdom, whereof I thought it my duty to give you notice, referring your Honour to my letter written to you now thereof more at large, and so do leave it to your grave consideration. From the Newry, this 13 of October 1597." [*Postscript.*]—Refers the extraordinary expenses of the bearer to Sir Robert, as there is no time for him to repair to the Council at Dublin for money. [*The name of the bearer is not given in the letter, but an endorsement says,* "Mr. Mychell commended."]—*Signed. Seal. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

14. I. *The last will and testament of Thomas, Lord Burgh, Baron of Gainsborough, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, and Lord Deputy of Ireland. Bequeaths his soul to God, and his body to be buried where and how Her Majesty pleases. Presents to the Queen his best Garter and George, together with his letter and instructions concerning Ireland and his own private estate. Hopes Her Majesty will receive his wife and children into her protection, he having spent his patrimony, and ended his days, in her service. Appoints Sir Robert Cecil and Sir Henry Bagenall as the "overseers" of this his last will and testament, and bequeaths to each of them one of the best pieces of plate that he has, as a token of his love. Bequeaths to his wife, Lady Frances Burgh, all his goods, household stuff, horses, plate, and whatsoever is his, either in England or Ireland, nothing doubting that she will bring up his children in the true fear of God.*—1597, *October* 12.

*This will is not signed, but there is the following note, attested by Sir Henry Bagenall and John Dymok:*—"*This was purposed to have been perfected by my Lord Deputy in his good memory, but, being at last demanded to sign it, refused, saying he had already ordered, and, his memory failing, it was not to be done, whereof I am witness, as also of this gent's care for my Lady.*" *p.* 1.

Oct. 13. Newry. 15. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. Considers it is his duty to inform Sir Robert truly and sincerely, as near as by his own experience and knowledge he may, what are the principal causes of the slow success of Her Highness's service in Ireland, and wherein the chiefest defects for the prosecution thereof do consist.

The root of this rebellion is grounded upon so general a combination, and the same therewithal of late so entangled with a hope of

1597. VOL. CCI.

Spain, that there is now no likelihood of removing either the one or the other by any other means than by force. If the advice of some had heretofore been hearkened to, the rebellion had ere this been ended, with far less charge to Her Majesty than now will be.

Her Majesty sent over this year forces sufficient for a prosecution. "But the men coming hither, almost in the beginning of May, continued here without any employment at all, until the beginning of July, during which time both they, and the rest of the forces formerly sent hither, were driven, for want of competent provision of victual, to live only upon bread and water. By means whereof great numbers of them in that space were sunk and utterly decayed, to the great weakening of the body of the army, at such time as it was for the service then intended drawn into the field; so as indeed it may hereby appear that not (as by some is supposed) the alteration of the climate, but the want of sufficient provision of victual for the soldier in due time, is, only and alone, the very cause that our English do here so soon decay."

Great want of competent numbers of horsemen wherein the rebels do greatly overtop them. The small allowance granted to the horseman being four shillings and sixpence sterling per week. This is so little that he cannot possibly reside in any place of garrison, unless it be where he lives more by the spoil of the subject than by his allowance.

The first journey this summer into Ulster succeeded so little through the intendment of passing further than the provision of the army allowed. They were constrained to return without performing what otherwise might have been effected, to the great furtherance of the service. "Notwithstanding, it is not to be expected that a rebellion grown to that height of pride and insolence that this here now is, and withal so general can, by the marching of an army only, be reduced in any short time to a settled quietness."

Is of opinion that the most speedy and readiest means for a reducement is to establish strong garrisons in all the most convenient places, where they may both border nearest the rebel, to annoy him, and by sea be relieved with victual, or any other meet provisions, from time to time, without any impeachment or danger. No inland garrisons should as yet be placed, as some of late have been, the victualling whereof is found by experience, through the exceeding weakness of the numbers of English in the army, very dangerous for the hazarding of the state of Ireland, and besides an intolerable charge to Her Majesty. A plain demonstration of this his Honour may perceive in the last revictualling of the fort at the Blackwater, when were drawn together all the forces in Ireland, except only a few left in garrison in remote places. The men numbered above 1,700, and amongst these there were not above 400 "mere English," the residue being all Irish, and many of them such as do now serve with the traitors. How dangerous it is to have the body of the army compounded of that sort of men, he refers to Sir Robert's grave censure.

1597. VOL. CCL.

It is very lamentable to remember in what miserable manner great numbers of the English did of late, even since the return from the first journey to the Blackwater, daily die and starve for want of means. "For, howsoever honourably and providently there was of Her Majesty's treasure sufficient sent over by way of lending to relieve the soldiers' wants; by whose default I know not, but the money remained near two months in the Treasurer's hands, after the arrival thereof, before the poor soldier received any taste of it; many of them perishing while the matter was held so long in dispute, how it should be disposed of."

Advises that the companies now in Ireland be reinforced with English, and that sufficient provision be made of victuals and clothing; also, that the garrisons be then planted near the enemy, and yet so that they may be victualled by sea. Some are already so placed, and have not been "thrust into the English Pale and other parts, for the private gain of some, without respect to Her Majesty's service, which hath formerly been a usual practice." Asks that there be sent next spring a garrison of 1,000 men, to land at Lough Foyle, with provisions sufficient for four or five months, whereby the arch-traitors Tyrone and O'Donnell may then be kept occupied in those parts. Expects great success, before the winter passes, from the placing of the garrisons as above advised. "And then, consequently, at the spring, the garrison arriving at Lough Foyle, to busy the rebel that way, and the forces here already to go upon them this way, it is out of question the pride of their force will in short time by due prosecution be quite overthrown, and this troublesome rebellion brought to an end. But otherwise, so long as Tyrone shall have that large scope of ground that now he hath left him free to wander up and down in at his pleasure, being, from this place (which is the nearest garrison now to him to be victualled by sea) to the west sea in O'Donnell's country, above 120 miles, there can no great annoyance be done him in any short time by confronting him with an army only in these parts."

Has made these things known to Sir Robert in the discharge of his duty, without partiality or malice. Has already lost more in his private estate than any other besides in the kingdom. Will sacrifice all, even the dearest blood in his heart, in this service of Her Majesty, not doubting but she will have gracious consideration of him.—Newry, 1597, October 13. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 3.

Oct. 14. 16. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. Asking for a confirmation of the grant made by the late Lord Deputy Burgh to Captain Francis Stafford of the vacant Constableship of the Castle of Limerick.—1597, October 14. *Signed. p.* 1.

Oct. 16. Dublin. 17. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council to the Privy Council. "The Lord Deputy being on a journey to revictual the fort of Blackwater, fell dangerously sick of an Irish ague at Armagh the 6th of this month, and passing on nevertheless to the fort, with a meaning, as it seemed, to pierce further into the traitor's

1597. VOL. CCI.

country, was driven by the working of his sickness, which weakened him more and more, to divert that purpose, and to return in a litter directly to the Newry, where he hath remained ever since, and there departed this life the 13th of this present. We were determined, at the first advertisement of his Lordship's sickness from Armagh, to have signified the same to your Lordships, were it not that there hath been no possibility of passage since, by reason the wind hath hung strong in the east, so as no bark could pass out of this harbour, or any other port, for England. And now it is no small grief to us all to transmit these heavy news to your Lordships of the death of this nobleman, a worthy member for Her Majesty's service of this realm, specially at a time that the kingdom standeth so dangerously distracted almost in all the parts of it, and the affairs of the realm so universally confused and discordered (*sic*), as, in our memory who have longest served here, we have not seen the like; the same being grown to this height by this overgrown rebellion of Tyrone and his faction, which by time hath festered and corrupted most of the families of the Irishryes (*sic*) in the four Provinces of the realm; the remedy and redress whereof, next under God, resteth in Her sacred Majesty, whom it may please your Lordships, upon the occasion of this charge, to move, as well for some course to be held for the redress of this broken government, as also to send over some meet person out of hand, to take the superior charge thereof; who the sooner he shall be dispatched hither, the sooner may he proceed in his course, according such grave instructions as he shall receive from Her Majesty and your Lordships." Meanwhile they have proceeded this day to make out writs for assembling at the Council on the 28th inst., to choose one or two Lords Justices, according to the statute of 33 Hen. VIII.

Assure themselves that the traitor Tyrone and the rest, upon this accident of the Lord Deputy's death, will omit no opportunity to break out into all violence upon the borders and other places, where they think they may distress the English Pale, or any other fort or hold kept by Her Majesty. Advertisement just come of their sudden meeting in Council, and how they are gathering all their forces. Besides, Tyrone has sent a special force, under some of his best leaders, consisting of about 400, to renew and maintain a rebellion in Leinster, where they draw to them daily many friends, and many await to come to them, as they shall see them to increase in strength. Now that they see the realm destitute of a Governor they will do all they can to endanger Leinster especially, and the English Pale, which is the heart and seat of Ireland. Against them the Earl of Ormonde makes head, and will be supplied with all things in the power of the Council. Will do what they can to strengthen the rest of the borders, with Cavan, and other places kept for Her Majesty. The companies are extremely weak, as the Lord Deputy found in his time, whenever he had to call them out to service.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Prays for more money to be sent out of hand. The Treasurer will send by the next the account of the issue of the last treasure of 22,000*l.* No money is to be raised by borrowing in Dublin. The great increase of charges. The last three letters from the Privy Council, being addressed only to the Lord Deputy, were forwarded to him at Newry. Do not know the contents. Have sent for the letters.—Dublin, 1597, October 16. *Signed. pp.* 2.

[Oct. 16.] 18. "Mr. Kyffin's Breviate." Statement by Maurice Kyffin of the companies of horse and foot erected, cassed, converted, and raised from smaller numbers to greater in list, by "the late Lord Burgh, Lord Deputy of Ireland" [who died 13 October]. Six companies of horse were erected in August 1597; three companies of horse were cassed in the same month. "All the horsemen remaining of these bands at the time of their cassing, disbanded and ran away, so as none of them could be turned over to reinforce any other band." Three foot-bands were erected in August and September 1597. Seven foot-bands, containing 208 soldiers, were cassed in August 1597; the greatest part of the men were "sick and unserviceable," but were distributed into other bands. The cassed soldiers, however, ran away generally, and the sick perished." Two horse-bands were converted into foot-bands in September 1597.—*Signed by Maurice Kyffin. One sheet.*

Oct. 17. Dublin. 19. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The unexpected death of the Lord Deputy has wrought no small astonishment in them all. Fears the want of a Governor, such as he was, will breed dangerous sequels in Ireland, being so universally distracted as it is. The coming election of Lords Justices will, in his opinion, "do little good to the staying of these calamities, what good industry soever be used, for, so far are things out of frame here, as the ministry of any superior officer, chosen by authority here, will be too weak to reduce them to better." Therefore it were good Her Majesty would out of hand send one from England, "authorised and directed to end these broils, if not by force, which your Honour seeth hath done no good these three years, at least by some other milder way of pacification, which being well carried, God may bless it [as] a mean to do that which arms and war could not do. I dare write no more amply in this advice for peace, considering how hardly I have been interpreted, both here and there, for labouring for peace, which I saw, and do see still, that the course of wars will not bring to pass, but by an excessive waste of Her Majesty's treasure, and the hazardous exposing of this kingdom to ruin at home, and a dangerous rage of the foreign enemy abroad; who, it is to be thought, will not so slightly pass over opportunities future (*sic*) to invade this realm, as he hath done for the years precedent." It is to yourself alone that I write this, reposing much in "your honourable mind to favour my plans, and to cover me therein, humbly wishing your Honour to consider that, seeing the trial of three or four years by war and force hath done no good to the clearing of this rebellion, but rather hath made it worse, how meet it were now to alter the

1597. VOL. CCI.

course, and prove by a milder way to win their hearts, who will hardly be won by extremities."

It is most needful to dispatch away the new Deputy, without staying upon his preparations. The three packets lately sent by Sir Robert, directed only to the Lord Deputy Burgh, were forwarded to him unopened, and retained by him till his death. Has written to Sir Henry Bagenall to send them to Dublin out of hand.—Dublin, 1597, October 17. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Oct. 17. Athlone. 20. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. Sends these scribbled lines in haste, doubting a present alteration by the loss of the last most worthy Deputy, whose endeavours in [a] short time would have showed his faithful service by good fruits. "It hath pleased God to appoint him elsewhere." Ireland may not be long unsupplied. The fickleness of the people requires a speedy supply and a worthy choice, "for I do assure your Lordship, if there be any course taken with them, but prosecution with the sword, they will make it their advantage. Their hearts are so hardened in treason, and their conscience so mistrustful for their wicked deeds, as they will not without some more misery fall to any better life."

Had great hopes before this loss to have gained all Connaught. O'Rourke has made show of submission, and spoke with O'Connor Sligo, in whom Burghley's good opinion is not deceived. All the rest of the people have come to Sir Conyers, since he has again banished M'William, who has returned into the north, the most despised man living for his continual ill success. Many of his chief men were slain on his retreat, and the rest of the county of Mayo have sent to Sir Conyers for protection, and promise their pledges. So do generally the whole Province, O'Rourke excepted, who is not yet come so near grace. Will advertise Burghley again upon the first occasion, and will seek to keep the country at least at the good estate it is yet in. Hopes to bring it to amendment.—Athlone, 1597, October 17. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Oct. 17. Athlone. 21. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. The death of the Lord Deputy. Tyrone's unsuccessful attempt on the fort of the Blackwater. Being gathered with all his assistance to resist Lord Burgh, Tyrone never "came to prike proke." This will lessen him in the opinion of his own common people, if there be no slackening on the Lord Deputy's death. Will be set a work by O'Donnell on the first knowledge of his Lordship's death, to bring the people again to his wicked "section," but fears him not. If this had not happened, was in great hope to have given O'Donnell a sound blow, for, in the absence of the Lord Deputy, Sir Conyers endeavoured to stay as many men in those parts as he might. Thus he "entertained a parlament" with O'Rourke, who seemed weary of their companies. Besides him, there came to Sir Conyers the whole of the people in action in Connaught, who all swore to put in their pledges in twenty days. Seven days thereof have yet to expire. What change this will bring in their fickle minds he knows not; otherwise he assures himself to dispatch with the country whereby O'Donnell must only

1597. VOL. CCI.

be broken; which ends these wars. His Honour may be assured, if either Tyrone or O'Donnell be once broken thoroughly, this war is ended; the other cannot stand. His sense of Sir Robert's favour. Has endeavoured to perform as much as he possibly might, to discharge Her Majesty's trust. Desires that he may be strengthened with the favour of the new Lord Deputy.—Athlone, 1597, October 17. *Holograph. pp.* 2.

Oct. 18. Dublin. 22. The Lord Chancellor Loftus to Burghley. The death of the Lord Deputy. Is emboldened to write a few lines in private to Burghley. The coming election of a Lord Justice on the 28th inst. God knows whether a general regard to the good of this decayed commonweal, or private respects, will bear most sway in each man's consideration. Urges the speedy appointment of a Lord Deputy, fit for either a prosecution or a pacification.

"My good Lord, it hath here fallen out even as in the very beginning I have often foretold; a most dangerous war. The captains die; the soldiers die; Her Majesty's treasure, victuals, and munition consumed; the army (notwithstanding Her Majesty's special ordinances lately sent hither for their payment) groweth daily weaker and weaker; what the cause is I know not; the rebels exceedingly increased and grown very strong; the country left, not impoverished, but almost utterly desolate."

The traitor Tyrone has sent, as it is reported, 1,000 men into the old receptacle of traitors, the Glynns in those mountains. Are credibly informed there are 700 or 800 at the least, under the leading of Brian Reogh, one of the Moores of Leix, and the two sons of Feagh M'Hugh. They have, within this week, burned and spoiled many towns within six miles of Dublin. Besides, Onie M'Rory, the chiefest of the Moores in Leix, is now there, with 200 rebels, ready to do mischief. Tyrone himself encamps with 1,000 men upon the border of the Pale, ready to invade it; "and very easily may he do so, and come even to the gates of Dublin, if better order be not speedily taken to resist him."

It was thought that Sir Conyers Clifford might have kept O'Donnell's forces from coming to the aid of the Earl; howbeit O'Donnell, O'Rourke, Maguire, and all the rest are come to him; "so as your Lordship may perceive how we are environed on all sides, and in what lamentable estate we remain here in this cursed country. How to relieve us I know not; prosecute them, we are not able, they are so strong and diversely dispersed into many parts and places of the land; and yield to their desires, we leave them most proud insulters. Yet, of the two evils, the lesser is to [be] chosen. I see not, in my poor understanding, a safer course to be held, the present time and danger of this already shaken kingdom considered, than a motion of some pacification to be thought upon and managed by some wise and discreet persons, if so it may stand with Her Majesty's pleasure, until hereafter, when this fury is past, she may with more conveniency correct the heads of these wicked traitors." Craves pardon for his boldness upon this sudden occasion.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Respect for his bounden duty has driven him to it.—Dublin, 1597, October 18. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2.

Oct. 18. Dublin. 23. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. "I cannot by any means express unto your Honour my grief for the heavy accident that is befallen here. God hath pleased to call away for the further plague of this unfortunate realm our most noble Lord Deputy. He died at the Newry the 13th hereof, after eleven days' sickness of this country's ague. My particular loss were vain for me to speak of, though never any of so little acquaintance had such power over me, being one of the noblest gents that ever I knew. But Her Majesty's loss, and this kingdom's, I cannot but bitterly lament, for surely his care [and] industry promised to us all great matters from him. But now he is gone, it remaineth that, as much as may be, be speedily done for supplying this government." The coming election of one or two Lords Justices. Never such need for the choice of a noble and wise Lord Deputy.

Desires that more treasure be speedily sent. The last has been stretched to the uttermost. Has done his best endeavour for the getting in of Mr. Antone's debts.—Dublin, 1597, October 18. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

Oct. 18. Dublin. 24. Sir Charles Calthorpe, Attorney-General of Ireland, to Sir Robert Cecil. Will not continue his suit for the vacancy caused by Sir Robert Dillon's death, unless he can have the same entertainment. Mr. Justice Walsh is rich, and may serve for less.—Dublin, 1597, October 18. *Signed. p.* 1.

Oct. 20. Dublin. 25. Philip Williams to Sir Robert Cecil. The death of the Lord Deputy, who admitted him long ere he died to "the inwardest of his designs and endeavours" for Her Majesty's service. Among the rest, he told Williams that, though he pretended no more than the relieving of the Blackwater, yet he fully purposed, presently on the putting in of the victuals and munition, to have pierced Tyrone's fastness, and that night to have encamped at Dungannon, and so to have harried all Tyrone, and either have forced the traitor to have fought upon plain and even ground, or to have abandoned his whole creaght; whereby, as the traitor would have been undone, so the Pale would have been "replenished with bestial," whereof it is now in as great want as it is of corn. To make his attempts in Tyrone the more feasible, the Lord Deputy had, by means of one Ross Bane M'Mahon, drawn Brian M'Hugh Oge, who usurps the title of M'Mahon upon the arch-traitor's creation, to have a secret dependence on his Lordship. Besides this Brian, Sir Arthur, the son of the late Sir Tirlogh Lynagh O'Neill, had made an offer of himself and all about Strabane; whereupon others must have followed. Some overture was made on behalf of Harry M'Shane, the principal of Tyrone next to the arch-traitor himself.

To show how well the Lord Deputy had profited in so short a time in knowledge of things appertaining to Ireland, sends copy of

1597. VOL. CCI.

a letter written to the Council in answer to one of theirs endeavouring to dissuade him from his journey, and to persuade him to bend his whole endeavours to guard the Pale, wherein another fire began then to kindle. "To all these sufficiencies, he was as free from corruption as man might be, and as sparing for Her Majesty; but somewhat too lavish of his own. But death hath made an end of all, the traitor triumpheth as much as the subject lamenteth, and all things begin to go as far again backward, as he had brought them forward, and like to be worse yet, if the government be not the sooner re-established." The coming election of a Lord Justice, who must not be an "ecclesiastical person."

Thanks Sir Robert for "preferring" him to so noble and worthy a gentleman as Lord Burgh was. The charges he has been at. Desires preferment to the next Governor, and also Her Majesty's warrant for a lease of certain lands in a way to be escheated in Munster.—Dublin, 1597, October 20. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 2. *Incloses.*

25. I. *The Lord Deputy Burgh to the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the rest of the Council in Ireland. The troubles threatening Leix and Offaley, and other parts of the Pale and borders. The Council conceive the removal of the forces may breed a great peril to the country. They assented to his journey towards the North. If they repent, he will be ready to execute any reasonable and sound alteration.* "*Nevertheless, I will give you this caution; it was to be expected the great divill would throw out his firebrands to what mischief he might, when in his bosom he was despited, by planting a neighbourhood likely to impale his own walks*" [*i.e.*, by planting garrisons in his neighbourhood that would be likely to pale in, or limit, Tyrone's excursions]. "*And impossible it is, if Her Majesty had an army of* 50,000 *men, to avoid the fire which a few dispersed woodkern will kindle in a village or cornstack, where the sluggishness of the people will not defend themselves.*" *Gives an instance in Offaley. The gentleman most harmed was with him in Dublin and told him of an intended practice. Thereupon Lord Burgh gave him order for the assistance of Captain Colley, and Captain Marshall, and half of Captain Sentleger's band; together with direction to Sir George Colley, Sir Thomas Moore, and Sir Henry Warren, Sheriff, to "relie" their forces together.*

"*Notwithstanding all this provision, behold the sequel, and compare things as they be fallen out. Herein I show how those private ills cannot be shunned by any providence, unless to one man's grief all our general care were converted, which, in my opinion, is not suitable with our business. Yet I lay before you such order taken as might have prevented this present ill, if good execution had been applied. Neither can it be said there lacked forces; for there were never before so many bands ordained to that county as now, when this mischief crept in amongst them. But, to speak plainly, the Sheriff hath never intended his duty; Sir George Colley, as little; and, no more, Sir Thomas Moore; whose livings*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*and retinues need not call Her Majesty to the charge of their defence.*

*"Now must I touch the disposition of the people in the Pale. Place garrisons amongst them, they cry out of oppression. If the enemy run them, they wish a company, where fifty ensigns cannot impeach the passage of every bog and wood, which gives safety to a few lewd persons to steal upon particular men's goods. Pursue the rebels, one or other relieves them; seek to defend some, other draw drafts upon them, so as, being safe among themselves, and wavering in every condition, none can tell how to proceed to their contentment. Hence ascend I to the care of the public, which I refer to you. The arch-traitor Tyrone is followed, he seeks to divert question, if you will go on or be withdrawn. My opinion is, what he most would have done by us, as it is most to his benefit, so least we ought to be led to it. He would not have the North bordered with garrisons; he therefore proves if we will be amazed with smoke. Herein our part is to foresee the quality of diversion. Doth he impeach the means how to maintain Her Majesty's army? If so, then that must be freed before progression can be made. Doth he more annoy the quiet of the kingdom, than he would if Her Majesty's forces were contained in the Pale, and assailed him not? if so, then could I like that time were observed. But I am sure the army need not to be diverted, to make passage to our means; for those he cannot cut off; and I am of opinion, the more he is respited, the more he and his instruments will grow insolent; and, as he will not contain himself within Ulster, much less should Her Majesty's forces insist upon a sole defence of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, which he contends to overbrave with disturbances. It will peradventure be replied; Her Majesty gathered in these a revenue. I say, if that could be preserved by defence only, deliberation might be taken of the necessity of attempting. But, in this case, where an overgrown rebel hath infected the whole realm, if he be not undertaken, both the revenue so to be gathered, and much more of Her Majesty's treasure out of England, will be exhausted in a lingering war. Therefore, methinks, this should be no impediment to going on in the course begun.*

*"The fort at the Blackwater is the garrison that most offends him. Her Majesty hath her soldiers there. He is so despited thereat, as, knowing they be now near the waste of their victuals, he seeks to withdraw me, that he might destroy them. Advise what in this case is best to be done. I, in my particular judgment, think not fit to leave these in habandon* (sic). *If your minds be other, acquaint me. To the matter of my intention that way (I mean to relieve the fort) this it is. I have spared all the companies of Leinster till the day of my setting forward, which I have appointed for the rendezvous. Then I shall need them, else I shall convoy very weakly. With their going and returning, their absence shall not exceed twelve days. If you will have them stay thereabouts, I will endeavour with the means I have. But, by their abode there, I can expect small good; for ever hitherto the savage kern slip by*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*them, and burn and steal. This journey is like to conclude something notable. The rebel hath united O'Donnell unto him, who came and camped with him yesternight; they have assembled all they may, and vowed to set up their rest. My belief is, nothing ever sorted more likely of avail to Her Majesty's service than this their overweening resolution. They lodge by the pace between Armagh and the Blackwater; and there have they plotted their fight. By God's assistance, I will dislodge them before the 5th of the next month, and supply the Queen's fort, and save the honest captain and soldiers within it, and reinforce them with men. They be esteemed, as I have intelligence, in the rebel's camp, upwards of* 3,000. *I doubt not to march near* 2,000. *Of the difference of arms and order, I may receive comfort; but I leave that, and in the help of God, and in the goodness of the cause, I repose.*

"*This blow, being well stricken, will make restitution to the ruins of this miserable country, travailed with all lamentable calamities. I would, by oblation of my dearest blood, I could purchase quietness to this Her Majesty's inheritance and dominion. I will not be long from you. If you think I may at my return let slip any companies suddenly towards Leinster, to cut off those rogues, advertise what part.*" — *Dundalk,* [1597], *September* 26. *Copy. pp.* 2.

[? Oct. 20.] 26. The true advertisement of the last arrival of Spaniards in O'Donnell's country, and of their purpose, the same being sent to my Lord Hugh O'Connor Don.

The chief cause of their coming was a report in Spain that O'Neill, O'Donnell, and O'Rourke, were slain by Englishmen in these wars, and to know if this were true; also, whether they would receive the King's army. O'Neill and O'Donnell came to the place where the Spaniards were, and continued with them two days and two nights, and promised to receive the Spaniards with all their forces. They had written to the King accordingly. Preparations by O'Donnell, after the departure of the Spaniards, so as to be ready "a Monday next come sevennight": [*note in margin*:— "That will be the first of November"].—[1597, ? October 20.] *Certified copy, signed by the Lord Chancellor Loftus and others of the Council. p.* 1.

Oct. 21. Dublin. 27. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Archbishop of Armagh to Sir Robert Cecil. "There is amongst us here in Ireland, one Meredith Hanmer, a doctor of divinity, brought over into this land (as he saith) by the Lord Bishop of Cork in Munster, and commended unto us by the Vice-President and Council for the good service he did there. Since which time he hath taken great pains, and preached many learned sermons in our hearing; and also hath been of late employed by Sir John Norreys, Lord President of Munster, in the service of the North, as preacher to the army. Now for that (he saith) he hath some suit unto Her Highness for his preferment, we have thought good to signify thus much on his behalf."—Dublin, 1597, October 21. *Signed. p.* ½.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Oct. 24. Newry. 28. Marshal Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. In favour of Philip Williams. Testimony of Lord Burgh to his worth.—Newry, 1597, October 24. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 24. Dublin. 29. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. His industry and unreproveable carriage in his office of the musters. The iniquity of his unjust accusers shown by time, and by the present experience of the provincial commissaries, lately erected according to Her Majesty's ordinances. The very self same courses reproved in him, to the hazard of his utter undoing, are now by those ordinances approved and established, and are in present practice, as well for the musters of garrisons as for the cessing of checks. The commissary is allowed to take the musters by the oaths of the captains or officers without view, and the cessing of the checks is permitted by discretion. These matters thoroughly looked into by the Lord Deputy deceased, who promised, on his return from the last journey, to acquit Sir Ralph by letters to the Privy Council. He also, at Drogheda, asked Sir Ralph whether he would surrender the patent of his office, and receive in lieu thereof, in England, a recompence in some other gift as good or better. This he offered on the ground of letters received by his Lordship from the Queen. Sends copies of Lord Burgh's project, and the answer written by himself thereto. Craves Burghley's furtherance of the same, and also his favour in the matter of Sir Ralph's councillorship in Ireland, from some of the privileges of which he is excluded. These might be some just public repair for his undeserved public disgraces.—Dublin, 1597, October 24. *Signed.* *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

29. I. *Directions set down by the Lord Deputy Burgh to the provincial commissaries, with respect to the taking of musters and the cessing of checks. Endorsed:—"Certified the 26th of October"* [1597]. *Copy.* *pp.* 1½.

29. II. *"Sir Ralph Lane's intended answer to a project of an offer made unto him the 10th of September 1597, at Tredagh [Drogheda] by the Lord Deputy," concerning his voluntary surrender of the office of mustermaster, and the receiving of some recompense in England as good or better. Agrees to the same, but, until fully possessed of his said recompense, promised in the Queen's letters to his Lordship, desires to be restored to the execution of some part of his office as mustermaster. Is ready, however, to do as Her Majesty wills. Signed.* *pp.* 2.

Oct. 25. Drogheda. 30. Thomas Hamling, Mayor of Drogheda, to Sir Robert Cecil. For the payment of monies due unto the town, both for the keeping of certain Spanish and Italian prisoners committed to it in the year 1588, and also for the dieting of soldiers. — Drogheda, 1597, October 25. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 26. Dublin. 31. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends copy of Lord Burgh's directions to the provincial commissaries. The heavy charges brought against Sir Ralph when he pursued the very courses enjoined on those officers. Promise of Lord Burgh to acquit

1597. VOL. CCI.

him to the Privy Council. Sir Ralph's interview with his Lordship at Drogheda. Sends copy of Lord Burgh's offer to him, and of his answer thereto. Desires Sir Robert's furtherance of the same, and also his letters that Sir Ralph may be duly sworn of the Council in Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, October 26. *Signed.* *pp.* 3. *Incloses,*

31. I. *Directions of Lord Burgh to the provincial commissaries.* [*Duplicate of No.* 29. I. *above.*] *pp.* 1½.

31. II. *Lord Burgh's offer to Sir Ralph, and his answer thereto.* [*Duplicate of No.* 29. II. *above.*] *Signed.* *pp.* 2½.

Oct. 26. 32. List of captains of horse and foot in Connaught, with the numbers of their bands. *Endorsed:*—1597, October 26. *p.* 1.

Oct. 26. Dublin. 32*a*. James Nott to Sir Robert Cecil. Since taking leave of Sir Robert, has had nothing worthy of declaration. His interview with the late Lord Deputy Burgh, who, on his return to Dublin, was going to employ Nott to go to Scotland, there to prevent the coming of powder, munition, and artillery to the Earl of Tyrone, and to cause the apprehension of one Alexander Steward, who furnishes the Earl with powder and munition, and also of Garlon, the Earl's man, or of any other who should go to Scotland for the hurt of Ireland.

Plot for the getting again of Calais revealed to him by John Stanley, a brother of Sir William Stanley. Desires to hear "by the first" from Sir Robert concerning this matter. The letter may be directed to him in Dublin. *Under the address of this letter is written:*—"At Dublin, the 26th of October 1597." *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 27. Dublin. 33. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. "Notwithstanding the incessant toil and trouble of the place I hold, whereby I am utterly deprived of all leisure and liberty, yet have I been rather over tedious than negligent in advertising your Lordship, from time to time, of the manifold and miserable disorders here; and, specially, that all the companies in this land, both horse and foot, are generally Irish; and how dangerous a matter it is for Her Majesty to wage war, and use such forces against their own countrymen, kinsmen, and allies, your Lordship in wisdom can judge, and experience here doth manifestly show. They run away and revolt to the rebels daily and hourly. They betray forts, castles, houses, and villages, ordinarily. Of the bands and supplies sent out of England very few remain, and those never taught or trained in the use of their arms and weapons; so as God knoweth small and simple service can they do in time of fight. When I saw this shameful abuse, I did set down certain notes in writing, how to reform the same (as by the inclosed copy appeareth), the executing whereof the late Lord Deputy said he would command publicly. But his Lordship died before he had redressed anything of these enormities. The eternal God, by the mean of your Lordship, grant some amendment in time."—Dublin, 1597, October 27. *Signed.* *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

1597. VOL. CCI.

33. I. "*Brief notes for the training of shot and particular bands in this realm, before they be brought to deal with the enemy.*" *Endorsed*:—"1597, *October*." *pp.* 3½.

Oct. 29. Whitehall. 34. Queen Elizabeth to the Council of Ireland. Notifying her choice of the Earl of Ormonde to be the Lieutenant-General of all her forces in Ireland, and that the Lords Justices to be appointed do continue in the charge of all civil affairs.—Whitehall, 1597, October 29. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 43, 43*b*. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 29. Westminster. 35. Commission to the Earl of Ormonde to be Lieutenant-General of all Her Majesty's forces in Ireland.—Westminster, 1597, October 29. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 44, 44*b*. *pp.* 1½.

Oct. 29. 36. Another copy of the same. *p.* 1.

Oct. [? 29]. 37. Draft of a letter from the Queen to the Earl of Ormonde, the Lords Justices, and Sir Henry Wallop, touching the entertainment of the Earl and the Justices. *Endorsed*:—"October [? 29], 1597." *See under November* 1, 1597. *p.* 1.

Oct. 29. Dublin. 38. The Council of Ireland to Sir Robert Cecil. Have chosen Sir Thomas Norreys, knight, to be a Lord Justice, as he is, in their conceits, a person tempered both for martial affairs and civil government. The election much against his own mind, especially as he had lately received Her Majesty's letters for his establishment as Lord President of Munster. Trust Her Majesty may descend into some consideration for the redress of the present distractions and confusions of Ireland. Find that by the still continuing rebellions, the hazard and danger of the kingdom are more and more increased. To-morrow the Lord Justice is to take the oath and receive the sword. Have pressed him to this expedition, that he may the sooner use his authority to temper many things, which with longer sufferance might grow worse. Pray that the election may be no prejudice to Sir Thomas Norreys, touching his meaner calling for Munster, he being well known to them all as a gentleman very worthy to enjoy that government. — Dublin, 1597, October 29. *Signed by ten of the Council. pp.* 2.

Oct. 29. Dublin. 39. Marshall Sir Henry Bagenall to Sir Robert Cecil. Was commanded to make his repair to Dublin, as a Councillor, for the election of a Lord Justice. Was very glad of the opportunity for delivering by speech to the Council what he had often signified in vain by letters, viz., the exceeding weakness of the garrisons generally, both in want of their numbers, and also in the feeble and unserviceable bodies of most part of the few English who are left amongst them, the cause thereof being only want of competent means either to feed or clothe them. This, in his opinion, would have been much remedied by the "masses of treasure" lately sent over to Ireland, had the same been distributed with indifferent equality. But, after the Lord Deputy and Treasurer had received their full entertainments, and sundry extraordinary payments had been made,

1597. VOL. CCI.

the whole army was always scanted in its allotment from the treasure.

"I am right sorry that it is my fortune still to have so unpleasing matter to write of; but, so common is now the misery both to the soldiers and inhabitants, that, if speedy redress be not found, an incurable ruin is to be looked for throughout this whole kingdom.

"At my coming from the Newry, I made my way alongest (*sic*) by the borders, viewing from place to place the state of the garrisons appointed for the defence of them, which I found everywhere in a manner abandoned, the soldier being indeed for mere want driven to seek relief from the poor inhabitants of the Pale, to their utter impoverishment. And [this] will (it is to be doubted) cause many of them to revolt to the rebels rather than to sustain such intolerable oppression.

"I find here few state men that do seem to know, or at least will seem rightly to conceive, the due course meet to be observed in these martial affairs." The companies left by the late Lord Deputy at Newry and thereabouts have not been kept full and strong. The burdens thrown upon himself. Has received no extraordinary means as an encouragement to service, and had lost all his own means. Has already given his opinion in recent letters as to the meetest course to be held, both for the speedy pulling down of the rebels' pride, and the reducement of this torn commonwealth to a settled quiet; so will leave to be further troublesome therein.

Has very lately received intelligence that Tyrone has had great store of powder, lead, and match, come to him out of Scotland, and that these were landed at Lough Foyle. Also, that there has been a capitulation between him and the Scots, and that they in the North expect the coming of a great number of them very shortly. —Dublin, 1597, October 29. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2.

Oct. 30. Dublin. 40. Maurice Kyffin to Burghley. Begs for the conferring of a foot company on him, for the increase of his pay, as Sir Edward York had when exercising in France the same office that Kyffin now holds. Has shown his incorruptness, and, as he would be specially watched, there could be no question of his becoming partial in the musters. The good that might ensue, in "this time of general disorder and dissolution," by the example of "a well-ordered company under the leading of an honest man." Corruptions in the musters. Has had the commanding of many companies heretofore under great generals. "Here be many captains so far off from being soldiers, as divers of them did never in their lives march in rank." Asks for the first company that may fall in the disposition of the Lord Justice.—Dublin, 1597, October 30. *Signed. p.* 1.

Oct. 30. Waterford. 41. Paul Strange, Mayor of Waterford, to Burghley. Their late agent, Nicholas Wise, exhibited a petition, on behalf of their Corporation, to the Privy Council, that their citizens might have license to transport sheepskins to Bristol and other parts of England, as the citizens of Dublin have for Westchester and other places thereabouts; also, that their merchants should not be compelled to pay a

1597. VOL. CCI.

second impost in England for wines transported from Waterford, on which impost had already been paid in Ireland. Postponement of these suits, owing to Her Majesty's absence on progress and other impediments. The bearer, Nicholas Luker, having occasion presently to repair to the Court, in suit of certain spoils lately done upon the coast of Spain on their townsmen, as well by Englishmen as by Frenchmen, who in July last took a ship of Waterford called the *George*, of the burden of 100 tons or thereabouts, and who still detain the ship with all her lading in Newhaven [Havre], they have thought good, on this opportunity, to renew their former suits as to the sheepskins and wines. Luker is instructed to be guided wholly by Burghley's advice. Have also sent their commission by him, to bargain for one hundred tons of corn, for the provision of their city.—Waterford, 1597, October 30. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 31. Dublin. 42. Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. His election as Lord Justice. Trusts that it may be no hindrance to him for the Presidency of Munster. Has appointed Captain George Thornton, Provost Marshal of Munster, Vice-President of that Province. Recommends his fitness for the post. Advertisement shall presently be sent of the state of Ireland, the strength of the army, and other necessary particulars. The traitors are reported to be very strong, and to be now preparing to invade the Pale. The army is exceeding weak in numbers, and there is no money remaining to relieve them with, so that it will be hard to draw them together to withstand these incursions. Recommends continuance of the late ordinances for the clothing and pay of the army.—Dublin, 1597, October 31. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Oct. 31. Dublin. 43. Philip Williams to Sir Robert Cecil. The miseries and dangers of the State. The rebels range all over the Pale, so that almost no part of it is free from their killing, burning, preying, and spoiling, especially in Offally, where the fire begins to kindle again, Sir George Colley being preyed and burnt even to his gate. In Leix, the poor decayed bands of Captains Sentleger and Gifford, accompanied with a few of the freeholders there, had this last week an encounter with that dangerous traitor Tirrell. They killed thirty of his rakehells, and himself too, as it is thought; for, being struck on the left side with the push of a pike, near the one half of it was seen out at his back, and it is hoped it lighted not wholly on his clothes, and missed his body clean; but he was carried off with his numbers, which were near 400. Twenty of our best men were killed in the bickering.

The traitor Tyrone increases in his pride, and, gathering all his forces, threateneth all the borders and Pale. Sir Thomas Norreys purposes a journey against him out of hand, but Williams doubts the garrison will do no more than enable him to affront, not to encounter, and less to invade. Most of the mere English, especially of the last supply, are dead or run away. Three-fourths, or at least two-thirds, of the army are Irish; but both English and Irish, pretending want of meat and money, and grown to more licentious-

1597. VOL. CCI.

ness in this short "inter-reigne," begin again to run upon the Pale, and to oppress the good subjects. It is lamentable to hear their complaint, and the moan they make for "my Lord." It is high time the Lord Justice drew them from that ravenous course to some necessary employment. "If the state of things do require the reinforcing of this garrison thence, I pray God there be better choice made, not only of soldiers but also of captains to be sent over; that neither the one be preferred for favour, to make gain of Her Majesty's service, nor the other compounded of heartless rogues, taken up in ale-houses and corners, and upon highways." Duty makes him utter thus much; "for I protest to your Honour, the dejected carriage of our last English hath made the valour of our nation to become as contemptible to the rebellious of this land, as in former times they were terrible unto them; for such was their baseness, that they would steal away by night, though they knew that their danger were greater abroad than in the camp, and that more of them were killed by the enemy as runaways in seeking to escape, than as soldiers in fight." Craves to make one motion on behalf of his "poor, raw, untrained" countrymen, viz., that good store of victuals be sent over before them, and that, upon their first landing, they may spend a month at least in a good garrison place, to be there put in heart with training and feeding, before they be sent out to employment.

Begs preferment as the only secretary, or one of the two secretaries, to the next Governor. Desires meanwhile a few lines of recommendation to Lord Justice Norreys, who is willing to use him. Modest demeanour of the Lord Justice. Craves a grant of certain lands in Munster. These he would regard as a full recompense for his losses and services.—Dublin, 1597, October 31. *Holograph*, *pp.* 2.

Oct. Whitehall. 44. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Deputy [Burgh]. That Justice Nicholas Walsh be admitted to the office of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, vacant by the death of Sir Robert Dillon.—Whitehall, 1597, October. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fo. 43. *p.* ½.

Oct. 45. Allowances given to Lords Justices in Ireland; instanced by the cases of Sir William Pelham, Archbishop Adam Loftus, and Sir Henry Wallop. *Endorsed*:—1597, October. *p.* 1.

[Oct.] 46. "An abstract of the new establishment for Ireland," amounting to 18,040*l.* 15*s.* 3*d.*—[1597, October.] *pp.* 4½.

Oct. Dublin. 47. Robert Newcomen to Burghley. Cannot complete his book of the issue of victuals made to the army to Michaelmas last, until he receive advertisements from Carrickfergus, Carlingford, Newry, the Blackwater, Galway, Cavan, and other places. These advertisements are for the most part to come to him by sea, the land passage being shut up by the enemy. Hopes to send the book, and an account of such sums of money as he has received since March 1 last, by the end of November at the furthest. He will then attend on Burghley, if he can be spared from Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, October. *Holograph. Seal. p.* 1.

1597. VOL. CCI.

[Oct.] 48. "A memorial of such things as are incident to the Irish dispatch." The most important is, "A Commission to treat with the traitors, and to conclude."—*In the handwriting of Sir Robert Cecil.* [1597, October.] *p.* 1.

Nov. 1. Whitehall. 49. Letter from the Queen to the Earl of Ormonde, the Lords Justices, and Sir Henry Wallop, touching the entertainment of the Earl and the Justices.—Whitehall, 1597, November 1. *See also under October* 29, 1597. *Copy. Entry Book,* No. 194, fos. 44*b*, 45. *p.* 1.

[Nov. 1.] Whitehall. 50. The Privy Council to the Council in Ireland. The Earl of Ormonde to be Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army in Ireland, and those who are elected as Lords Justices to continue in the discharge of all civil affairs. The Earl of Ormonde to confer with the Council in Ireland, and to find out the state of the army there; whereupon he is to cause the same to be put in writing, and to send a duplicate thereof to the Privy Council. Meantime he is not to forbear any action necessary to be taken in hand, especially for defence of the English Pale. Further, he is to confer with the Council in Ireland on all letters and instructions recently sent to the late Lord Deputy, and to proceed to the execution of the matters therein contained, particularly of the martial causes. Especially commend the execution and perfecting of the ordinances for the payment and clothing of the army. There have arrived lately in London sundry captains, discharged by Lord Burgh, to whom due payment has been made of certain sums of money claimed by them on warrants signed by Sir Henry Wallop. Besides great sums of money sent over to Ireland, there have also been sent thither this last year victuals to the value of over 20,000*l.*, but they have received no certificate as to the distribution of these. Will be glad to receive Sir Henry Wallop's declaration of the issue of the last 22,000*l.* sent over, when they will be moved to send a further proportion of treasure. When this arrives, no part of it is to be issued for any martial services, except by warrant of the Earl of Ormonde. Further directions regarding its issue. Finally, the Council in Ireland are to consider what is necessary to be taken in hand for the stay of rebellion, and specially for the troubles that may arise in Leinster to the offence of the English Pale, or otherwise from the parts of Ulster to the English Pale that way. Desire to be informed how the garrisons at Armagh and the Blackwater are victualled, and also of the estate of the countries near about Carrickfergus, specially of the two Clandeboys of the Route, and the Glynns, for by private letters sent from Sir —— (*sic*) Chichester, who has charge at Carrickfergus, they understand that the captains of those countries have been reduced to obedience, and that they were sent to Dublin, and have there submitted themselves. Would be glad to have the same well confirmed. — Whitehall, 1597, [November 1]. *Copy. Entry Book,* No. 194, fos. 45–47. *pp.* 4.

Nov. 1. The Blackwater. 51. Captain Thomas Williams to the Privy Council. The last day of October "the Tirronn" [Tyrone] came marching by Her

1597. Vol. CCI.

Majesty's fort at the Blackwater with some two hundred horse and three hundred foot, and means to lie at "Mawchell a Cove" till such time as his risings out come to him, and then to march into the English Pale to spoil. In his passing by the fort, he sent one of his Council to say that he had a desire to speak with Williams. The latter sent word that if Tyrone came on one side of a bog with three or four horsemen, he would come on the other. After setting watches, they met. Tyrone's first demand was that Williams would go to the Council at Dublin, for Tyrone desired to live "at quiet," and would have put in any security for Williams's passing thither and back again. The latter told the Earl that he durst not go himself, but that upon any good matter he would send one thither. Then Tyrone began to make many protestations what a servant the Queen's Majesty should have of him, but, when Williams came to charge him with sending a messenger into Spain, and a letter to the King of Scots, Tyrone confessed to both, saying that he had sent to know if the King of Scots would send him any men, if he should have need of them; moreover, that he would send to any prince in the world, to be relieved. Then Williams asked why he did not accept Her Majesty's pardon, when it was procured for him the last time. Tyrone said he had so many that gave him ill counsel. "I answered him that it were better for him to fly from them with three or four, as Lot did from Sodom and Gomorrah." Moreover, Williams asked Tyrone if his conscience were not touched with the loss of so many men's lives, of which he had been the cause these three or four years. Then they talked about scaling the fort, and Tyrone confessed that he had lost four hundred men through Williams, "but when I came to demand of him upon what ground I should send, he gave many fair words, but I perceived his heart was full of deceit. I have served most of the Princes of Christendom for these three and twenty years, and never was out of entertainment but two years, and by all the judgment and experience that I have learned, I do think the Tyrone to be one of the cunningest traitors that ever Prince had; and, if he be dallied with, he will grow more dangerous, for many draw to him for fear." If Her Majesty would send twelve hundred men and thirty horse to the Blackwater for this winter, it is no more charge to Her Majesty than to let them lie at the English Pale, except the conveying of the victuals twenty miles by land. They must come betwixt this and New Year's day, for so long will there be means for an army to march. It was the Lord Deputy's mind, if he had lived, to have placed 1,000 men at the Blackwater, "and I will, with God's help, pawn my head they shall do more service than 4,000 of the rest in Ireland." If Her Majesty do not entertain the Scots who have offered to come to Carrickfergus, Tyrone will have them, if he can. One thousand men sent to Lough Foyle this winter would do the Queen more service than two thousand in the spring, for now most of his great men are wavering, and want munition. Powder with them is at five shillings a pound. Prays that they at the Blackwater may be victualled. They are in a very hard place, where

1597. VOL. CCI.

they have no drink; nor can any come to them. Neither can they get any wood, without fighting for it, the enemy's guard are so strong about them. One night, since the Lord Deputy was with them, they went forth and killed "a great gentleman" and eight more of their guard. Asks again for victuals. If it come to any manner of fighting, is assured that, by God's grace, they will discharge the parts of honest men. — The Blackwater [1597], November 1. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 1. 52. An estimate of corn and other victuals remaining in store for the victualling of Her Highness's garrisons.—1597, November 1. *Signed by Robert Newcomen.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 1. 53. A proportion of corn and victuals to be provided for the victualling of 8,274 men for three months.—1597, November 1. *Signed by Robert Newcomen.* *One sheet.*

Nov. 2. Dublin. 54. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The late Lord Deputy gave him the wardship of Oliver Tinte, a gentleman of Westmeath; but, before the grant was perfected, his Lordship died. The benefit of the grant will not be above 150*l.* to him; and, if he have it, it will be all that he has had of this gift of the State during the 18 or 19 years that he has served in Ireland. Begs that the grant may be duly confirmed. Sends copy of the late Lord Deputy's warrant for the ward (*wanting*). — Dublin, 1597, November 2. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 5. 55. "Extract out of [? *summary of*] a letter from the Lord Justice and Council of Ireland, of the 5th of this month of November," 1597.

"The rebellion spread from Ulster to all the parts of the realm [*Sir Robert Cecil has added*—"saving in Munster."] "The rebels stand not as heretofore upon terms of oppression and country grievances, but pretend to recover their ancient land and territories out of the Englishmen's hands, and for the restoring of the Romish religion, and to cast off English laws and government, and to bring the realm to the tanist law, acknowledging Tyrone to be lieutenant to the Pope and King of Spain, &c.

"In Leinster the O'Mores pretend their title to Leix, the O'Connors to Offally's country, Feagh M'Hugh's sons to the Ranelagh and Glynns.

"In Connaught they revive the title of M'William, and the other usurped Irish names, to cut and spend the people, and abolish the composition, whereby Her Majesty had a good revenue.

"In the Pale, backwardness to obey authority in public service; general backsliding in religion.

"Their wants. Bread and beer-corn, beeves, muttons, pork, and poultry. They desire to be supplied of corn for bread and drink, of oats, and of butter and cheese, and money to provide beef; some part of the corn to be sent to Galway and Limerick.

"By all the means they could use, they could borrow but 1,300*l.* of those of Dublin and Londoners.

1597. VOL. CCI.

"The charge of the army, as it now standeth, amounteth to 7,718*l.* 13*s.* &c. (*sic*) for this month's lendings, towards which something will come out of the checks.

"Having neither money nor victual, they doubt the soldier will disband, run to the rebel, or live upon the spoil of the country.

"Three parts of the whole army consisteth upon (*sic*) Irish soldiers.

"The Treasurer sendeth account of 865*l.* remaining unissued the 14th of June last, and of the 22,100*l.* sent to answer the lendings for thirteen weeks. The lendings began the first of September.

"They desire the money borrowed may be repaid, otherwise in any extremity they shall have no further credit, and that the towns may be paid for the diet of the soldiers, and the countries for the beeves.

"They require a supply of 2,000 men by Christmas next, otherwise they shall not be able to relieve the fort of Blackwater, and by that means they will discharge divers of the Irish. Half of the men to be sent to Carlingford and Drogheda, and the rest to Dublin.

"They desire likewise to have the pay of the horsemen increased to 18*d.* *per diem*, and so, where most of the horses are now unserviceable, the number may be diminished, and the rest supplied of able horses fit for service, whereby Her Majesty's charge shall be all one.

"The soldier very unwilling to have the munition defalked out of his lendings. They have therefore required the Treasurer to forbear the defalcation thereof, which may be done hereafter, as they say, in the account of apparel." *pp.* 2.

Nov. 5. Dublin. 56. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Lord Burgh had warrant to be paid his entertainment from time to time three months beforehand, and by virtue thereof he received as much as would fully pay him till the last day of December, besides victual for his last journey. If he did not make thus much known, fault might be imputed to him. Wishes from the bottom of his heart that neither this his Lordship's overpay, nor any respect else, may hinder Her Majesty's gracious disposition and bounty to the wife and children of so noble and worthy a gentleman; whose estate falleth out so hard, that he cannot but be sorry. Would rather do any part to the good of those Lord Burgh has left behind, than the least thing to hinder them.

Wrote formerly, on the 8th and 23rd of July, of the apprehension of Sir Hugh Welsh [or Walsh], priest. In his letter of the 23rd, sent by one John Burnell, he enclosed two rings of gold, which the priest said one Chapman, deceased, desired him to deliver, the one to the wife of one Whittingham, an Alderman in Oxford, the other to a gentleman that she knew of. Has not yet received an answer from Sir Robert as to what should be done with the said priest, though Burnell has returned. Craves order regarding the

1597. VOL. CCI.

priest. Wishes him sent into England, for in Ireland he remains to no other end than as other of his sort do, to be relieved and maintained by such as are addicted to the favouring of him and all of his profession. Burnell pretends he will cause some other priests to be apprehended in Munster. Will procure him his warrant from the Lord Justice for this purpose, but has the less hope of his success, because, at Burnell's last being in Munster, he did little good; and perceives that, when he was in England, he caused not such to be apprehended, as he gave Sir Robert hope he would.—Dublin, 1597, November 5. *Signed.* *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 5. Dublin. 57. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to the joint letter of the Council of this date. The lamentable face and shape of this government, so deformed and altered within the three years since the rebellions in the North began, that it is fearful what will be the further issue thereof. Has often put his Honour in mind how unfruitful this course of war and force has been to redress this government. "I term it unfruitful, for that to Her Majesty it hath been above measure chargeable, and to this realm a dangerous working preparative to the total ruin of it. And I see not now but that force, carried still in the course it hath been, is like to work no more fruitfully than it hath done, unless God will vouchsafe to crown the work with such an end as passeth harm's reach, and this wretched country hath no reason to hope for. For where at the first these rebellions had infected but one part, Ulster, now the whole body of the realm is corrupted, and so dangerously poisoned in every outward limb, and near the heart, as, in my humble opinion to your Honour, it is time to consider whether a milder course were more convenient for the time, to break the knot of these treasons, then to depend further upon prosecution by arms, which you see hath done nothing hitherto to stay the evil, but rather hath increased it, almost to a sensible hazard of the loss of the whole. I take occasion of the present change of this government to remember your Honour, whether you think it fit to make it an opportunity to change the course, and to try what time can do to dissolve this knot of treasons, which, being once broken, Her Majesty needeth not doubt afterwards of occasions at her pleasure to overtake the capital traitor, and bring him to such reason as it shall please Her Highness. But, unless this great knot of combination be unloosed and scattered by device, which hath been knit and could not be undone so long time by force, it is to be feared that the recovery of Ireland will be more slow and troublesome than ought to be wished by any servitor that is zealous and faithful to Her Majesty's service. I humbly desire your Honour to acquaint my Lord Treasurer with this, hoping you have vouchsafed to impart to his Lordship all my former letters touching this realm."

The instructions Lord Burgh brought with him for the government of Ireland were never communicated to the Council. Thinks the original, or an abstract of the same, should be sent over for their guidance.—Dublin, 1597, November 5. *Signed.* *pp.* 1½.

VOL. CCI.

1597.

Nov. 5. Dublin Castle. 58. Philip Williams to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to his letter of October 31 last (*see above*). The "cunctation" of the Lord Justice Norreys in appointing him is as much in jealousy of Sir John Perrot's cause as otherwise. Beseeches Sir Robert's continued favour. "If it be lawful to apply a heavenly speech to an earthly cause, I had rather to be a door-keeper in the house of the Lord than to dwell in the tents of the ungodly; or to continue in this wicked country, the very image of hell."—Dublin Castle, 1597, November 5. *Holograph.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 6. Dublin. 59. Sir George Bourchier to Sir Robert Cecil. Concerning the defalcation for munition and arms. Desires further directions.—Dublin, 1597, November 6. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 7. Dublin. 60. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys to Burghley. The Council has enforced him, until Her Majesty shall otherwise dispose thereof, to undertake "this unruly Government." Was not drawn to it through his ambition. At his repair to Dublin, the Presidency of Munster, which Her Majesty lately vouchsafed him, was the highest to which his thoughts raised him. Did not enter into his weighty charge without knowing the extreme dangers and difficulties to which it was more subject than ever heretofore, but only with a desire to do Her Majesty service. Although the traitor, if so it shall be thought fit, may again be drawn to capitulate for pacification, yet Her Majesty can have no security in Ireland, until his pride be abated by a sharp war. Refers to the joint letter of the Council of the 5th inst. Does not take it upon him to reprove the managing of the war in former times, but only imputes it to God's ordinance, that the state of the country is now much more desperate, and the strength, pride, and insolence of the enemy much more increased than they were in the beginning.

In last summer's journey the late Lord Deputy very honourably and prosperously took and fortified the passage over the Blackwater, but, being induced by some ill-grounded counsel, he abandoned Armagh, and withdrew the garrison, which only was to make use of that passage. Since that time the fort has been kept unprofitably and chargeably, the whole army being ruined in victualling it; and this from Armagh might have been performed with ease at all times.

Lord Burgh had a purpose to send the Serjeant-Major with six weak companies to Lough Foyle, there to fortify and garrison. Thinks it was a great happiness that he proceeded not therein, for although, if there be any thorough prosecution, there must of necessity be a garrison placed there, yet that company of foot, without any horsemen, would have engaged themselves, and nothing profited the service. One thousand foot and one hundred horse is the least that at the first can be there placed, with four months' or half a year's victuals, and other necessaries. Afterwards they may be divided, the one half [going] to Coleraine. These men may with

1597. Vol. CCI.

most conveniency be sent out of England, and then as many may be discharged in Ireland.

Burghley sufficiently knows the condition of the garrisons at Newry, Dundalk, and Cavan, and of the rest now placed upon the borders of the Pale. If these be now supplied and hereafter maintained according to the late ordinances, some good success will follow to the service, and the numbers now in pay may presently be in some measure lessened, and within short time much more so.

It is most requisite that the pay of the horsemen be raised to 18*d. per diem,* and that it be duly paid. Then may their numbers be lessened, so that Her Majesty's charge need not be increased thereby. The remainder will be enabled to do much better service than in the state they now are. Assures Burghley that amongst the best reputed fifty horse in Ireland, there cannot be found ten "sufficient," all men of worth being disabled and discouraged through hard usage.

The Lord Deputy, at his going to the Blackwater, desirous to have the companies strong and full in numbers, gave liberty to all captains to reinforce their bands with Irish. At least three parts of the army consist of Irish, most of them natives of Connaught and Ulster. The inconvenience of this must be remedied by supplies from England, and better providence used hereafter.

The traitors are now in great strength, drawing down to the borders of the Pale, to take benefit of the grass, which, this last summer, whilst the army was in any strength, they durst not do. Their purpose is from time to time by incursions to infest the Pale. "For me to draw the army to a head, consisting of mercenary Irish, and now through wants mightily discontented, were dangerous." Speedy supplies, both of men and money, are requisite.

Prays that some man of sufficiency may be sent over to take the government of Ireland, or that, if the Queen shall be pleased to continue him in it, he may be supplied as is requisite, or as others have been; and then his long experience will encourage him to hope to do Her Majesty some acceptable service.—Dublin, 1597, November 7. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2½.

Nov. 7. Dublin. 61. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Refers to the Council's letter of the 5th inst., and to his own of this date to Burghley. Prays that a man of worth and sufficiency may be sent over to take the government, or that he himself may be in some reasonable measure supplied. All his experience shall be applied to the advancement of Her Majesty's service.—Dublin, 1597, November 7. *Signed. p.* 1.

Nov. 7. Dublin. 62. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Has now sent Burghley a certificate of the issue of the last treasure. Would have sent it sooner, only the late Lord Burgh desired to see it on his return from his last journey, as the money was disbursed according to his Lordship's directions. Gives explanations of some items, and prays that he himself may receive no blame. The late

1597. VOL. CCI.

ordinances concerning the army shall be observed with all diligence. —Dublin, 1597, November 7. *Signed.* *pp.* 1½.

Nov. 7. Carrickfergus. 63. Captain Charles Eggerton to Burghley. "The fourth of this present our Governor, with the forces of this garrison, encountered with Sir James M'Donnell, the Scot, betwixt Olderfleet and this town, our forces being then overthrown." Has thought it his duty to advertise the same. Encloses an account thereof, and also his letter to Sir James M'Donnell, together with the latter's answer, and a few lines from Captain Constable. The chiefest point of his request was not answered. Greatly suspects Sir James's inclination to the war. If he undertake it, Carrickfergus will find him a dangerous adversary; and the rather because divers soldiers of the garrison, both foot and horse, have lately, before this conflict, run away to him. Sir James knows the state of the place too well. Besides which, the two wards excepted, there are not thirty Englishmen left in the garrison; and the Irish will doubtless be greatly practised with by the enemy. Fears they will hardly endure the extremity of the watch and ward which they are constrained to keep, by reason of the few that are left. It is greatly to be doubted that the Scots upon this opportunity will draw the forces of Tyrone upon Carrickfergus. Knows not how they may be in time relieved with supplies in Ireland, because of the general want of Englishmen. Begs for forces from England. In the meantime will do his uttermost in the fortifying and defending of the town, the state whereof the bearer, Mr. Sackford, can certify.—Carrickfergus, 1597, November 7. *Unsigned, but the endorsement gives the name of the writer.* *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

63. 1. "*A Certificate of the overthrow of Sir John Chichester.*" "*Upon Friday, being the fourth of November* 1597, *the Scots having received a letter from the Governor, wherein he willed them to come to parl about certain stealths and other outrages by them committed upon the Island of Magee, they approached near the town with all their forces, whereupon our scouts took the alarm.*

"*Sir John caused the drum and trumpet to sound, issuing forth with all the forces that were able to travel after a weary journey, which we had sustained but two nights before, wherein we had so tired our men, and wet our powder and munition, that, when this occasion was offered, our shot were able to do no service.*

"*About four miles from the town, one mile and a half distant from a hill, whereupon the enemy made their stand, the Governor caused our vanguard ('avauntgarde') to make a stand until the battle came up, and in the meantime called the Serjeant-Major, Captain Edward North, and the rest of the officers there assembled, and asked their opinions what they thought best to be done.*

"*Whereupon Captain Rice Mansell ('Maunxell') answered that he thought it not convenient that we should at that time meddle with the enemy, if by any means we might avoid it; alleging that our men were not yet refreshed since their late weary journey, as*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*also the defects of munition, which allegations were generally liked and allowed by all the officers aforesaid.*

*"Whereupon Moses Hill, lieutenant of the horse, undertook that, if the Governor would that night draw the forces upon them, he would undertake upon his life, to bring him where they camped; which point was fully resolved upon.*

*"At this instant the Governor sent a messenger unto the enemy, giving them to understand that he took it not well that they should in such hostile manner seem to brave Her Majesty's forces in that sort, willing James M'Sorley that he would forthwith come to speak with him; but, before this messenger returned, the former resolution agreed upon by the Governor and officers was altered.*

*"By this time Captain Merriman came up with the battle; unto whom the Governor merrily said, 'Now, captain, yonder be your old friends; what say you? Shall we charge them?' Whereunto he answered, it was a shame we should suffer a sort of beggars to brave us in that sort. Whereunto the Serjeant-Major answered, that he was an old friend of theirs. All this, notwithstanding, did not alter the Governor his former resolution, until two of our horsemen came up, who used words to this effect. 'Is it not a shame we should stand here to be braved by a company of base beggars?' Which words Sir John hearing, had soon urged his forward mind. Whereupon he presently commanded we should arrange our men in battle, and vowed to give them a charge, which was thus ordered.*

*"Himself and Captain Mansell rode with the horsemen, who were about forty, and not above. The battle, containing sixty pikes or thereabouts, was led by Captain North and Captain Merriman, the Serjeant-Major's lieutenant, and Captain Charles Mansell's lieutenant. Captain Merriman's lieutenant led the forlorn hope, containing nine pikes and twelve or fifteen shot. Myself was to second him with a wing of shot to the number of twenty. The Governor's serjeant and the Serjeant-Major's serjeant had the leading of two loose wings of shot, which were to second our horse.*

*"Marching in this order towards the enemy, they forsook the hill whereon they stood, and in their retreat the Governor commanded the lieutenant of horse to charge, which he did, but not above six of his company followed him. In which charge himself was very sore shot in the shoulder. The bad performance of the rest of our horse in this charge was a great encouragement to the enemy, for they presently wheeled about, and broke upon our loose wings of shot, charging us with their shot, together with their horse, [so] that, before our battle could come up, our loose wings were utterly defeated. The lieutenant that led the forlorn hope was at that charge shot, whereof he died, and myself likewise shot. The lieutenant of the horse being shot, the Governor sent him to the town for powder and a fresh supply of men, but it was too late; for, before he could recover the town, the enemy had well perceived our wants, and so plied us with fresh volleys of shot, that our shot were beaten into the battle, and cried out they had no powder; which*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*the enemy hearing, they pursued us so closely with their horse, that they killed our men within two pikes' length of our battle, and our horse would never give them any one charge, nor all that our commanders were able to do, could neither make our horse take the rear, nor our battle to stand, after one charge at the side of a hill, where Captain Mansell was slain. At which place I saw the Governor strike a corporal and three or four soldiers of his own, and hurt them sore with his sword, because they would not stand; and there he was shot in the leg, whereupon he took his horse, and about half a mile on this side, coming down a hill, was shot in the head, which was his death's wound.*

*"Then the soldiers, being utterly dismayed (and all that we could do would not keep them together), presently dissolved the battle. Captain Merriman and Lieutenant Barry did with their horses take the river, and swim over into the Island Magee; and myself, being near unto them, adventured to follow them, notwithstanding the hurts I had received, and so by swimming over saved my life. Captain North escaped very hardly; his horse was shot three or four times under him. Captain Constable was there taken prisoner, and one Bankes, a young gentleman that followed the Governor.*

*"Now was Moses Hill come to the town with direction from the Governor to draw all the forces out, which were left, with a fresh supply of munition. With whom Captain Charles Mansell (who was then very sick) issued forth, and came within half a mile of the place where we were overthrown; insomuch that the enemy's horse had gotten between them and the town, which had greatly endangered them, had not the Captain providently foreseen that present danger, and made a speedy and soldierly retreat to the town.*

*"The number of our men that were lost in my judgment were about eight or nine score, and there were hurt between thirty and forty, most of which recovered.*

*"Officers slain:—Sir John Chichester, his lieutenant, and both his serjeants. Captain Rice Mansell, his lieutenant, and both his serjeants. Lieutenant Price, lieutenant to Captain Charles Mansell, both his serjeants, and his drum. Lieutenant Walsh ['Wealshe'], lieutenant to Captain Merriman, his ensign, serjeants, and drum.*

*"Officers hurt:—Captain Merriman, Lieutenant Hill, Lieutenant Hart. Per me, Lieutenant Hart, being present at the overthrow." Endorsed by Burghley:—"4 November* 1597." *pp.* 3. [See account transmitted in Sir Ralph Lane's letter of December 8.]

63. II. *Captain Charles Eggerton to Sir James [M'Sorley Boy] M'Donnell. "You have often, both by your letters and great protestations of speeches, seemed to be a constant and faithful subject unto the Queen's most Excellent Majesty; yet this last day's actions prove the contrary. I am ignorant of the causes that moved you thereunto; by reason whereof I thought good to address this bearer*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*unto you to know the same; as also to understand your intended courses towards Her Majesty, whether peace or war. If wars, yet send me knightly warning, and the same shall nothing prejudice your reputation; if peace, let me know upon what condition. And withal, what prisoners you have taken, praying you in the meantime to deal honourably with them. And thus I rest, expecting your answer.—Carrickfergus, this 5th of November* 1597. *Charles Egerton.*" *p.* ½.

*Under this letter Captain Robert Constable sends a few lines to Captain Charles Eggerton, begging him to cause the surgeon to send him some salve, as he is wounded in the head. Also, to take order for Constable's lieutenant to come and speak with him, Sir James having given his word that the officer shall freely return to the town. Signed. p.* ½.

*The reply of Sir James M'Donnell, endorsed on the same sheet, states, that the cause of his coming from home was to have parleyed with the Governor concerning stealths committed by Captain Mansell, in the absence of Sir John Chichester, and that he thought to have got restitution. It is well known that the Governor followed the counsel of Captain Merriman and Moses Hill, and drove Sir James from hill to hill; "and, as the gentill men that is heir in handis withe us knowes, it behoveth the gentill men that was withe us to do for them selfes, or die." Signed. p.* ½.

Nov. 8. Dublin. 64. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council to the Privy Council. Enclose letters concerning the unhappy accident befallen Sir John Chichester, late Governor of Carrickfergus. For the safety of that place, have given order to send thither the three companies remaining at Dundrum, reserving twenty soldiers for the guard of the latter place. Forasmuch as Captain Egerton has been chosen Governor by the town and garrison of Carrickfergus, they will now write to him so to continue, until further order shall be taken therein. Their Lordships shall receive further particulars in their next.—Dublin, 1597, November 8. *Signed. p.* 1. *Incloses,*

64. 1. *Captain Charles Eggerton to [? the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys]. The defeat of Sir John Chichester. Encloses copy of his letter to Sir James M'Donnell, and of his answer thereto. Sir James will prove a dangerous enemy to Carrickfergus, if he prosecute the war. Desertion of soldiers to him. Critical state of the town. Lack of munition. Shane M'Brian and Neill M'Hugh, seeking their liberty, would fain put in their pledges, and crave performance of the agreement last made with them. Will detain them until his Honour's pleasure be signified. Has been chosen Governor of Carrickfergus, until further order come. Will do his best endeavours for the defence of the town and the quiet of the country. Advertisements just come to him that the Scots intend to draw more forces from Tyrone to beleaguer Carrickfergus. Asks that the three companies at Dundrum may be sent thither with all expedition. "They have sent the Governor's head*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*and Captain Mansell's to the Earl of Tyrone by four horsemen, with message for more forces; their carcases we have brought home to bury."—Carrickfergus, 1597, November 5. Copy. p. 1.*

64. II. *Captain Charles Eggerton to Sir James [M'Sorley Boy] M'Donnell. See No. 63. II. The copyist has erroneously put September for November in the date of this letter, and the endorsement has followed the error. On the same sheet is the reply of*

64. III. *Sir James [M'Sorley Boy] M'Donnell to Captain Charles Eggerton. See No. 63. II. Copy. p. 1.*

64. IV. *Copy of a letter from Captains Charles Eggerton, Edward North, Charles Mansell, and Nicholas Merriman to [? the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys]. Sir James M'Sorley has of late made three preys near Carrickfergus, two from the Island Magee, and one from Kilrout. The defeat on November 4. Captain North's horse very sore hurt in four places. Captain Merriman shot through the shoulder; notwithstanding he escaped by swimming over the River Olderfleet, and so recovered the town about midnight, at which time Captain North returned also. Captain Charles Mansell, who had been left behind for the defence of the town, hearing of the Governor's distress, issued forth to rescue him; but, coming too late, returned towards Carrickfergus again. He was met by the enemy, and was like to have been overthrown, had their foot been as far forward as their horse, and he careless instead of provident. The town is weak and weakly guarded. Pray that aid may be sent with expedition, for they daily fear the coming of the Earl [of Tyrone]. Ask that the garrison of Dundrum may make their repair to Carrickfergus with all speed possible. Have appointed Eggerton to be commander-in-chief in the town, until his Lordship's pleasure be further known. They have also united Captain Mansell's two companies into one, as most of both companies, and all the officers, were slain. Pray allowance of this step.—Carrickfergus, 1597, November 6. Copy. p. 1.*

Nov. 8. Dublin. 65. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. The cause why he has not sent to his Lordship the books of Her Majesty's half-year's charge and checks, and also the strength of the army, is that Mr. Kyffin, and the provincial commissaries appointed by the late Lord Deputy, have not sent in their returns.—Dublin, 1597, November 8. *Signed. pp. 2.*

Nov. 9. Dublin. 66. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Sends the truest report he has yet heard of, or seen, of the late hard accident at Carrickfergus. This disaster, a great encouragement to the enemy, was furthered by the weakness of the horse companies, and the overboldness of the gentlemen. Cannot expect better success there, or in other places the forces of the kingdom being generally so weak in numbers, unless speedy supplies come. Fears the enemy's attempts against Carrickfergus have not ceased, as

1597. VOL. CCI.

they have sent for more forces. The town has been reinforced to their uttermost from other places. The extreme want of men. Again begs for speedy supplies.—Dublin, 1597, November 9. *Signed.* *p.* 1. *Incloses,*

66. I. *James Birt to* ———. *Sir James M'Sorley, a knight of those parts, sent to the Governor on Thursday the 3rd of November, to parley with him on the following day. This being agreed upon, Sir James, with some* 600 *Scots, came within six miles of Carrickfergus, and, sending out his scouts, gave an alarm. After which the Governor went forth in small order, and after him there went out "in parcels" Captains North, Constable, Rice Mansell, and Merriman. When they came where the Scots were, Sir James M'Sorley sent to the Governor, certifying that he would stand to the promise he made before the Governor's going to Dublin, and that he would also restore some cows which were taken from the Island Magee three or four days before. The Governor refused the offer, and charged Sir James. The consequent defeat. Many officers slain. Of half the forces of Carrickfergus which went forth, there returned "in piece-meal" some twelve men. Sir James wrote and laid all the blame on the Governor. Appointment of Eggerton to the command-in-chief in that town.—Carrickfergus,* 1597, *November* 6. *Copy.* *p.* 1.

Nov. 12. Dublin. 67. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council to Sir Robert Cecil. On the 9th instant, Clinton, a servant of the late Lord Burgh, arrived with letters, and with the commission for the Earl of Ormonde to be General of all Her Majesty's forces in Ireland. This commission, together with a copy of Her Majesty's letters accompanying it, they dispatched the next day to the Earl, who was then employed in parleying with the rebels of Leinster. Send copy of his letter to them, signifying his proceedings. The Privy Council may see, by the proud conditions and demands made by those rebels, how far they are addicted to Tyrone, and how much they are awed by him. Have asked the Earl of Ormonde to repair to Dublin to confer with them, and expect his coming very shortly. Have left it to his Lordship to take such further time of respite with the rebels as he shall think meet, until other resolution be had for them at his return.

This day an advice was received from Lisbon touching a strong preparation intended out of hand by the King of Spain against Ireland. An advertisement has also come from an intelligencer about Tyrone of an agreement between him and the King of Scots, and other particulars of which they send an abstract. Do not give any opinion thereon, considering how uncertain and variable those intelligences are, grounded often more upon private device than upon verity of matter.—Dublin, 1597, November 12. *Signed.* *p.* 1. *Inclose,*

67. I. *The Earl of Ormonde and Ossory to* [*the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys*]. *His interview the evening before with the*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*traitors Phelim M'Hugh, Tirrell, Brian Reogh, and the rest of their confederates. Asked what moved them to come and burn and spoil in Leinster. Phelim answered that his life was sought divers ways after his father was slain, that he made divers means to the Governor, and wrote a letter to the Earl of Ormonde himself for pardon or protection (which letter never came to his hands). He could find no man that would deal for him with the Deputy, and this forced him to go to O'Neill, whose servants, as they themselves said, he and the rest are. Phelim demands all such living as his father and grandfather had. If the Council grant this, then he desires a passport for his messenger to O'Neill, to ask leave of him to receive the same. Without O'Neill's consent he could not grow to any peace, because he had his forces from him, and was sworn to follow his advice. If the Council agreed to this, Phelim desired to have protection for himself and those with him till the return of his messenger, with liberty meantime to take meat and drink in competent sort for himself and them. Has thought fit to certify these demands, and has promised to let them understand the Council's pleasure this day sevennight, and to stay Her Majesty's forces from prosecuting them till then. Phelim and Tirrell are sworn upon a book not to burn or spoil, or do any harm to Her Majesty's subjects.*

*As the Council desire his advice, he thinks it very necessary that present order be taken to place strong garrisons towards the rebels, and to make some provision of victuals. Tirrell alleges that he is well known to the State, and says that he killed M'Mahon's brother, and has done many good services against those of the North. These were all recompensed by Sir John Perrot and Sir William Fitzwilliam. They [however] imprisoned him divers times without cause, and this forced him to fall to O'Neill, whom he now serves, and by whom he was sent to aid Phelim M'Hugh. Onie M'Rory, not being able to travel, sent one of his chief men to the Earl of Ormonde. Onie's demand is to have Gallen for rent, and, this being yielded, he promises to put in his pledge for performance of his troth to Her Majesty, and for satisfaction of any harm to be done hereafter by any of his men. Has taken a time of truce with him till Monday sevennight, so that his Lordship [Norreys] may determine how to deal further with him. Captain Sentleger, who was present during these dealings, means to repair to his Lordship. —Gowran, 1597, November 9. Copy. pp. 1¼.*

67. II. *Extracts from two letters of advertisements sent to Sir Geffrey Fenton from Richard Weston; the one dated October 31, and the other November 6, 1597.*

*About eight days past there came a packet of letters from the King of Scots to the Earl of Tyrone, which letters required answer, whereupon Harry Ovington [Henry Hovenden] being sent [? for], an answer was made, and the Scottish messenger sent back again. [Marginal note: "Harry Ovington is a chief councillor to the Earl in all his secret business."]*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*An Irish secretary belonging to the Earl of Tyrone did tell this intelligencer that the substance of the King of Scots' letters were, that the King would join with the Earl upon some points, but the points are not known till he hear again from the King.*

*The Earl hath lately married his younger daughter of nine years of age to James M'Sorley, the more to bind the combination with him.* [*Marginal note: "This James M'Sorley is the late Sorley Boy's son and heir, who keeps Dunluce in the Route."*]

*Nice M'James hath sent his messenger to O'Donnell, to agree with him about some marriage, to the end to make their confederacy the stronger.* [*Marginal note: "Nice M'James is a Scot, and dwelleth in the Glynns under Angus M'Connell in the North of Ireland."*]

*The Earl is ready to come up to the borders with all his creaghts. and stayeth but for his people, while they take up their victuals.* [*Marginal note: "He is driven to seek feeding for his creaghts, near to the borders, for that his woods and fastness are all eaten up."*]

*"I have got at last, which* (sic) *you have so often written for, the substance of the letter written by the Earl and O'Donnell about September last to the King of Spain. I got it by means of an English woman that serveth the Countess, but, if it be known, both she and I shall lose our lives. I have now sent to your worship the substance of the said letter written with my own hand; and with this letter is sent away the Earl's secretary, Brimingam, who passeth by the way of Scotland into Spain." Signed by Sir Geffrey Fenton. p.* 1.

Nov. 12. Dublin. 68. The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys to Sir Robert Cecil. Her Majesty's commission to the Earl of Ormonde to command her forces in Ireland has arrived. Is not a little glad, knowing it to be most fit that these great occasions be managed by a man of great honour and more experience than himself. Desires that he may be speedily returned to his peculiar charge in Munster, and the rather that by reason of the diminution of the entertainment heretofore allowed to all holding his place, he has no means of his own to support the same. Would rather die than live dishonourably in his present office. Begs Sir Robert to further his desire.—Dublin, 1597, November 12. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Nov. 12. Dublin. 69. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. If the commission of General, lately addressed to the Earl of Ormonde, shall work no good alterations in the hearts of these rebels of Leinster, fears that the English Pale will be brought out of hand into hard terms. For where, before, the rebels of Leinster had no other strength than of themselves, now, they are increased by a force of four or five hundred men sent from Tyrone, and waged by him, who, pretending to be his instruments, are no doubt directed by him to make as great stirs in Leinster as they can; to the end that, the State being entangled on that side, the traitors of the north may have the better

1597. VOL. CCI.

opportunity to break into the Pale upon those borders of Ulster Who seeth not that by this course the plot is laid to invade the Pale strongly on both sides, and so, consequently, to move an insurrection there, if it may be? Cannot discern why they have deferred thus long to do their mischief, unless the one is not so fully ready as the other, and both put it off till both may be thoroughly prepared to begin at one time, and to give the blow more dangerously. They might at any time since the death of the Lord Deputy have broken into the Pale on the north and south borders, for the garrisons are not strong enough to resist them, and the country people less able and willing to do so. If any thing within the realm be likely to alter their hearts to duty and conformity, is of opinion that this authority given to the Earl of Ormonde will do it. He, it is thought, may prevail more than any other to stay the rebels upon conditions. It is out of reach to suppress them by prosecution, unless with an overlength of time and an overcharge to Her Majesty. Recommends pacification. Thinks the Earl of Ormonde will be in Dublin in four or five days, to confer with the Council. Has not heard for a long time from Sir Robert, although he has sent him many letters. — Dublin, 1597, November 12. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Nov. 12. 70. "Sine Nomine" to Sir Geffrey Fenton. A man from Dungannon reports that two Irish soldiers left the fort at the Blackwater; also, that sixteen soldiers from Carrickfergus came and said that, if good heed were not kept, many of the soldiers of the Blackwater will go away. Eight days past there came a packet of letters from the King of Scots to the Earl of Tyrone. Henry Hovenden was sent for, and speedy answer made. Whereupon the Earl was very merry. His Irish secretary, being asked the cause of the mirth, said that the King of Scots promised to join upon some points with the Earl. Marriage of the Earl's younger daughter, nine years old, to James M'Sorley. Shane M'Brian went in with the Earl's consent, in hope to get his own castle, or to see if he could have the taking of Carrickfergus. *Endorsed*: — 1597, November 12. *p.* 1.

Nov. 14. 71. "Estimate of the charge for transporting 900 soldiers from St. Valery in Picardy to Waterford in Ireland, in six ships to be taken upon the river of Thames." Total, 2,718*l.* 18*s.*—1597, November 14. *Signed by W. Borough. p.* 1.

Nov. 15. Whitehall. 72. Queen Elizabeth to the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council. Considers it high time that Munster was again under the government of Sir Thomas Norreys. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Chief Justice Sir Robert Gardener to be the Lords Justices, and the Earl of Ormonde to have charge of all martial services. Sir Thomas Norreys, having received commission from the said Lords Justices, to repair into Munster.—The Court at Whitehall, 1597, November 15. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 47, 47b. *p.* 1.

VOL. CCI.

1597.
Nov. 18. Whitehall.

73. The Privy Council to the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council. Have received their letters about the miserable estate of Ireland and of the spread of the rebellion. Have imparted all the particulars to Her Majesty, and, after debate with her, now answer with speed. The commission to the Earl of Ormonde. The Lord Chancellor Loftus and Chief Justice Sir Robert Gardener to be Lords Justices. Her Majesty has thought it dangerous that Sir Thomas Norreys should be absent from the Presidency of Munster, "in respect that the enemy's purpose may most likely be, to make invasion by sea into that Province, where the best havens are, and most proper to enter into the same from Spain; and now much the rather, finding only that Province free from rebellion, and therefore the more needful to be so preserved by the presence of so provident and sufficient a Governor as Sir Thomas Norreys is."

The request for large and speedy supplies of victuals. No certificate has been made from Ireland of the great quantities sent there this last summer. Dissatisfaction of Her Majesty. Will repay the 1,300*l.* borrowed of men of Dublin and of Londoners. No names have been sent of the Londoners, from whom it was borrowed. The increase of portage. No particulars sent of the sum of 7,718*l.* 12*s.* 3½*d.* required for this month's lendings to the army. The sum of 17,150*l.* already sent over in apparel for the soldiers. Counsel good husbandry in the delivery thereof. Censure the method in which the 22,100*l.* sent by Privy Seal has been issued. The Treasurer states that he expended a portion by warrants of the late Lord Deputy, which he could not refuse to perform, but he was specially directed from England to have expended the same for the lendings.

The Council in Ireland ask for 2,000 more men before Christmas. That time is very near at hand, but yet all expedition shall be used to perform the same. Towards the number, order is presently given to send to Waterford from St. Valery in Picardy, 900 soldiers, with good captains, who have been disciplined in France all this last year, so that they are as valuable as half as many more again of new levies in England.

As to their complaint that the bands are generally "stuffed with Irish," so that three fourths are of that country's birth, Her Majesty is greatly discontented therewith, but doubts, if any of the bands are reduced, whether the discharged Irish, if they have been bred in Ulster and Connaught, will not repair to the rebels of those two Provinces, and thereby not only strengthen the rebels with their persons, but instruct and inform them with the knowledge they have gained.

Agree to advance the pay of the horsemen to 18*d.* a day. With regard to the corruption mentioned in some of the commissaries appointed for the musters, doubt not it will easily be found, "such is the general corruption at this day of men put in trust." The defalcation of munition not to be made from the soldier's lendings in his ready money, but from the reckoning of his apparel. The Treasurer might, from his former experience, have expressed his

1597. VOL. CCI.

opinion what such deductions might amount to in every band. Her Majesty charges them seriously to look to the due observance of the ordinances for the army. Direction concerning the provincial commissaries and clerks of bands. All these matters are by the Queen's express commandment, "from Her Majesty's own mouth."

Wish all good success to the Earl of Ormonde in his ordering of martial affairs in Ireland. No delay shall be used in supplying him with men, money, and victuals. Require his Lordship, in concurrence with the Lords Justices and Council, to see that the money is expended for the necessary service, whereunto Her Majesty shall direct it. Cannot prescribe any manner of proceeding to the Earl, but are of opinion that, for this winter, and until his numbers are made stronger, and purged of their defections, he should take care for the defence of the Pale, and for the preservation of the fort of the Blackwater; and also see that the town and forts of Carrickfergus be preserved either from invasion or treasons by the neighbours there, both Irish and Scottish. Are sorry to understand the loss of Sir John Chichester, though they cannot perceive that he was lost by any assailing of the rebels, but by his own hazarding. Desire to be more specially advertised of the truth thereof. If any ambiguity arises as to the respective authorities of the Lords Justices and of the Earl of Ormonde, the Privy Council is speedily to be advertised of the same.—The Court at Whitehall, 1597, November 18. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 47b–51b. *pp.* 8½.

Nov. 19. Athlone. 74. Sir Conyers Clifford to Burghley. His business since the death of the Lord Deputy has been, to draw such as were with O'Donnell in Connaught from the North, and to draw O'Rourke from the general faction of this rebellion. Has prevailed so far in the one matter that he has placed three Sheriffs in Sligo, Mayo, and Roscommon. In the first two counties there has not been any Sheriff these three years, and in Roscommon there has been only the name of a Sheriff. They have obstinately stayed from this conformity as long as they might, but he has taken so many pledges from all he has received, that he hopes against their wills to stay them. And, by such courses as he will further take, they shall be instruments for the gaining of the rest.

O'Rourke speaks him fair, and vows to come to him, if his country may be passed unto him and his heirs, as it was unto his father, and at the same rent. He will then be contented to receive a Sheriff, and all other officers, from Her Majesty. Considers that O'Rourke is a better man gained for her service, than any man now in action, Tyrone excepted. Twenty days after O'Rourke comes in to submit, Connaught shall not only be settled as securely for Her Majesty as it has been, but the people there, who have served the northern men's turns, shall do Her Majesty service for the banishing of O'Donnell. Hereof he will write at large in his next. Asks for a letter to himself from Burghley, promising this suit of O'Rourke's lands, "which, God knows, above all the countries in Ireland, are of least value." This will suffice to bring all his purposes with O'Rourke to pass.

1597. VOL. CCI.

When Sir Conyers entered into his government, he found M'William proudly in rebellion, and the whole county of Mayo joined with him, except William Burke of Shrule. In this county there were fifteen hundred men in rebellion, as were also all the septs in Sligo, and divers of those in Galway. In the county of Roscommon, where Sir John Norreys endeavoured altogether for the resettling of the people, he left them in action, except here and there a gentleman. O'Connor Roe, O'Connor Don, and M'Dermott, notwithstanding their pledges, were soon in rebellion. The two last were taken prisoners by O'Donnell. The county of Leitrim, where O'Rourke is chiefest, is still in action; but he hopes well of him. To make his task the harder, O'Donnell with all his forces was continually aiding these provincial rebels. Maguire was charged by Tyrone to join with O'Donnell. Burghley has often been advertised what numbers Sir Conyers had to encounter these multitudes. His means to maintain the companies for seven months were, out of all the treasure sent into Ireland, but one thousand pounds. The little he had of his own he spent for their relief. He had also to feed his soldiers upon such as he constrained or drew to obedience. Will be bold to conclude that such another task cannot be set him in this war and kingdom.

O'Donnell, finding himself near the loss of his greatest glory, has, with the advice of Tyrone, set at liberty M'Dermott and O'Connor Don; and, by them and by the banished M'William, he thinks to set Sir Conyers a new work in Connaught. If O'Donnell prevails, Sir Conyers must blame himself, "for unseen I have wrought it to this, assuring myself they shall have no power to do me harm; and also they have sworn to such as I trust that they will be revenged of this tyranny."

His desire is that his endeavours may be acceptable to Her Majesty, and that Burghley will construe them favourably. Prays that he may have means out of the next treasure to keep his promise to the country; and that he may be paid what he has disbursed out of the entertainments of such captains as have served with him in Connaught; whose companies have been maintained for the most part by him and the country for the seven months before specified. Begs that he may have the letter for O'Rourke with all expedition.—Athlone, 1597, November 19. *Signed. pp.* 3½.

Nov. 19. Athlone. 75. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Is ashamed to write what he has intended, seeing that for want of means nothing is yet perfected; but will deliver his business since the death of Lord Burgh. He had no means to carry the companies with him any journey, but sought by persuasion to break up the traitors amongst themselves. Chose O'Rourke to begin his work upon, as, with the exception of Tyrone and O'Donnell, he is the chiefest man now in action among them all, for "he hath carried him selfe to gaine love emongste thos willins." To him Sir Conyers sent Captain O'Connor Sligo, whom he found forward to further any service. By many persuasions he gained O'Rourke to swear that

1597. VOL. CCI.

he would not aid either the Earl or O'Donnell in any of their journeys. This has made them both jealous of him, and O'Donnell is now drawn either to gain him again, or to make war upon him. Thereby only good shall come. Sends a letter written by O'Rourke (*wanting*); if he once comes to Sir Conyers, he shall not be long in putting his hands deeply in the blood of these villains. Besides this plot with O'Rourke, he has put O'Donnell to another inconvenience; for although, before the coming of Sir Conyers, he reigned over Connaught, made lords of whom he listed, and took prisoners of all sorts at his pleasure, to tie the country more assuredly to him, yet, with God's assistance, he has broken all O'Donnell's "dewisees" [devices]. Now he is in his last. Trusts it shall be costliest to him. Among the pledges he took, the chiefest were O'Connor Don and M'Dermott. These he has kept in great misery; but, being now himself put quite from the Province by the banishment of M'William, the drawing from him of O'Rourke and of many others who have come in, all as mischievous men as are in Ireland, he has enlarged O'Connor Don and M'Dermott, and has pledges from them to take his part. So now O'Donnell means, before he returns, to send M'William again into his country, O'Connor Don and M'Dermott into theirs and thereby to set Sir Conyers a new task in Connaught.

The rebels are still in great pride. Fears the way is not thought upon that must break them; at least he does not see it gone about. The late Lord Deputy was wholly bent on following the advice Sir Conyers gave him. Fears that so fit a man for Ireland and for the time will not be found. Advises a project less chargeable by many degrees than any yet spoken of, and if it break not this war in three months, then let Her Majesty call him home again, and either disgrace him, or hang him at her Court gates. The Earl of Ormonde is to be much countenanced to draw the Earl of Tyrone to a peace at this time, which is unseasonable for the prosecution of war by Her Majesty's army. The Earl of Ormonde is most fit for this work, and if he does not draw Tyrone, no man ever will, until the Earl feels a little of Her Majesty's force. O'Rourke gave Sir Conyers this advice in his message, that Her Majesty should make any peace which will free all those who are combined with him and O'Donnell. They will be most glad to free themselves from his tyranny, and will never come together again. Offers himself to be used in the treaty with Tyrone, and is assured this good will come of it. If Tyrone speaks what he means not, Sir Conyers will know it. Besides he will speak with men whom he will win from Tyrone and O'Donnell, and so, against a fit time of prosecution, he will not be without instruments amongst themselves. Thus, if Her Majesty be not satisfied with the conditions of the peace, he will undertake to possess her of Ballyshannon, to quiet Connaught, and wholly to break O'Donnell. Hopes to gain Maguire from Tyrone, and then the Earl will be open to what Her Majesty shall please. All this, by God's grace, Sir Conyers will do in three months, and with 1,000 men more than he has, sent from England

1597. VOL. CCI.

with two months' victuals. "At the end of my three months Her Majesty shall discharge the 1,000 sent, and 1,000 of these men with me, and as many more to be discharged as shall not be thought fit to continue for some time." They are deceived who advertise that there is any way so easy for breaking O'Donnell as by Connaught, or any way for breaking the Earl as by first breaking O'Donnell. By this course, if Spaniards come not, Her Majesty may finish this war by the end of the next summer, without increasing Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, saving that when she is pleased to begin the course of prosecution, 2,000 men will be needful to supply the companies, 1,000 to come to Sir Convers, and the others to the army that must attend the General. Will, until then, make a defensive war in spite of them all, with the number he now has; and so may the rest, their companies being three times his, and the odds against them not so great.

Desires to know Sir Robert's opinion of his project. "I am a most humble suitor I may receive no disgrace by no fection of these rulers here, whereof hitherto I am sure I have tasted most of any man, for, besides [that] they excluded me expressly from a voice in the election of the Lord Justice, they have kept me from all means to perform aught, which grieves me most; besides they delay me for my accounts of that I have laid out of my purse, and yet they must confess I have done more in my charge, with all these miseries, than the rest of the whole army." Asks Sir Robert to further him. —Athlone, 1597, November 19. *Holograph. pp.* 4.

Nov. 20. Dublin. 76. Robert Newcomen to Burghley. Sends by his agent, Samuel Molineux, the books of the issue and charge of last year's victuals. General want of provisions in Ireland; but, with ready money, some small quantities of grain, butter, and cheese could be had and provided at as easy rates as they can be sent from England. The books could not be sent earlier, owing to the unsafe passing from place to place in Ireland.—Dublin, 1597, November 20. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Nov. 20. 77. "A particular account of all such sums of ready money as have been imprested to the officers of the victuals, by warrants from the Lord Deputy or Council of Ireland, and delivered by Sir Henry Wallop, knight, Treasurer at Wars in the said realm, between the first of April 1597, and the last of September 1597 following, together with a particular issue how the same have been disbursed." Also, an account of sums received between 1 October and 20 November 1597.—*Both signed by Robert Newcomen. pp.* 8.

Nov. 26. Dublin. 78. Captain George Harvey to Sir Robert Cecil. Desires that he may receive a small portion of money, due to him for his pay. Has left the warrants and reckonings thereof with one Richard Paulfreyman, a servant to his nephew, Sir George Carew.—Dublin, 1597, November 26. *Signed. p.* ½.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Nov. 26. 79. "The usual sterling rates for victuals issued to Her Majesty's garrisons in Ireland." *Signed by the Auditor, Christopher Peyton.* —1597, November 26. *pp.* 2.

Nov. 29. Dublin Castle. 80. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council of Ireland to the Privy Council. Acknowledge receipt of their Lordships' letters of October 30 and November 17. The Earl of Ormonde repaired to Dublin on November 17. Sir Thomas Norreys continued in the room of Lord Justice until November 27. On that day the present Lords Justices received the sword. Sir Thomas Norreys repaired to Munster this day. Hope to agree so well in all things for the furtherance of Her Majesty's service, that there shall no question of authority arise between the Lords Justices and the Lieutenant-General. Want of victuals and treasure. General scarcity throughout the whole country. Ask for a proportion of munition. Send certificate under the hand of the Master of the Ordnance.

The instructions formerly delivered to Lord Burgh, touching both the martial and the civil government, were never made known to them before his decease, nor since, until within these five or six days. Do not yet know whether they have them all or not. The directions therein contained shall be followed.

As concerning Her Majesty's ordinances, the [weekly] lendings were observed so long as the money held out, and shall be performed upon the arrival of the next treasure. Money wanted for extraordinary charges, of which they see there will be great need in this perilous time; also, to pay the towns for diet of soldiers, and the country for beeves. Without payment they will hardly be able to press them further, upon any necessity of service, without murmur and discontentment. The Treasurer sends herewith a particular note of how much is thus due. Only a small quantity of the apparel for the soldiers has arrived. When the rest comes, all shall be distributed according to their Lordships' directions. Will endeavour to perform the equity of the ordinances, and to reform such disorders as shall hereafter grow.

Certificate sent herewith touching the Captains discharged by Lord Burgh, and the turning over of broken companies to fill up others; also, a certificate by the Victualler, of the victuals sent to Ireland last year; further, a certificate of the expending of the 22,100*l.* last sent. Have directed the Treasurer to look duly to the instructions in their Lordships' letter of the 17th.

Have lately received from Tyrone three letters, the first of which proceeded voluntarily from him, together with a letter to the Lieutenant-General. Send copies of them, and of their answers to the same. Upon these letters they sent one yesterday into the mountains in Leinster, not only to draw back Tyrone's confederates, sent thither by the Earl, but also all others of Ulster, sent under the conduction of those confederates; to the end that, during the parley between the Earl of Ormonde and the Earl of Tyrone (which is intended very shortly) no hurt might grow to the Pale. Pray

1597. VOL. CCI.

that they may know Her Majesty's pleasure in what sort they shall proceed with Tyrone, if he shall continue in this course of submission. Meantime they have thought good to entertain the course mentioned, both to discover Tyrone's further disposition, and to win some time, being for the present very ill provided with forces, victuals, and money.

Armagh was quitted by Lord Burgh when he made the fort at the Blackwater; the latter is to be revictualled before Christmas. Touching Carrickfergus and the Clandeboys, they hope the Privy Council have ere this received their letters signifying the death of Sir John Chichester and others, and what means have been used to supply the garrison. Have received no further details, probably from want of shipping at Carrickfergus.

In reply to their Lordships' letter of November 17, they heartily thank Her Majesty for her princely care to relieve them with men, money, and victuals. The general scarcity of all necessary provisions in this poor kingdom is for the present so extreme, that, without special relief from England, they would be in danger of perishing. The 900 men to be sent from Picardy to Waterford shall be provided for at that place. The Irish soldiers used by Lord Burgh for filling up the bands shall for a time be made use of; but, on the arrival of the 900 men from Picardy, order shall be taken to prevent the inconveniences that might, as the Queen has foreseen, arise from the discharge of the Irish. Thank Her Majesty for increasing the pay of the horsemen. Corruption of some of the provincial commissaries. Will be careful in the choice of such officers. Have not yet received any certificate from the commissary of Carrickfergus. No commissary is needed for Leinster, as they have left the mustering of the companies there to Sir Ralph Lane and Mr. Kyffin. The Earl of Ormonde will be ready to employ all his dutiful endeavours to do Her Majesty the best service that lies in his power, although he finds his burden heavy, and his wants great, in this dangerous time.

As the herring fishery has failed in Ireland and Scotland, desire a supply from England, for that in Ireland herrings are "a most necessary provision, and profitable for Her Majesty." — Dublin Castle, 1597, November 29. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 6. *Inclose,*

80. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys. Is now ready to make the same submission to him that he did to his brother Sir John Norreys, craving now, as always, Her Majesty's gracious favour. The late Lord Deputy would by no means accept his submission, either by word or writing, probably through the procurement of Marshal Bagenall.—"Fayrckole,"* 1597, *November* $\frac{10}{20}$. *Copy. p.* 1.

80. II. *The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Acknowledge his letter of the* 20*th* $\left[\frac{10}{20}th\right]$

1597. VOL. CCI.

*inst., but, remembering his former uncertainties in the like courses heretofore, and comparing even now his late insolent dealing with force to distress Her Majesty's subjects in the Pale, leave him to think how they may be induced to believe he means as he writes. His offer of submission consists only of generalities. Know not in what sort to conceive thereof, otherwise than that he uses his old evasions. If they may know further from him of his disposition to conformity, and of the form of submission he desires to make, they will consider thereof as shall be fit, upon the coming of the Earl of Ormonde, who is appointed General of all Her Majesty's forces, and who will be in Dublin on Wednesday next. In the mean season, if he continues the insolencies he has begun upon the subjects, he may foresee what hindrance it will be to Her Majesty's gracious mercy towards him.—Dublin,* 1597, *November* 20. *Copy. p.* 1.

80. III. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council. His desire, without any simulation or show, is to use all means to win Her Majesty's gracious favour. His mind shall be conformable to his writing. As for this last harm done in the Pale, their Honours may consider how Her Majesty's forces and subjects daily seek to invade and distress his people, which moves him to do the like. Desires a truce to confer about peace. As to the particulars requested of his form of submission, he craves pardon for himself and for those who have taken action with him. He intends not to diminish any rents or services belonging to Her Majesty. Desires that all who have taken his part may enjoy their right lands and living, paying all rents, &c. belonging to the Queen.—"Fayrcole,"* 1597, *November* $\frac{17}{27}$. *Copy. p.* 1.

80. IV. *The Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Have considered his letter dated the 27th inst., "after your reckoning, but not according Her Majesty's computation." The more he shall labour, with due penitence and submission, to perform his duty faithfully and sincerely to Her Majesty, the better it may work in her heart to his good. Find it strange that he makes no mention of the Earl of Ormonde. Have sent the bearer, that Tyrone may consider with him of a time of conference, touching his submission and all the other matters he requests. The Earl of Ormonde means in person to draw shortly towards the borders of the north, and requires Tyrone in the meanwhile to do nothing to hinder Her Majesty's princely favour towards him.—Dublin Castle,* 1597, *November* 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

80. V. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to Thomas, Earl of Ormonde. Having known of his authority to deal concerning all matters of peace and war, is right glad therefore, hoping that he will hear his griefs and consider his wrongs better than any heretofore has done. Marshal Bagenall has driven him wrongfully to all these troubles,*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*and is the beginner and chief author of all their inconveniences. This Ormonde shall understand more at large at their meeting, of which he hopes he will acquaint Her Majesty. Refers the limiting and appointment of the time of meeting to Ormonde's discretion, and will expect a speedy answer.—"Farckeol," 1597,* $\frac{\text{November } 27.}{\text{December } 7}$ *Copy. p. 1.*

80. VI. *Thomas, Earl of Ormonde, to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Acknowledges his letter of December 7, "according your computation." Means to go presently to the borders, but is waiting for the coming of Phelim M'Hugh, Onie M'Rory, and Brian Reogh, or their attorneys, since Tyrone desired they should be present to speak for themselves. Wishes to haste, and will be at Dundalk on Monday next, when he will hear any complaint Tyrone shall make of the Marshal or any other, and will let the Queen know the same, if cause so require. Meantime, has sent his letters to the garrisons, commanding them to forbear committing any spoil on Tyrone's followers, so as they also forbear to annoy Her Majesty's subjects. Reminds Tyrone of Her Majesty's former goodness towards him. No traitor, however strong he was, ever came to a good end, unless he repented and humbled himself in time. Prays that Tyrone may.—Dublin, 1597, November 29. Copy. p. 1.*

80. VII. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Justice Sir Thomas Norreys and Council. Has conferred with the bearer sent by them. Explains his not mentioning the Earl of Ormonde in his previous letter. Had not heard of his going to Dublin. Is glad of the authority conferred on the Earl, and hopes that his Honour will right him, and hear his causes more indifferently than heretofore hath been. Will be most ready to perform his duty, having Her Majesty's favour assured unto him, and to all such as have taken part with him, and to whom he has given his word. The manner thereof he refers to his meeting with Ormonde. Meantime, has sent to all such as are at his command in Leinster, to cease from doing any harm until further orders, provided they are protected by the Earl of Ormonde, and permitted to have meat and drink. Will likewise restrain, to his power, all his from doing any harm, as soon as Ormonde assures him of the like. Means, if any harm be done to him against his Lordship's direction, to get satisfaction in the like sort, and specially from the Marshal, who is always wont to break any promises made to Tyrone. Craves that the gentlemen of Leinster, who have taken his part, or their attorneys, may be permitted to come and return in the Earl of Ormonde's own company, or otherwise, without any molestation.—"Farkeole,"* 1597, $\frac{\text{November } 27}{\text{December } 7}$. *Copy. p. 1.*

80. VIII. *The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener and Council to Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. Acknowledge his letter, and note his protestations of loyalty. Refer him to the Earl of Ormonde, who*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*has written more particularly about the meeting. Agree to his request as to his Leinster confederates. The Earl of Ormonde has ordered all Her Majesty's forces to do no hurt to any of Tyrone's followers, requiring him to do the like.—Dublin Castle,* 1597, *November* 29. *Copy. p.* 1.

Nov. 29. Dublin. 81. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Burghley. Are now established in the government, and desire to render their most humble thanks to Her Majesty. Will bend their whole studies for the reformation of this disjointed state, and for the drawing of the alienated minds of this people to their due obedience.—Dublin, 1597, November 29. *Signed. p.* 1.

Nov. 29. Dublin. 82. The Lord Justice Loftus to Burghley. His great thankfulness to Her Majesty for making him one of the Lords Justices. Notwithstanding many and false accusations preferred against him, it has pleased her now again to repair his poor credit, in his aged days, when he is ever ready to enter into his grave. His gratitude to Burghley, who, ever since he was a scholar, has been the means to set him up and to uphold him.—Dublin, 1597, November 29. *Signed. p.* 1.

Nov. 29. Athlone. 83. Captain Sir Calisthenes Brooke to Sir Robert Cecil. Has heretofore made known how discontented he lives, and now far more so, through the greatest loss this unhappy soil ever received. In Lord Burgh's time he was, for Sir Robert's sake, advanced far above his desert, but since his Lordship's death so lessened that, for his honour and profit, he finds it more than time to be gone. A company in the Low Countries is his ambition; will be ever grateful if he can obtain this. "If your Honour knew the misery we live in here, I make no doubt but in charity you would help me; and, as I live, if I had not hope by your favour to be removed, I would sooner leave the wars than serve here; not that I am unwilling in any place to serve my Prince and State, but in contempt of my fortune, being in this profession so unhappy above all others, in this most miserable ignorant war to spend my time."—*Holograph. Endorsed:*—1597, November 29. From Athlone. *p.* 1.

Nov. 30. Dublin. 84. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Was taken yesterday with an ague fit, and was unable to sit at the Council whilst the joint letter was digested. Cannot therefore write at length about some matters meet for Sir Robert's knowledge. Hopes to do so by his next. Wishes that, upon these great occasions and confusions in Ireland, some well experienced man of the Council were drawn over, to inform Her Majesty and the Privy Council thoroughly of the state of things. This cannot be done so well in writing. It is hoped that the event of the intended treaty with Tyrone will be a peace, or, at least, some pacification. So God grant that "these long enduring storms of Ireland" may be somewhat appeased for the present, till by time they may be more thoroughly calmed.—Dublin, 1597, November 30. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

VOL. CCI.

1597. Nov. 85. Note of captains of horse and foot in Her Majesty's pay in Ireland.—1597, November. *p.* 1.

Dec. 1. Dublin. 86. The Lord Justice Sir Robert Gardener to Burghley. When he was last at Court, his age and infirmities both of body and mind, together with a great desire to return to private life, urged him to sue for his discharge from service. The Queen so far yielded to his suit as to grant him license to return at Christmas next, and he framed his course accordingly. About ten days ago he received Her Majesty's pleasure to be joined with the Lord Chancellor as Justice in government for civil causes. This he will add his best endeavours to perform, although in "this turbulent and torn estate," and in these dangerous times, he could in all submission have desired that a more sufficient choice had been made. Would have been better satisfied if Her Majesty's pleasure for his discharge had not changed. "A more full furnished man" is required; hopes he himself may not continue long in office. Desires Burghley to express his thanks to the Queen. Thanks Burghley for the grant of the wardship of John Norton's heir. The commission for leases, fines for alienation, wards, &c. is determined by the death of Lord Burgh and the removal of Justice Walsh from the Queen's Bench to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Recommends for the vacancy in the Queen's Bench Mr. Garratt, who is of Irish birth, understands the Irish tongue, and is sufficiently learned, religious, and honest. The ancient fee was under fifty pounds, until Justice Walsh, by letters from Her Majesty, obtained one hundred pounds per annum for the execution of the office.—Dublin, 1597, December 1. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Dec. 1. Athlone. 87. Sir Conyers Clifford to Sir Robert Cecil. Although, when Sir Calisthenes Brooke is withdrawn from Ireland, he will find "a great maim" by the absence of so worthy a friend and officer, yet this war cannot raise him higher. Lord Burgh made him Serjeant Major General of all the forces, and gave him a company of 200 foot. The latter grant, by the change of Governor, was not confirmed. Commends Sir Calisthenes Brooke for one of the next companies that shall be void in the Low Countries. Whatever he is employed in, he will give a sufficient account thereof to "the curiousest of our profession."—Athlone, 1597, December 1. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Dec. 2. Dublin. 88. The Lord Justice Sir Robert Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. His age and weak state of health. Is in many respects altogether unable to perform his duties, except in willingness of mind. His desire to spend his last days in England. Needs not now to deliver "the particularities of this miserable and ruinated estate."—Dublin 1597, December 2. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Dec. 2. Dublin. 89. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Thanks Burghley for assuring him of his love, though his writing in the Queen's causes may seem bitter to him. Such remedies as his care and experience

1597. VOL. CCI.

could find out for the ordinances, he added in former letters. His earnest endeavours for the due and sincere accomplishment of the same. If any failing appear on his part, then he will acknowledge himself to deserve justly his Lordship's disfavour—Dublin, 1597, December 2. *Signed.* *p.* 1.

Dec. 3. Dublin. 90. Thomas, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, to Burghley. Thanks him for his letter of the 1st instant. Will to the uttermost of his power accomplish the charge committed to him. Want of men, victuals, munition, and money. Will not omit to seek (as soon as he may) to be more particularly made acquainted with the poor and bad state of the army, and will speedily signify the same. Has found already (in his own judgment) that Her Majesty is mightily deceived by overpaying the captains for want of true certificates of their checks. Will seek to redress this hereafter. "The realm was never since the conquest in so bad state as at this present it is." Unless supplies are sent all the companies in the borders of the north are like to forsake their garrison places, and leave the country to the spoil of the enemy. Importunes Burghley to see the wants of "the poor army" supplied, and to assist him with his grave advice from time to time.

The Treasurer [Sir Henry Wallop], having no money remaining in his hands, was forced to borrow of the citizens in Dublin and others, 1,578*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*, to pay lendings to such of the companies as are furthest from relief. Has given his bill for payment thereof, and has promised to see it answered out of the next treasure that comes, by which Burghley may perceive that mere necessity has forced this. "I never knew men more grieved, nor more out of heart, than most of the captains and soldiers." Part of the apparel has come, but in such sort that the same will do but little pleasure, for there are no breeches come with it, and the soldiers for lack thereof do daily perish. The treasure last sent is issued, as the Treasurer has particularly certified. Has caused the victualler to send by his brother-in-law, the bearer, the account of such money as he received. Salt beef, herrings, and other provisions, will not be had in Ireland till the next season, if they be not provided within this month.

Has now (upon his repair to the North) desired the Lords Justices and Council to give him instructions how to proceed with Tyrone in the treaty. These he has received under their hands. Fears that, if Tyrone understands that Ormonde's authority is not absolute for dealing with him, he will not come to such good terms, as he would be glad he should. Desires to know Her Majesty's pleasure how she will have him proceed hereafter. Meantime will not omit to do what he may for victualling the forts of the Blackwater and other places.—Dublin, 1597, December 3. *Signed.* *pp.* 2½.

[*Postscript in the Earl of Ormonde's hand.*] "Your Lordship, in your letter of the 18 of November, write [wrote] you understood, by a copy of my letter sent to the Council, that I had conference with Phelim M'Feagh, Tirrell, Brian Reogh, and their confederates.

1597. VOL. CCI.

He that sent you the copy of my letter might have let your Lordship understand that I was desired by the Council to parley with them and that they came upon safe conduct unto me. He might also have let your Lordship know that I went with a 100 horse and a company of foot, victualled at my charge, without any pay from Her Majesty, and lay on my own victual in the field, to save Her Majesty's castles of Leighlin and Catherlagh from burning and spoiling, and the lands belonging to them, and the subjects thereabouts, continuing in the field five weeks, and never had any company in Her Highness's pay sent to me all that while, though I wrote often for them." *Incloses,*

90. 1. *Proportion of apparel come to Dublin for the furnishing of Her Majesty's forces serving in Ireland.*—1597, *December* 2. *p.* ½.

Dec. 3. Dublin. 91. Sir Henry Wallop to Sir Robert Cecil. Thanks him for his good endeavours to secure Burghley's favour, which Wallop somewhat feared he had lost. Was mistaken about the ordinances, and is giving all care and pain for furthering their execution. Refers to the joint letters of the Council. Can write nothing but of such calamities as, being lamentable to them in Ireland, cannot but be most unpleasant to their Honours in England. "The Lord grant that the sore, that so grievously hath infected this kingdom, may either be soon cured, or quickly cut off."—Dublin, 1597, December 3. *Signed. p.* 1.

Dec. 3. 92. "A brief collection of Her Majesty's monthly charge, grown due to Her Highness's officers, soldiers, and servitors" in Ireland, for one month. Total:—11,405*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.*—1597, December 3. *Signed by the Mustermaster Sir Ralph Lane. pp.* 12.

Dec. 4. Dublin. 93. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Burghley. To have the allowance of the port-corn and beeves, and the tithes of the parsonage of Dunboyne, so as to maintain the hospitality of their office.—Dublin, 1597, December 4. *Signed. pp.* 2½.

Dec. 4. Dublin. 94. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Will observe Her Majesty's commandment not to pass the office lately held by Sir John Chichester to any other, until Her Majesty's further direction be received. Have signified the same to the Earl of Ormonde.—Dublin, 1597, December 4. *Signed. p.* ½.

Dec. 5. Dublin. 95. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. The Earl of Ormonde left Dublin yesterday for Dundalk to meet Tyrone. Has delivered to the Earl in writing all proceedings between Tyrone, Sir John Norreys, and himself, when they were Commissioners, together with all directions and cautions sent to them from the Court. Has also acquainted his Lordship with all such private observations as he had gathered touching Tyrone, since his first employment in those causes. Sends herewith a few heads of special matters, which, if so it be thought good, the Earl of

1597. VOL. CCI.

Ormonde may be directed by Her Majesty or the Privy Council to urge upon Tyrone. If speed be used, that direction may come timely enough, for he sees not how at this time his Lordship can make any thorough agreement with Tyrone, not having full authority to that end. This limited or restrained authority will, he doubts, do no good in the proceedings, but will rather make Tyrone suspicious, and fearful to agree, when he sees so great a personage as the Earl of Ormonde used in the action, and having no absolute power to conclude with him. Humbly wishes that this defect may be remedied, and that some of the Council in Ireland, who are known to be lovers of peace, and who would be careful to prevent all interruptions and impediments that might cross it, may be joined with his Lordship as assistants.—Dublin, 1597, December 5. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 1½. *Incloses,*

95. 1. *Heads of matters for the Earl of Ormonde to urge upon Tyrone at the parley,* 1597, *December* 5. (The alterations and additions in Burghley's hand are put in Roman type.)

"*First, that upon his knees he make his personal submission to your Lordship, for Her Majesty's* pardon, *in some open and public place.* Necessary. [In margin:—'*This to be done within Dundalk, if it may be.*']

"2. *That in his submission he do renounce from henceforth by special words all confederacy and adherency with any of the Irishry that have taken his part in this rebellion, and that he leave them free as they were before, without any dependency of him, and himself to depend wholly of Her Majesty, and every one to stand upon his own suit for Her Majesty's mercy and pardon;* and to promise that, upon their submission and acknowledging of their offences, and laying down of all arms, and returning to their due obedience, they shall have their pardon. Necessary. [In margin:—'*This will break his greatness with the Irish.*']

"3. *That he renounce the name, title, and style, of O'Neill, which is treason by the statute.* Necessary.

"4. *That, upon having of his pardon, he disperse presently all his forces, and specially that he send out of the realm all Scots* by him retained, *and other hired strangers whatsoever.* Necessary.

"5. *That he have nothing to do with Her Majesty's uriaghts, namely, with Maguire, O'Cahan, or any other, but leave them to Her Majesty, whose they are by right of inheritance.* Necessary.

"6. *That he deliver to your Lordship the sons of Shane O'Neill, to be sent to the Castle of Dublin, from whence they escaped.* [In margin:—'*Her Majesty, having Shane O'Neill's sons, hath by them a good curb to bridle the Earl of Tyrone at all times.*']

"7. *That he* do contribute his help to the *building up* of *the fort and bridge of Blackwater, in state as it was when he overthrew it; and, till he build it up again, that Her Majesty's garrison may be continued there without danger, and that the country do bring in victuals and other necessaries for the garrison, as they did before, when the fort was in Her Majesty's possession.* [In margin:—'*This will be looked for in England.*']

1597. VOL. CCI.

"8. *That he tell your Lordship* truly *how far he hath proceeded with the Spaniards, either by letters or any other intelligence, and that from henceforth he renounce all further dealings with Spain, or any other foreign Potentate whatsoever.* [In margin:—'*That he give your Lordship such letters and contracts as he hath touching Spain.*']

"9. *That he suffer a Sheriff for Her Majesty in Tyrone, as other shires of the realm do, and that he suffer no interruption to be used to the Sheriff in his office by any of his.* Necessary. [In margin:—'*If he require that the Sheriff may be chosen of the country itself, it is not amiss that your Lordship consent thereunto, so as he come and receive his letters patent at Dublin.*']

"10. *That he put in his eldest son for a pledge, or some other chief man of his country, such as your Lordship shall name,* to remain for a time, until he shall have performed all these articles, and shall resort, as other lords of Ireland used to do, to come to the Governors and Council at Dublin.

"11. *That he pay a fine of —— pounds to Her Majesty within three years; let the fine be imposed for an honour to Her Majesty, and afterwards Her Majesty may be moved to remit either the whole, or part of it, at her pleasure.*

"12. *That for matter of budraggs* [*spoils*], *stealths, and outrages done on both sides in the time of this rebellion, your Lordship may do well to refer those matters to indifferent Commissioners, to be chosen by the State, and as those Commissioners shall order things, so restitution to be made on both sides.*

"13. That if he shall refuse to yield to all these articles, but shall yield to so many of them as shall appear necessary, to give assurance of his loyalty and obedience for the rest, he may therein be forborn to be further urged, and yet allowed his pardon, upon performance of the most necessary points.

"Of all these 13 articles, these are necessary to be urged and obtained, which are the 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and the 7, 9, and 10th, and the rest also, if they may be, as they are expressed, or otherwise to be tempered." *pp.* 2¼.

Dec. 8. Dublin. 96. Sir Ralph Lane to Burghley. Understanding from Sir Robert Gardener that Burghley was desirous to be advertised of the particulars of the defeat at Carrickfergus, he endeavoured, by conference with some that came last from that town (and some of these were in the fight), to be informed thereof as truly as the reporters could conceive it. Sends the narration herewith. Burghley's late mediation with the Queen on Sir Ralph's behalf, showing that, without conviction by a lawful trial of forfeiture, he could not be deprived of his patent. The wrong done to Her Majesty's service by him [Maurice Kyffin], who, since November 1596, has had conferred upon him the chief and sole credit of the musters and check, and who, by his extraordinary courses, has deprived Ireland not only of all the Brittany officers (Sir Thomas Maria Wingfield only excepted), but also of the greater number of

1597. VOL. CCI.

the captains of the later supplies out of England. Her Majesty's bands are now wholly turned from English to Irish; and the Irish, through Kyffin's short certificates of their numbers, and their consequent abridgment in both lendings and victuals, and dismissal by their captains, have for these twelve months daily run to the rebel. No part of these mischiefs fell out during the time of Sir Ralph's sole execution of his office, but there was a profit to Her Majesty by due checks, proportionable to the deficiencies of that time.

Begs Burghley to obtain for him the Colonelcy [Currenellship] of Carrickfergus, as Sir John Chichester had it, for term of his life The pay is ten shillings per diem, and 25 horse, instead of a band of 100 footmen; whereas the entertainment appertaining to him by his patent is eleven shillings and sixpence per diem. Would surrender his present patent, if he is granted the government of Carrickfergus.—Dublin, 1597, December 8. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

96. 1. "*The circumstances of the Scots' entry into parley with Sir John Chichester, late Governor of Carrickfergus, and the cause of the breach thereof upon the sudden, with the manner of the fight, and of the defeat of Her Majesty's five companies of foot and one of horse, the* 3 (*sic*) *of November* 1597.

"*James M'Sorley and his two brethren, Randal M'Sorley and Nice Ultagh M'Sorley, having been three days before returned from the Earl of Tyrone, to whom they had put in new pledges, who had promised his daughter in marriage to James M'Sorley, and to Randal M'Sorley the daughter of Sir John O'Dogherty, came with* 1,300 *Scots and Irish, whereof were* 500 *very good shot of his own, and such as he had borrowed. Which they having instantly done, and the same in driving with certain of their horsemen, the Governor, Sir John Chichester, for the rescue of the prey, drew forth five companies of foot and one of horse; that is to say, his own company, Captain Rice Mansell's, being Sergeant-Major of the town, Captain Constable's foot company, Captain Nicholas Merriman's foot company, and Captain North's, together with Captain Constable's horse band, but that day under the leading of Moses Hill, Provost-Marshal of Carrickfergus, the said Governor and all the Captains before named being there in their persons, and Captain Constable, sometimes your Lordship's page, himself leading his own foot company.*

"*When the Governor had drawn his said troop about a mile and a half from the town, James M'Sorley sent unto him, and desired a parley with him, which the Governor was contented at the first to hearken unto, and, having made a stand with all his troops, James M'Sorley did likewise make a stand with his, which he showed of horse and foot to be about some* 700 *fighting men, he having left two miles behind him in certain shrubs an ambushment of Irish shot and Scotch bowmen, with "sloughes," swords, and pikes, in all* 800.

"*When they were entered into parley, and the Scot standing upon some haughtier terms than the Governor, in the heat of his*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*natural disposition, could well brook to hear, Moses Hill cometh to the Governor, and advertises him to break off parley with him, for that he, having discovered the whole bulk of their forces, did perceive that they would not stand to any sound fight, and, if they were roundly charged, that they might have a good killing upon them, or at least take a good run out of them, and recover their prey.*

*"Upon which course the Governor resolved, and James, according to Moses Hill's supposal, instantly, both horse and foot, made a retiring fight unto the next hill, from the which he was also driven by the Governor, and so from hill to hill, until they were drawn to the shrubby ground, where the ambushment lay. And in the skirmish ('scarmache') the garrison bands having spent all their powder, and a troop of the Scots horse having fallen behind the Governor, between the town and the English, offered to charge them upon the rear, when suddenly, out of the shrubs, was discharged upon the rest a whole volley ('value') of shot 500, which besides the slaughter that instantly it made, in the which the Governor himself, having received two shot before, the one in the thigh, the other through his arm with a Scotch arrow, he received a third in his head, with the which he fell, and was drawn with his horse: at that instant also fell the Sergeant-Major with divers others, which so dismayed the whole troop of the English, upon whom the ambush of 800 brake out before, and the Scots in the rear charged them both with their horse and their 'sloughe' swords, that finally they all brake and were killed, some fighting, some running away. Captain Nicholas Merriman, having tarried killing of all his men, saved himself by swimming, being shot in two parts of his body; Captain Constable in his foot company being utterly broken, himself also hurt, remained, taken of the Scots. The leader of his horse company, which was Moses Hill, was hurt with a shot, but he saved himself by the means of a good horse, and, as they say, when he perceived he had mistaken the matter, left the place in time. Captain North in like sort, his company being all cut to pieces, himself also having a hurt upon him, escaped. Finally, of the horsemen there were not slain above eight or ten, but of the five companies of foot, whereof, besides some of every band left by the Governor in the town under Captain Charles Mansell to strengthen his band, being one of the new companies, there were slain in the field 220 footmen, or thereabouts, together with 60 kern of the country; and, within three days after, and the day of the fight, there were saved and returned between fifty and sixty, whole and hurt, which had covered themselves during the slaughter, some in the high grass, and some in the ouse up to the shoulders; and some by one means and some by another. James M'Sorley the next day sent the Governor's head and Captain Rice Mansell's to the Earl of Tyrone, who is reported to have said, that he could have found in his heart to have spared forty of the best of the English that were slain in the fight, besides the Governor, for Captain Merriman's head, but was for the present very well contented with the good service that*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*he and his Scots had done. Yet it is credibly reported that James M'Sorley doth protest that he was forced to bind himself to the Earl contrary contrary* (sic) *to his own desire, because he had understanding that the Governor, Sir John Chichester, by the advice of some that were about him, was persuaded to have 'draughts' upon him, though he had always paid his rents duly to the Queen for himself and his brethren, and had many times with his own creaghts relieved the town, when they were distressed for lack of victual. The Earl gave to James M'Sorley upon this last combination bonnaght for* 200 *men upon the two Clandeboys, and for* 800 *men upon Killultagh, Kilwarlin, and M'Cartan's country.*" [See account transmitted in Captain Eggerton's letter of November 7.] *pp.* 2.

Dec. 8. Dublin. 97. Sir Ralph Lane to Sir Robert Cecil. Prays him to further his suit for the Colonelcy of Carrickfergus. Has this instant been interrupted in his writing by an unhappy advertisement of the slaughter of Captain Walter Ovington [or Hovenden], the total defeat of his band and of that of Sir Warham Sentleger, Governor of Leix, and the burning of the fort and town of Maryborough. This villany was done yesterday by the rebels Onie M'Rory, Tirrell, and Nugent, all lately taken into protection, who took advantage of a negligent guard, and picked a quarrel, because the sheriff was slow in answering them of the beeves appointed for their cess.—Dublin, 1597, December 8. *Signed. p.* 1.

Dec. 9. Dublin. 98. Robert Newcomen to Burghley. Since November 20, the wind has been so contrary that no shipping could pass for England, so his certificates could not be sent by the bearer in the time promised. The loss grown to Her Majesty has been very great, but this has arisen through the extreme dearth of victuals of all natures sold last year, and the smallness of the rates by which they were issued to the soldiers.—Dublin, 1597, December 9. *Signed. p.* 1.

Dec. 10. Drogheda. 99. The Earl of Ormonde to the Privy Council. "Being come from Dublin the 5th of this month, after conference had with the Lords Justices and the Council, I found, at my coming to Dundalk, such of the army as were there in so miserable state, as it grieved my heart to behold them. Having chosen the principal men out of eighteen companies, I could scarce get 500 serviceable, and of that small number an hundred not fit to carry arms, whom I appointed to march under ten ensigns, for the more show to the enemy. And so many others as were (being hunger starved and naked), I left behind me in the town of Dundalk, being ashamed to draw them forth where the enemy might see them."

On the 8th, the appointed date of meeting, the Earl of Tyrone sent two of his men to desire he might have protection from Ormonde in writing for his safe coming, and return at his pleasure. This denied, they desired Ormonde's word for the safety of Tyrone and twenty others. This being granted, Tyrone came where

1597. VOL. CCI.

Ormonde was, and used most reverend and humble speeches of Her Majesty.

"Then he came to a moor side, a good way distant from me, where, with his hat in his hand, he with a loud voice saluted me, and such noblemen and captains as were with me, saying he was glad it pleased Her Majesty to appoint me her Lieutenant, hoping I would deal better with him, in hearing his complaint and making the same known to Her Majesty, than others did before. I told him I could scarce hear him, and willed him to draw nearer, and he should not need to fear, seeing he had my word in the name of Her Majesty. Then he lighted off his horse, and came through the bog to a brook side, where he began to repeat what formerly he said, and earnestly complained against the Marshal, who, with other of his enemies (as he said) sought his life, and exhibited sundry articles of treason against him, which were most untrue, whereby he forced him to shun himself, and do things that might be offensive to Her Majesty, for which he was most heartily sorry, and besought me most humbly to hear his complaints, and make them known to Her Highness, and to be an humble suitor to Her Majesty for Her most gracious favour and mercy to be extended to him, and that he would, by his most humble and faithful service hereafter, endeavour himself all his life to deserve the same. I told him I was sorry that he so far forgot his duty and obedience to Her Majesty, as I might not give him the welcome I was wont to do, and that no private quarrel, nor suspicion of the hard dealing of any man, ought to make him become a traitor, nor (*sic*) to carry arms against Her most Excellent Majesty, whose born subject he was, and to whom he was many ways bound for Her manifold and gracious favours; which he acknowledged to be most true, and said, the hard course held with him was such as no man could endure it, as he would set down in particular, so it would please me to give him some time to put the same in writing, with the griefs and requests of O'Donnell, and such others as joined with him. I told him I would hear both his and their griefs, and would acquaint Her Majesty therewith, if cause so required. Then I told him, I had more matters to treat of with him, which he desired me to defer till the next morning, for that it was late.

"The next day I was forced to send away some broken companies of foot, for lack of meat or any means to relieve them, in the beggarly town of Dundalk.

"While we talked, I sent some to view the Earl's forces, which were strong and well furnished, being (as I was credibly informed) 1,300 shot, 200 pikes at least, and above 200 horse. Nevertheless he was very fearful that day to come at me, being warned by some bad counsel to beware of it. But by great persuasion he came to the former place of appointment, where, upon speech had with him, he consented to the victualling of the Blackwater fort; for assurance whereof I demanded a pledge of him, to lie in my hands, or where I would appoint, till the fort were victualled, and then his pledge to be returned to him again; and promised to give forty beeves of his own toward the same, and to let them have firewood

1597. VOL. CCI.

(which I perceive they greatly wanted); whereupon I wrote to the captain there, to let me know his greatest wants and the state of his men, being willing, if the victualler may shift for it, to victual the same, for as long time as I may.

"I also procured him to draw back such northern traitors as he sent to Leinster, to burn and spoil there, which he consented to, and wrote a letter for them, whereof I do send your Lordships a copy here inclosed, being translated from Irish to English.

"At my going northwards, the Lords Justices, myself, and the Council gave warrant to Captain Lee to stay the sons of Feagh M'Hugh, Onie M'Rory, and the northern traitors in Leinster, from spoiling the subjects, and he promised to draw them northwards, which he did not perform, but directed them into Leix and towards the Irish borders, where they were met by Captain Sir Warham Sentleger's company, and Captain Walter Hovenden's, who for the most part were most unfortunately slain by the traitors, as your Lordships may perceive by the copy of a letter from the said Sir Warham, directed to me, which I send herewith. I hear the soldiers began the quarrel. When I came from Dublin, I left with the said Captain Sir Warham, 350 soldiers well appointed, besides the rising out of Leix, and my Lord of Upper Ossory for the defence of Leix and the borders adjoining." Prays the Privy Council to take present order for the supply of the wants of the army in Ireland.—Drogheda, 1597, December 10. *Signed.* *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

99. I. *Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to "the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Lord Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army." Understands that some bickerment happened between part of Her Majesty's garrison in Leix, and those that were there in action, and before that time protected. Knows not yet what hurt is done. Prays his Lordship to have the matter examined indifferently. If the attempt was made by the garrison contrary to the cessation, as he is told it was, then he prays the Earl to do what appertains. If the fault be proved on the other side, will do no less in that behalf. Although he had written that morning for the return of such of Tyrone as went to Leinster, yet now again he has iterated the same. Beseeches his Lordship to grant them both protection, and warrant to take meat and drink in their repair to him. Also desires the Earl to send for his [Tyrone's] daughter Margaret, and will undertake by this his letter to send her back with his Lordship. —The Camp, 1597, December 11 (sic).* *Copy.* *p.* 1.

99. II. *Captain Sir Warham Sentleger to the Earl of Ormonde. Has advertised the Lords Justices of the mishap fallen to his company and Captain Hovenden's, on Wednesday last, the 7th instant. Tirrell and Onie M'Rory, accompanied with at least 400 fighting men, came into Leix, and encamped first in Slyemarge, then near Fearne Priory, and so the third day, taking the whole spoil of the country in every place where they lay. Hearing this, and that their determination was to pass through with the like*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*spoil of the country, he sent a despatch to the soldiers of Athy, and himself assembled the force of this side of the country, but was answered only by Terence O'Dempsy. Meantime his lieutenant drew out of the fort with the two companies, near to the Sheriff's town, where Captain Hovenden lay sick. "To conclude, divers messages passing betwixt them, a matter purposed by Tirrell, and not well considered by our leaders, they fell together by the ears, and both our companies are utterly defeated. My lieutenant is only scaped, with I think some 20; other of no mark. Myself was come within a mile of the place before this happened, and had sent to them a man or two of mine, to hold a speech till I had come; one of which they slew, the other they took prisoner, after which they went and burned the town of Maryborough, and lay about the fort with many menaces to force it, in which was a most slender ward; so removing a little further, the next day they put ladders a making, which I understanding, with those few that I had, for your Lordship must understand that not a man of the country nor borders came to me but Terence [O']Dempsy and Robert Whitny, I went to the fort, and put in my lieutenant with as many as I had left. They returned me my man that they took, and told me that my soldiers had broken the peace, and yet if I would grant them protection for twelve days, they would be sworn to do no further hurt, till they should hear from the north. I answered that I would not grant any protection to them, but was contented to promise them to seek no revenge till your Lordship's return, or till your pleasure were signified, and notwithstanding this, I would hold the peace with them that your Honour had taken, which what it was I protest to God I yet never heard from any but by report. This was I driven to do, for that I knew not by any means how to gather to a head, but chiefly lest it might be a hindrance to any other course that your Honour had determined. I hope those two that came with Captain Lee shall be stayed with you, till your Lordship hear who broke the peace. And if Captain Lee had not sent word to the Sheriff, that he had sworn them not to come into Leix, I had been in far more readiness than I was." Has assured the fort and the castles of the country, and, for the rest, is at their pleasure, till his Lordship sends force. The Sheriff of Offally found great fault with his protecting the Connors, yet, having been directed by the Council to continue it twelve days longer, means to do it, if they seek it. Prays that the Earl of Ormonde "may finish the good of this poor and all lost country." —Monaster Evan, 1597, December 9. Copy. pp. 2.*

Dec. 11. Drogheda. 100. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Would make known to his Lordship the most weak and miserable state of the army, especially of as many as were with him at Dundalk, who are in such extreme want of victual, apparel, money, and munition, that such of them as are able to carry arms, being but few in number by means of these wants, daily run away and forsake their colours. Earnestly prays for supplies, and that Burghley would let him know what course he thinks fit for him to hold with Feagh

1597. VOL. CCI.

M'Hugh's sons, Onie M'Rory, and those rebels of Leinster, whose war will be more chargeable to Her Majesty, and hurtful to the good subjects, than the value of the land of Feagh's sons can be worth to Her Highness.

In consideration of these wants, and of the poor state of the surrounding country, he thinks it necessary to conclude a peace with Tyrone for six or eight weeks, hoping in the meantime to hear from the Privy Council. But he perceives by the Earl's speeches that he had rather have a peace for a year or two, than for a short time. Craves Burghley's speedy advice how he shall proceed with him, for war or peace.

Tirlogh M'Henry, upon whom Lord Burgh bestowed 50 horse and 100 foot in Her Highness's pay, was at Ormonde's coming to Dundalk, with Tyrone, with 80 horse and 200 foot, and refused to come to Ormonde, although he sent for him by one of Tirlogh's own men. Burghley may see how ill Her Majesty's favour and treasure was bestowed on him. Will make stay of his pay, until he hears further from his Lordship.—Drogheda, 1597, December 11. *Signed. pp.* 1½.

Dec. 12. Newry. 101. Certificate by Commissary W. Jones of the state of the company of Captain M. L. (*sic*).—Newry, 1597, December 12. *Holograph. p.* 1.

Dec. 14. Dublin. 102. The Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener to Sir Robert Cecil. Enclose letter from the Mayor of Waterford. The late unfortunate accident to the two companies at Leix. Uncertain declarations of one Pigott, the bearer of Sir Warham Sentleger's letter. Could not understand from him which side began the broil. Have used divers means "to bolt out the very truth thereof." It appears that the rebels were passing that way, by direction of the Lord Lieutenant-General, to go out of Leinster into the North, during the time of his Lordship's treaty with Tyrone, and that they met with the two companies, when they fell to blows, and our men received the overthrow.

They misliked much that Sir Warham Sentleger did not himself particularly advertise them thereof. They did not hear from him until this day, when he sent a brief discourse, much like Pigott's, not mentioning which side first began, the point they most desired to know. Hereby they are induced to mistrust that their soldiers began the quarrel upon some trifling occasion, such as the choice of way, or the taking of beeves for a night's victual. Have sent to know with more certainty the particulars of the accident.

Are much discomforted that they hear not of the arrival, either of the 900 soldiers from Picardy, or of the treasure, victuals, and apparel of the soldiers, of all which there is extreme want.

Send copies of letters just received from the Earl of Ormonde and Onie M'Rory and Captain Tirrell, whereby Sir Robert may perceive a confirmation of their opinion that the soldiers began the broil.—Dublin, 1597, December 14. *Signed. pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

1597. VOL. CCI.

102. I. *Paul Strange, Mayor of Waterford, to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Has examined the company of a Scottish ship that left Lisbon on November* 18, *and arrived lately in Waterford Harbour. Of the Spanish fleet that was at sea, sixty ships arrived at Ferrol, and upwards of forty were missing. The King sent direction to the Adelantado to suffer none of his men to land or disperse, until the forces that were at Lisbon and other parts of Spain should come thither to join them. Then altogether they were to set again to sea on their intended journey. The fifth man in all the ships that were then at Lisbon, whatever nation they were of, was taken up and pressed to serve the King. For there was great want of men to furnish his army, by reason of a strange disease grown among them, whereof many died. Upon the arrival at Lisbon of one of the Spanish friars, who departed lately thence in an Irish ship, he got* 180 *Englishmen set at liberty. These had been kept prisoners for the last two years in the Castle of Lisbon, on an allowance of* 7½*d. a day.—Waterford,* 1597, *December* 10. *Copy. p.* 1.

102. II. *The Earl of Ormonde to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Received late yesternight a letter from Onie M'Rory and Captain Tirrell, copy of which he encloses. Lest Onie should commit any further mischief, has sent him protection for twenty days. At his return, will examine at full how this mischief happened to the soldiers. Has sent Captain Kingsmill's company to Leix, to be directed by Sir Warham Sentleger. Prays they may have better success than the other companies.—Drogheda,* 1597, *December* 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

102. III. *Onie M'Rory O'More, and Captain Richard Tirrell to the Earl of Ormonde. They were passing with their companies through Leix, while Captains Sentleger and Hovenden with their companies were lying at the fort. The latter came out to lay the way for them. They, understanding thereof, sent one or two gentlemen of the country to certify that their meaning was not to hurt the country in sort. Notwithstanding, the companies followed them, and they sent to them again, desiring them to leave dogging after them, and that their meaning was to keep the peace till they heard from the Earl of Ormonde. Notwithstanding, the companies, thinking it was fear that made them so entreat with them, came upon them with a full charge, so that they were forced to do what they could for their lives; "and, as it was the will of God, who knew their malicious intent, gave them the worst." Beg for his Lordship's protection, whereby they may before him prove the above to be true.—Leix,* 1597, *December* 9. *Copy. p.* 1.

Dec. 14. 103. An estimate by Robert Newcomen of the charge that will grow on the sending of a proportion of victuals to serve 200 men in the fort of the Blackwater, for six months, beginning 1 January 1597–8.—1597, December 14. *Copy. p.* 1.

Dec. 15. Dublin. 104. The Lord Justice Sir Robert Gardener and Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. The commission for leases of Her Majesty's

VOL. CCI.

1597.

lands in Ireland, for compounding for fines, for marriages, liveries, &c., is determined by the death of Lord Burgh, except as touching grants of wardships and leases of their lands, no members of the commission being named as of the quorum on these points, though this was usually the case. Consider one or two should be so named. Are likewise of opinion, with many others, that the continual searching and granting of concealed and attainted lands in Ireland has much stirred and alienated the minds of the people, and was not the least motive to so general a rebellion. There was no profit to the Queen by reason of careless, unskilful, or covetous officers. The dislike breeded in many undertakers when they pay so much by their patents, and others so little by these new surveys. The great practiser in these causes is one Boyle, for whose punishment Burghley has formerly directed letters. Boyle is not yet dealt with, partly because, to avoid the danger he fears, he continues in prison in execution for debts of good value.

Have lately stayed divers general commissions granted out of the Exchequer, and the rather because they find it unusual in England to grant such general commissions under the Exchequer seal, but under the Great Seal. Her Majesty's disposition in these troubled times to stay for awhile any further grant of concealed or forfeited lands. Desire confirmation of their stay of the aforesaid general commissions. Great discontent at the excessive official fees and charges in some of Her Majesty's Courts.—Dublin, 1597, December 15. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 2.

Dec. 15. Drogheda. 105. The Earl of Ormonde to Burghley. Wrote to the Mayor of Waterford to take special regard to see the soldiers of Picardy well used and mustered upon their landing. Encloses news from him. The bearer, Sir Edward More, in haste to take shipping.—Drogheda, 1597, December 15. *Signed. p.* ½. *Incloses,*

105. I. *The Mayor of Waterford to the Earl of Ormonde.* [*Partial duplicate of No.* 102. I.]—*Waterford,* 1597, *December* 10. *p.* ½.

Dec. 16. 106. An abstract of the certificate of the issue of victuals in Ireland, under three headings, "The charge of the victuals," "The "defalcation," and "The loss." The table shows that the loss was exactly one half of the charge. *Endorsed:*—1597, December 16. *p.* 1.

Dec. 17. Dublin. 107. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. Upon the late return of the Earl of Ormonde from Dundalk to Drogheda, he wrote to the Lord Justices for some assistance of councillors to be sent to him for a second meeting, which he had appointed with Tyrone about to-morrow, or the next day, at which time it seems that O'Donnell and the residue of that wicked confederacy are expected to assemble near Dundalk. For this purpose he is appointed to draw to that place, and intends to begin his journey this day, having no health, and little comfort in any other thing, to toil in so great a matter. Nevertheless, he will neither spare health, nor respect any other matter above this service. Still doubts that want of a full authority in the Earl of Ormonde will be a great impediment

1597. VOL. CCI.

to the good success of this business. If the Earl writes for a more ample authority, and if it be Her Majesty's meaning to proceed really to a full conclusion with these rebels, he thinks the Earl of Ormonde's authority might be made absolute, taking to him the assistance of such of the Council as shall be thought meet to be employed in so weighty a cause.

"I assure myself, there will be many perplexities and crosses, before we shall reduce this business to any good estate; for they, consisting of several spirits and dispositions, will show the same confusions and differences in their demands and conditions, some pretending one right, and some claiming another, and yet no right at all in any of them, other than such as it shall please Her Majesty to measure unto them in her princely grace and bounty, so as out of their confusions it will be hard to draw a good agreement; but, either in form or matter, such as deal with them shall be thought to err much. Besides, I doubt specially that the whole rabble of them will not come to the meeting, but that some one or two will be left behind, of purpose to be Robin Hoods, to the end to keep things still in garboil, which I have still observed hath been usually done by them in former times, and then in that case there can be no assurance that the agreement will hold."—Dublin, 1597, December 17. *Signed. Seal. pp.* 1½.

Dec. 18. Dublin. 108. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. His obligations to him. Has spent almost twenty years in Her Majesty's service in Ireland, and this with all possible care and diligence. Has found it a heavy and painful burden, and so chargeable that, notwithstanding Her Majesty's liberal allowances, his estate is little increased. Now he is grown old, and, with the many infirmities of age, begins to sink under the weight of his office. Besides, the hard passage of his accounts in time past gives him cause to think he will not live to see the end of those to come, if he continues much longer in his office. Is willing to free himself from so great a travail, and, his accounts ended, to spend the rest of his time in quietness. Beseeches Burghley to be a means to Her Majesty that he may be dismissed with her grace and favour. His place is worthy of a better man than himself. Is ready freely to yield it up, and has told no one but Burghley, so that the office may be disposed of to such as he shall please to move for. Relies wholly upon his Lordship, and will be obedient to what he thinks fittest. His strict and severe course in office, through respect of Her Majesty's profit and service, has bred him the discontentment and hatred of many. It were a hard example if their informations should be admitted, to the disgrace of the accused, before he were called to answer. The hard conceits held of him at Court have much lessened the wonted estimation he lived in in Ireland. Will ever appeal to Burghley's protection. Prays that, if his Lordship thinks it fit that he be presently dismissed, he will be a means for some suitable allowance to be granted for passing his accounts, and until they be accomplished.—Dublin, 1597, December 18. *Signed. pp.* 3.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Dec. 22. 109. A proportion of corn and victuals to be provided for three months for 8,274 men, accounting twenty-eight days to the month being twenty flesh days and eight fish days.—1597, December 22. *One sheet.*

Dec. 22. 110. Samuel Molyneux [Agent of Robert Newcomen, the Victualler] to Burghley. That 2,000*l.* may be impressed to him for the purchase of provisions in Ireland. That Robert Ardern be employed to purvey some good quantities of grain, which can now be reasonably had in London.—1597, December 22. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Dec. 22. Inshiolegan. 111. Gerrot Comerford, Attorney-General of Connaught, to the Earl of Ormonde. His haste out of Connaught was in hope to overtake his Lordship before his going into Ulster, that he might acquaint him with the state of Connaught, whereby he might better deal with Ulster. Failing of his purpose, he has despatched the bearer, hereby to give notice that most of the Connaught rebels are retained and placed in some band or other. Tibbott Ne Longe Burke, Oliverus M'Richard Enyeren Burke, Ulick Burke Fitz-Edmond, David Burke M'Ulick e Temple, and Morogh Ne Moyre O'Flaherty, are retained by the Chief Commissioner [Sir Conyers Clifford], and assigned Captains over those that were with them in action. The O'Malleys ("Maylies") and Tibbott Burke, the supposed M'William, are yet in actual rebellion. Tibbott is at this instant in Ulster, and looked for hourly in Connaught, to spoil the little that is left, whereof the rebels or the soldiers made not havoc. Feriagh M'Hugh met Mr. Justice Dillon and himself near Athlone, and went to the Chief Commissioner, and is, in outward show, desirous to live quietly. The traitor Thomas O'Dalie, taking opportunity by the absence of the Earl of Thomond, is at Bellaghlughed, with some thirty swords, spoiling the Queen's subjects, and winked at, it seems, by the inhabitants dwelling near there. Their pride will not be broken by cessation, parley, or protection. By turning the protected into companies, we breed and nourish poison in our own bosom. This course was never held by the Earl of Ormonde in his former government, but rather his whole industry was, to enforce the people to leave their weapons, and to fall to their trade of life in time of peace, lest *novissimus error esset pejor priore.* The State's endeavour, likewise, was to separate the septs and Lords, and to take pledges of every capital man, and not to rest contented with one for three septs; which course was hereunto observed, and fell out to have been the soundest and best means to reclaim them. For as this rebellion was long a preparing, and the infection thereof for the most part dispersed throughout the whole realm, so will it yet be of some continuance before it be appeased.—Inshiolegan, 1597, December 22. *Copy. p.* 1.

[Dec. 22.] 112. "The answers of the Earl of Tyrone to the articles prescribed unto him by the Lord Lieutenant-General and his assistants, the Lord Bishop of Meath and Sir Geffrey Fenton, knight." [*These do*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*not relate to the "Heads of matters" contained in No.* 95. I.]—[1597, December 22.] *Copy. pp.* 1½. [*See No.* 117. II.]

Dec. 23. 113. "Requests of the Earl of Ormonde and Sir Conyers Clifford, to be answered." *Memoranda for replying to the Earl of Ormonde's letter of December* 11 [*No.* 100], *and Sir Conyers Clifford's letters of November* 19 [*Nos.* 74 *and* 75]. *Endorsed:* — 1597, December 23. *pp.* 1½.

[Dec. 23.] 114. "The humble petition of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army."

"Item first, that all the inhabitants of Ireland may have free liberty of conscience, or at leastwise the benefit of Her Majesty's positive law, without being cumbered with the law of reason.

"Item, that it may please Her Majesty to grant unto him and unto all that remain in Tyrone, Her Highness's most gracious pardon, together with satisfying any defect of all former grants passed to his Lordship that hath grown by these late actions; as also that he may be (by Act of Parliament) restored to his blood and dignity.

"Item, that it may please Her Majesty, for that the abuses of her bad officers hath been the beginning of all these troubles, and the Irishry cannot away with the rigour of law upon every small occasion, their bringing up being barbarous, to grant unto his Lordship authority that Tyrone may be made a County Palatine, as the like is granted to others in Ireland.

"Item, it may please Her Highness to withdraw her garrisons from Tyrone and all other parts of the Irishry, for that they are so terrified as they will not yet account themselves in safety, so long as Her Majesty's forces are so near at hand.

"Item, that, inasmuch as there passed an oath between the Earl and the Irishry that took part with him in this action, that he would take no agreement for himself, unless that every of them, upon their several submissions, have Her Majesty's most gracious pardon and their predecessors' lands, they paying unto Her Highness all ancient rights and services that were accustomed, the Earl most humbly craveth that the same may be granted unto them; and the Moores and Connors to have a reasonable portion of their predecessors' lands, as shall be agreed upon by your Lordship, my Lord of Meath, and by him.

"Item, that he may have the first pledges that he delivered in, who were not to continue but for the performance of the first truce taken between the Lord General Norreys and him, and also that the last pledges may be exchanged for other pledges, as at their delivering in was agreed upon."—[1597, December 23.] *Endorsed*: —"The Earl of Tyrone's requests. Suppressed." *p.* 1.

Dec. 25. 115. "The state of the fort of Blackwater, as, at the same day of my departure from it, it stood in, being by the letters of Captain Thomas Williams referred to the report of me Captain Edmund Lister, to be made to the Lord Lieutenant-General."

1597. VOL. CCI.

The strength of men is seven score and some few upwards. The walls on either side the ports are fallen down, but by the great labour of the soldiers are in daily repair. This causes a stronger nightly watch, and the soldiers require some consideration because of their extraordinary travail and pains. They have two "robbenets" mounted on carriages, serviceable with two bases. There are twelve barrels of powder with a proportionable rate of lead, but some match is wanting. They have about a month's victual in beef and biscuit, as from this date. Tyrone, according to promise, sent in thirty beeves, but of these only seventeen were accepted, "the rest being carrion." Salt much wanted. There is great want of malt liquor to relieve the men, "after so long drinking of the Blackwater river. Likewise, for clothing, brogues, stockings, and linen, they are altogether unfurnished, being forced to lie on bare earth, uncovered, which hath perished many of them." The rest of the fort will fall down in many parts thereof, unless it be speedily looked unto, and helped by the sending down of some spades, shovels, pick-axes, and a further proportion of munition. Seeing that in this time of treaty there is a freer passage between the garrison and [the people of] the country, who for ready money would come in with their commodities, some proportion of money might be assigned for that purpose.—1597, December 25. *p.* 1.

Dec. 26. Drogheda. 116. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Burghley. Has written to Sir Robert Cecil some short notes of the proceedings and conclusions made with Tyrone in this last treaty with the Lord Lieutenant General in the fields near Dundalk. The Earl of Ormonde will advertise those matters more largely, and send his letters by the Earl of Thomond. In Tyrone's book of grievances, which Fenton read but once, and which remains with Ormonde, there is one article wherein Tyrone charges Burghley with having written a letter to the Lord Deputy Sir William Fitzwilliams, to cut him [Tyrone] off by any means; and likewise, with having, from friendship for Sir William Fitzwilliams and the Marshal, suppressed from the knowledge of Her Majesty many of Tyrone's former grievances transcripted to England. Makes bold to give Burghley a foreknowledge of these things, not knowing what interpretation might be made thereof, though in all sound judgments, such an information, coming from a traitor, should weigh nothing to Burghley's hurt. Has wished the Earl of Ormonde to advertise these and other matters.—Drogheda, 1597, December 26. *Signed. Seal. p.* 1.

Dec. 26. Drogheda. 117. Sir Geffrey Fenton to Sir Robert Cecil. In this second treaty with Tyrone he discerned many uncertainties in him, grounded, as Sir Geffrey supposes, on Tyrone's old fear of danger to his life. Found also, in his manner of dealing with them, more insolence and pride than at former treaties he was used to show. Thinks this grew as much out of his own arrogance, as from some barbarous council of his followers. "So it was the opinion of us all, that in these alterations he could have no sound meaning, and, consequently, that he pretended to do further mischief, when he

1597. VOL. CCI.

shall be further fitted for the same." At first, Tyrone insisted on having a peace for twelve months or two years, pretending that by such a respite of time, he and his associates might be drawn to stand assured of their safety. Thinks the motion was but a subtle drift to draw Her Majesty by so long a peace to dissolve her army, or at least so to lessen it, that he might have advantage against them. Yet, considering the fort of the Blackwater was now to be victualled, which could not be done by force in regard of the great weakness of the companies, they assented to a truce for two months, from the 22nd instant, he presenting in writing his humble submission, and they prescribing to him certain articles, copies of which he encloses. At the breaking up of the parley, Tyrone exhibited certain petitions, which, for the arrogance they contain, he wished the Earl of Ormonde not to receive, but Tyrone, pressing them as matters which he desired might be transcribed to Her Majesty, sent them after the Commissioners. Saw at the first that they were things, neither meet for a rebel to prefer to his Prince, nor fit for any good servitor to receive, for he therein sought over proudly to prescribe [to] Her Majesty. Wished the Earl of Ormonde to burn them, which his Lordship said he would do. Sends a copy of these petitions, and asks that his advice concerning them may be defended.

In Tyrone's book of grievances, which he delivered to be sent to Her Majesty, he has insisted frivolously on many things altogether impertinent to him, for they were done long before his time; viz., that the Earl of Desmond was forced into rebellion, and slain therein, his son lying for pledge, and being Her Majesty's godson; that Viscount Baltinglas was thrust out of the realm for his conscience, and his lands divided to the English; and that many gentlemen were put to death during Lord Grey's government upon weak proofs, and their goods and lands confiscated. Sundry other matters of this nature he has pestered his book withal, in no way concerning him, if he had not a meaning, by ripping up these old sores of the kingdom, to draw a popularity to himself, and to give him scope to be the head of all dangerous factions in the realm, and to bind and loose at his pleasure. This book of grievances, with all other reports concerning these affairs, the Earl of Ormonde will send very shortly by the Earl of Thomond.—Drogheda, 1597, December 26. *Signed.* *pp.* 2. *Incloses,*

117. I. "*The most humble and penitent submission of me, Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, presented in mine own person to the Right Honourable the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, Lord Lieutenant-General of all Her Majesty's forces and armies in Ireland, having for his assistants in this action, the Lord Bishop of Meath, and Sir Geffrey Fenton, knight, two of Her Majesty's Privy Council within this realm.*"

*Acknowledges his disobedience and disloyalty. Is most sorry for his relapse and defection. Craves Her Majesty's mercy and pardon. Prays that his several grievances may be made known to her. Promises faithfully to observe the truce for two months. Begs*

1597. VOL. CCI.

*that the garrisons and forces may be ordered to do likewise. Will give no hindrance during the truce to the sending of victuals and munitions to the fort of the Blackwater; will send forty beeves to it, and suffer the soldiers to fetch in wood and all other necessary provisions. Will deliver in a sufficient pledge to the Earl of Ormonde, to remain until the fort has been victualled.—Dundalk,* 1597, *December* 22. *Copy. pp.* 2.

117. II. *Articles prescribed to the Earl of Tyrone and signed by him, for the observance of the two months' truce from* 22 *December.* [A copy of the answers to these articles, signed by the Earl, is to be found in No. 112 above.]

*He is to call out of Leinster all such of Ulster as were sent thither by him. He is not to minister aid to any outbreak that may occur. He is to send an attestation under his hand with any of his who go to buy any provision in the English Pale. The Ulster men shall not come in troops, or great companies, armed, to take meat and drink of Her Majesty's subjects by violence. Due notice, with proof, shall be sent by either side of any provocation received, and redress shall be given. He is not to entertain any practice with the King of Spain, or any of his ministers, or any other foreign nation whatsoever. His grievances shall be faithfully transcripted to Her Majesty, but he is not to pester his book with frivolous matters. The revictualling of the fort of the Blackwater. Restitution of spoils, and delivery up of the thieves for execution.—Dundalk,* 1597, *December* 22. *Copy. pp.* 2½.

117. III. "*The humble petition of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army.*" [Duplicate of No. 114.] *Endorsed:*—1597, *December* 23. *Copy. pp.* 1½.

Dec. 26. Moyallo. 118. Sir Thomas Norreys, President of Munster, to Sir Robert Cecil. Recommending Captain William Warren, who is repairing to England, to raise his fortune by some employments there.—Moyallo, 1597, December 26. *Signed. p.* 1.

Dec. 28. Whitehall. 119. The Privy Council to the Lords Justices Loftus and Gardener. Acknowledge various letters received, the last being dated the 4th instant. Find lack of information on many matters fit to have been advertised. The declaration brought over by Samuel Molyneux, the victualler's agent, shows the charge for victuals last year to have been 24,902*l.*, and yet that they were issued to the army for the value only of 12,451*l.* Notice that Her Majesty is charged with the victualling of captains of kern, constables of wards, pensioners, and others, who in former time have not been in such sort "burdenous" to her. Know not by what authority a former order has been discontinued, by which all such as had sterling pay were to victual themselves, except it were in journeys. Have received certain declarations of money issued out for two months, ending October 28, by which it appears that 4,271*l.* have been sent into Connaught by one Bycknell, a pay-master, and yet Sir Conyers Clifford, in his letter of November 19,

1597. VOL. CCI.

certifies that he has had, for himself and his companies, for seven months, but one thousand pounds. The difference is worthy to be inquired of, and if like difference arises for the payment of the garrisons of Newry and Carrickfergus, more being sent than is there paid, it is full time to look better thereto. Will be very glad to hear what order will be taken for the distribution of apparel. The defalcation for the munition may be passed over this time, and when the next provision of apparel for the summer comes, some reasonable proportion thereof may be forborne, to answer Her Majesty for the munition. The Master of the Ordnance should make particular certificate what the same may come to for the year. The money presently sent, making in all 14,000*l.*, should be employed for the lendings for November and December. Are very uncertain how far the same may extend, as they have no certain knowledge from Ireland what are the numbers ready and able to serve. This is very strange, considering the appointment of Commissaries by the late Lord Deputy. Hope the Commissaries, who have been found very faulty, will receive due punishment, to terrify others from committing the like.

Were very sorry to hear of the unfortunate accident to the companies [at Leix]. By the Earl of Ormonde's letters, they find it doubtful whether the same happened by set purpose of the rebels or by the provocation and hazard of the English. "Howsoever it is, we think it full time to make an end of those troubles for those beggars in Leinster, the prosecution whereof hath been most chargeable to Her Majesty, and no penny profit to be had from them." For that purpose, Her Majesty has given the Earl of Ormonde authority to receive them, upon their submission, into favour, "wherein you, the Council there, shall do well to give such good advice, as thereby the Pale may be free, and leave those beggars to enjoy their own."

There are divers other matters, whereof they are not well informed from Ireland, and meet for them to know; as the state of Knockfergus, since the overthrow of Sir John Chichester, and what is become of James [M'Sorley Boy] M'Donnell, who in former time offered his obedience to the Queen, as did likewise the captains of the two Clandeboys. They cannot hear in what state those countries are. They have, likewise, been long kept ignorant, what has become of the possessions of the late Earl of Clancarr, and how that country is governed, and how the base son of that Earl, who was recommended from England, behaves himself, and how Florence M'Carthy proceeds in his claim. Besides, for this year or two, they could never be duly certified how the undertakers of the escheated lands of Munster inhabit their lands, and how they answer their rents, and how many of them be absent, and how many, contrary to their covenant, let out their lands to the Irish for their private lucre.

Desire to understand what is answered to Her Majesty for the composition in Connaught, considering her great charge for the ruling of that country. Consider that those appointed to be of

1597. VOL. CCI.

the Council there should be paid their fees out of the composition, seeing (as Sir Conyers Clifford writes) that the three counties of Sligo, Mayo, and Roscommon, have received sheriffs.

Know not how Her Majesty is answered the composition of the English Pale, granted in lieu of cess. Grievous complaints made by the English counties, and specially by the county of Kildare, for the uncivil oppressions by the captains and soldiers there, taking victual as it were in form of a cess, without paying for the same. What became of those complaints they never heard.

With respect to the application of the Lords Justices for the port-corn and beeves, generally granted to the Governor, Her Majesty continues in her former mind that the Earl of Ormonde should have, towards his great charges sustained as well abroad as at Dublin, two parts of all the said incident profits that were answerable to the Governor, and the Lords Justices the other part. As for the parsonage of Dunboyne, they think there was never warrant passed from Her Majesty to have that limited to the Governor, but rather that it was extended for the debt of Jaques Wingfield, Master of the Ordnance, who died indebted to Her Majesty, no satisfaction having hitherto been made for the same. Desire to know how that account stands. — Whitehall, 1597, December 28. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 51b–53b. *pp.* 4½.

Dec. 28. Whitehall. 120. The Privy Council to the Earl of Ormonde. Acknowledge divers letters. The resolution taken concerning the rebel Tyrone will appear by Her Majesty's own letter to Ormonde. Find it strange that there should be so much want of victual as alleged, seeing what has been provided from England, and the further money expended in Ireland, the numbers of the soldiers, too, being well known to have diminished. The great loss to Her Majesty in the issue of victuals. Require his Lordship to see it remedied. Will send more victuals. Doubt not the whole of the apparel for the soldiers is arrived. Did not understand by Sir George Bourchier's letters that there was any want of munition.

In treaty with Tyrone, Ormonde is to remind him sharply of his late combination with the Scots, and provision is to be made by good covenant that he forbear to deal with any of them. And yet, to have some general quietness, and specially to have Knockfergus free from danger, the Scots may be received, if they shall require their pardons, provided they deliver up any of Her Majesty's subjects made prisoners at the late overthrow of Sir John Chichester. As to Feagh M'Hugh's sons and their accomplices, rather than have a war continue there so near the English Pale, they think his Lordship will do a good service in pacifying those parts, and doubt not that he will perform the same with more assurance, considering how his own lands and tenants are to be relieved thereby. Are sorry to hear of the revolt of Tirlough M'Henry, who had done service in Lord Burgh's time. Know not the cause, otherwise than that he was subject to Tyrone's tyranny, and was not defended, and so for his succour returned. Considering he is the Captain of the Fews bordering upon the English Pale, his recovery were

1597. VOL. CCI.

more profitable than that of any other of his dependants of the kindred of the Earl. Were greatly discomforted by the report of the loss of Hovenden and of his company, but, from Sir Warham Sentleger's letter, it seems doubtful how the ground of that action began, whether by the folly of the English, or the malice of the rebel. Great discontent of Her Majesty and of the Privy Council at the uncertainty of the certificates regarding the strength of the bands. Require Ormonde to see that this is remedied. Inconveniences of having so many Irish in the bands. Ormonde is to use Sir Geffrey Fenton to write oftener to them.—Whitehall, 1597, December 28. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 54–55b. *pp.* 3¼.

Dec. 28. Whitehall. 121. The Privy Council to Sir Conyers Clifford. Did not receive his letters of November 19 until the 21st instant, so their answer is longer delayed than they think he looked for. Her Majesty has in very gracious part allowed of his service, and of his offers made for the further advancement thereof. To that purpose she has directed her own letters to him at this present. The sooner he concludes with O'Rourke, and obtains good pledges, the more shall it further the yielding of others. Refer to a son of old O'Rourke, who, in Sir John Norreys's time offered his obedience to the Queen. Know not whether he be the same party as the O'Rourke who now makes offer to Sir Conyers. Like very well his opinion to have the Earl of Ormonde countenanced to draw Tyrone to a peace; conceiving thereby that the rebels in Connaught will the sooner yield obedience, and sever themselves from O'Donnell. Notice the placing of sheriffs in Sligo, Mayo, and Roscommon. Desire to know how the composition is rendered in the Province. It does not appear how he and the Council in Connaught keep sessions for government. Doubt not but that Sir Conyers will use with all gentleness and favour O'Connor Don and M'Dermott, who for their loyalty have been cruelly used by O'Donnell. If he has the fortune to recover Maguire, think O'Donnell will be so weakened, that he will yield to any reasonable conditions. Sir Conyers states that for seven months all that he received, for himself and his companies, of the treasure sent into Ireland, was one thousand pounds. Refer to a certificate sent by Sir Henry Wallop, and signed by Bicknell, a paymaster for the garrisons in Connaught, that Sir Conyers and his captains received, during September and October, 4,271*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Think this fit to be answered. He is, from time to time particularly to inform the Earl of Ormonde, who is Lieutenant-General, of all martial affairs, and, upon conference with him, to follow his directions. All other matters of moment he is to impart to the Lords Justices and Council, who will most conveniently give him speedy answers, which cannot be so readily returned from England, through the uncertainty of the sea passage. Yet will very well like of his often writing unto them, whereby they may be acquainted how things do pass in Connaught, either forwards or backwards. Are not advertised from Ireland what numbers of soldiers are in pay there, nor by Sir Conyers what numbers he has in Connaught; so have cause to forbear, at this unseasonable time of the year, to

1597. VOL. CCI.

charge England with more levies. On further information, will willingly yield to the satisfaction of what shall be necessary for Her Majesty's service. As to his request that satisfaction might be made to the people of Connaught, out of the next treasure, for the things he had taken of them, he does not express the value thereof in his letter. Refer again to Bicknell's certificate, and instruct Sir Conyers to write to the Lords Justices and the Treasurer.—Whitehall, 1597, December 28. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 55b–56b. *pp.* 3.

Dec. 28. Dublin. 122. Thomas [Jones], Bishop of Meath, to Burghley. Upon a letter from the Earl of Ormonde to the Council, desiring that Sir Geffrey Fenton and he might assist his Lordship in his intended parley with Tyrone, he was required to accompany Ormonde to Dundalk, where, within a mile of that town, they parleyed with that traitor, and some of his confederates, four several days. Having now returned to Dublin, thinks it his bounden duty to make known to Burghley the material points which were handled in this treaty.

The parley began on the 20th instant. Before they issued out of Dundalk, Tyrone had placed his forces upon several hills, in proud and insolent manner, but nevertheless met them at the place appointed with an equal number, having first received Her Majesty's word from the Lord Lieutenant for his safety. At his coming, he began to rehearse some grievances against the Marshal, which being answered, he made a long protestation of repentance, and of his earnest desire to be reconciled to Her Majesty's gracious favour, adding that he was chiefly drawn into his undutiful course for the preservation of his life, which, he said, was by indirect means sought to be taken away, and that there was a secret direction sent out of England to apprehend him, and to lay him up. Although they very constantly denied this, he insisted still upon that point, affirming that it had wrought so deep an impression of distrust in him, that he was wholly possessed with fear. Yet he protested that, above all things, he desired peace for as many years, months, or weeks, as the Lord Lieutenant would be pleased to agree upon, and offered both his promise and his oath very strictly to observe the same.

Being demanded what security he would deliver to Her Majesty for his dutiful behaviour hereafter he answered, "You have my pledges already." On their replying that it appeared he made light account of those pledges, having since their delivery committed many outrageous actions, he fell into these speeches, "I know your meaning well enough; you desire both my sons, or one of them; that is a thing I will never grant; I could as willingly be contented they were dead." They answered that all the well-affected noblemen and gentlemen of Ireland do use to send their sons into England "out of this barbarous country," there to be trained in good manner and civility, and that he wished to do the like. It being also told him that he, above all men, in good polity should be most ready to send his best son into England, lest, if God should shorten his days, his brother Cormack or some

1597. VOL. CCI.

other might step into his son's place, whereas, if Her Majesty had the charge of his son, he might stand sure that in honour she would establish him in his father's inheritance, he said, "You are deceived. You know not the North as well as I do. My country will never esteem them, if they be absent; and if they be not here, they will even be dealt with, as I myself was handled by Sir Henry Sidney, when my father died; for then was Tirlough Lynagh, my father's enemy, made O'Neill, countenanced by Sir Henry Sidney against me, and ever since was upholden by all Deputies, until the time of his death." To this he was willed to call to his remembrance how Her Majesty had dealt with him all that time, how from his cradle she had persevered him by her motherly care, and that, as soon as he could ride a horse, she not only enabled him by a large pension, but also, upon all occasions in his need, assigned all her forces to attend him for his defence, and at length had advanced him to this great honour. Hereunto he answered most ungratefully, that Her Majesty had given him nothing but what belonged unto him, and that he rather ascribed the things which he had gotten to his own scratching in the world than to Her Majesty's goodness; and also pleaded his great deserts, viz., that he had spent his blood, &c. (*sic*), and that it was he that had kept all quiet all this time past. For this answer he was sharply reproved by them, and duly put in remembrance, that, were it not for Her Highness's princely favour towards him, he had been nobody, and how the land bestowed upon him was Her Majesty's by Act of Parliament, and freely of her mere grace given unto him. Therefore they alleged that he was bounden above all men, not only to serve Her Highness, but also to offer to her his sons, or if he had anything dearer to him. He answered, "You shall get none of my sons, but I will give both my word and my oath for keeping of the peace. I am resolved never to deliver any of my sons;" adding also these words, "and do you think that I esteem my sons so much? Between me and God, if they were both in, I would have done what I have done." Being advised by them to consider of that matter until the next day, he said, "Nay, no more considering, for I will never do it," adding that, if it were not at such a time as that was (his two sons being present at the parley) in which he had the Queen's word, it would not lie in his power to deliver them, and that now he was sworn to his followers to bring them back, for his followers would not regard his sons, unless they were in the country, "scratching for themselves."

Then Tyrone moved them to consider how the Moores and Connors should be dealt with, saying that he was sworn unto them to make peace for them as for himself, and to get them their predecessors' lands. To this he was answered that he had nothing to do with them, neither was there any reason that they should depend upon his peace; and, as for the lands by them challenged, they were given by patent unto Englishmen, who possessed them. Here Henry Ovington [Hovenden], one of Tyrone's chief counsellors and a pernicious traitor, replied, "You have also granted patents of the county of Monaghan, and I think most of you, in your own consciences, do judge those lands were not well gotten. Why may not

1597. VOL. CCI.

then those patents of lease as well be reversed as these of Monaghan?" They answered they knew of no purpose to reverse any patents, which are the public evidences whereby men hold all they have; "and if patents may be reversed, why may not then the Earl of Tyrone's patent be reversed?" Touching this point, Tyrone himself spoke somewhat more reasonably, saying, "I wish not those patents to be overthrown, but only that they may be considered with some lands to live upon, for I must needs have them upon my peace, and so must M'William be, and also Feagh M'Hugh his sons, and what say you to them for their lands, for they are not yet given." They willed him to remember that, in his last treaty with Sir John Norreys, he had no dealing for the Moores, Connors, and the rest. He answered they had since joined with him, and had his oath. The like motion he made for young Burke, son to the late Baron of Leitrim. They answered that young Burke was, by a definitive sentence, proved a bastard, and that his father was married to one of the Barnewells before he married O'Carroll's daughter, the said Burke's mother. Yet they offered that he should have the benefit of Her Majesty's laws. The day being far spent, the Lord Lieutenant charged Tyrone with his promise to send forty beeves to the fort of Blackwater, and to put in a pledge for the doing of the same. This he acknowledged, and said the beeves should be delivered at the fort within three days, and the pledge before the end of the parley. Both these he has performed. Motion was made to Tyrone for the loan of some garrans to carry the victuals to the fort, and ready money was offered for their hire, but this he utterly denied. Then he was again put in remembrance how deeply he had offended Her Majesty, and was by them advised to make his submission, whereunto he consented. This was the substance of the first day's parley.

The second day they met again at the same place, and found Tyrone to have grown more ticklish and fearful than he was on the first day, by reason of a late killing of some of Magennis's men in the time of the peace. He desired that the parley between them might be continued by messengers to and fro, and said he would have no more pleadings in English, but that he would answer in Irish; and so he left them, and went aside with his counsellors. Sir Geffrey Fenton and the writer taking exception to this course, the Lord Lieutenant willed the Earl of Thomond and the writer to repair to Tyrone, and to advise him to continue the course that had been begun in the parley. Upon their persuasions he returned with them to the Lord Lieutenant, and that day they dealt with him presently to revoke his forces out of Leinster, as he had before promised. After long debating, he yielded thus far, viz., that he would presently send Brian Reogh for them, and, if upon his message they did not return, then he agreed it should be accounted no breach of the peace to prosecute them. Then they moved him for wood for the fort of Blackwater. This at the first he utterly denied, but at length, yet with some difficulty, he yielded, and promised to assign them wood on this side of the Blackwater within a mile of the fort, but would in no wise consent that they should cut a stick within his passes there.

1597. VOL. CCI.

Then Tyrone requested them to let him understand what peace they would make with him, and chiefly whether the Lord Lieutenant had authority to conclude a firm peace; alleging that he had cause to demand that question, because he doubted that the Lord Lieutenant should not continue in his place, but that a Deputy should be sent to undo all that he had done. "For example," said Tyrone, "I was almost at a conclusion in (*sic*) this point with Sir John Norreys, but all was altered by the coming of the Lord Burgh." They answered, that they were sent to understand upon what terms he stood, and what offers of good assurance of his loyalty he would make to Her Majesty; that, upon report thereof from them into England, Her Highness might signify her further pleasure, and wished him to make such dutiful offers as might induce her to grant him peace and her mercy. In the meantime, the Lord Lieutenant signified to Tyrone that he was contented to grant him an abstinence from wars during the space of two months, until Her Majesty's pleasure might be further made known to him. Against this offer Tyrone took some exceptions, especially concerning the shortness of the time, alleging they took their advantage to restrain him now in the long nights, wherein he might do greatest hurts; but upon the Lord Lieutenant's protestation that he granted that time of peace for no other intent but that Her Majesty might direct the whole action and proceedings with him, he willingly accepted, and promised faithfully to keep the peace.

Then was read unto him a submission penned by Mr. Secretary [Fenton], which he misliked in this one point, because it contained an absolute acknowledgment of his offence, which he desired might be qualified with the rehearsal of some provocations offered unto him. Being answered that no provocations could excuse his actions against Her Majesty, he desired respite until the next day to consider of the manner of his submission. The like respite he also desired to consider of certain articles prescribed by them unto him in writing, concerning the due observation of the peace in this time of abstinence. Then he refused to take his oath to that end, as on the day before he offered, but promised to bind himself by his credit and word. Yet afterwards they understood that he took a private oath before the Lord Lieutenant.

This day again, Tyrone renewed his former motion for his confederates. "I pray you," said the Lord Lieutenant, "if my two traitorous nephews were alive, would you look to have them upon your peace?" Tyrone said he would indeed think so to have them. The Lord Lieutenant sware, and answered very honourably, that he would sooner suffer himself to be hanged. And this ended the second day's parley; but, in their return towards Dundalk, Tyrone's secretary for the Irish tongue overtook them, and read unto them an Irish letter sent to Tyrone from O'Donnell, of which letter the Archbishop of Cashel had formerly told them. That letter, being interpreted by the Archbishop as it was read by Tyrone's secretary, did purport O'Donnell's great mislike that

1597. VOL. CCI.

Tyrone had entered into any treaty of peace with the Lord Lieutenant, and specially in such a time, wherein Leinster stood so strong on their side, Connaught remained at their devotion, and in Ulster they had sustained no hurt. O'Donnell protested that he and M'William would break that peace, and that, if he were but left to his horse-boy, he would never forego his challenge out of Sligo. Yet he promised to come to Tyrone, if the latter sent his brother Cormack to meet O'Donnell, and to guard him with 200 shot.

At their meeting on the third day, they looked to have received Tyrone's submission, and also the articles subscribed by him, but, first, he cavilled with them concerning the submission, and deferred subscribing it until the evening; and where they expected his absolute yielding to the articles, as being most reasonable for the observation of the peace, during the foresaid abstinence, he brought them his answers in writing; which answers were so crooked and untoward, that they were forced to enter into a particular debating of every article, and of his answer thereunto, and by reasoning they procured him to alter some of his answers in some few points; but, notwithstanding this, they still remain very unseemly and undutiful to proceed from a subject. Thus the third day's parley was bestowed in this debate, and in hearing some complaints preferred to the Lord Lieutenant by Magennis, the Reillys, and other of Tyrone's confederates. That afternoon, also, Tyrone brought to the Lord Lieutenant certain most undutiful positions, the first whereof was for a general liberty of religion. As soon as the Lord Lieutenant heard it read, he said, "My Lord, what have you and I to [do to] meddle with matters of religion?" He then directed the writer privately to advise Tyrone to beware how he preferred any such requests, which Her Highness could not endure. This the writer presently did, and laid before Tyrone the danger that might ensue to him, and the just offence Her Majesty might conceive, that he should seek a general alteration of Her Majesty's laws for religion. Further, he demanded what cause Tyrone or O'Donnell had to prefer articles concerning religion, seeing they were suffered as they had been. To this Tyrone answered that he made not that motion for himself and O'Donnell, but for all the Catholics of the land (as he termed them), who, he did foresee, would fall upon them, if they were troubled. He told Tyrone that he did well discern that this motion came from some in the Pale. Tyrone protested that no gentleman of the Pale had dealt with him in that matter, "but," said he, "I will confess the truth to you, some of their priests, which are daily coming to me, have pressed me to make this petition, and I am sworn unto them to do it." He told Tyrone he would undo himself, if he held that course. The Earl answered, that he had great reason to prefer that petition, for he had heard out of England that a new course was begun to torment and persecute the Catholics there. He assured him that there was no such matter, and that such rumours were only "bussed into" his head, to breed in him a

1597. VOL. CCI.

mislike of Her Majesty's Government, which the Earl knew to be most honourable and just. In this private advice he could not prevail with Tyrone, who presently put spurs to his horse, and again carried the said petitions to the Lord Lieutenant, who, by the advice of Mr. Secretary and the writer, refused to receive them. Then Tyrone pressed the writer to receive those petitions, and desired an answer, which he promised to send him in a reasonable time, as regarded the demand concerning religion, if Tyrone would promise him to read his answer. This he refused to do, so the writer kept the said articles that night, and took a copy of them, which he encloses. They purposed that evening to have ended their parley, but Tyrone informed them that, either that night or the next day, he certainly expected O'Donnell's coming, and desired them to continue the parley one day longer. Whereunto they yielded, and then, with much ado, he set his hand to the submission and articles, and also delivered his pledge to the Lord Lieutenant for the victualling of the fort.

At their meeting on the fourth day, Tyrone demanded from them the copies of his submission, and of the articles by them prescribed unto him. These they delivered him under their hands. "Then the Lord Lieutenant directed me again to speak privately with Tyrone, and to deliver to him his unseemly demands for religion, &c., together with mine advice that he should not prefer any such like matters; which I did in the best manner I could, but found Tyrone still to insist and to urge for an answer from us of those undutiful demands, and being thereof utterly refused by me, he took the said demands, and again delivered them to the Lord Lieutenant, craving an answer of them, who wished him to be better adviced, but he still pressed for an answer, which was denied him. Then he said he would leave those demands with the Lord Lieutenant, who told him that he was contented to receive them, but vowed, in Tyrone's hearing, so soon as he came into Dundalk, to throw them into the fire."

The same day also Tyrone delivered to the Lord Lieutenant his book of grievances, which he pressed the Lord Lieutenant to promise him, upon his word and honour, to send unto Her Majesty, saying he had many times before made and delivered the like, but they had been suppressed and kept from Her Highness. Then he also desired that indifferent Commissioners might be appointed by the Lord Lieutenant for hearing and ordering of all such complaints as should arise during this abstinence and peace. This was yielded to, and accordingly Commissioners were appointed upon the borders of Louth, Meath, and Westmeath, for that purpose, and because O'Donnell was not come. So they ended their parley with Tyrone.

Considering Tyrone's insolent and proud behaviour, notwithstanding his three submissive letters to the State, making a show of his readiness to conformity in his duty, and also the dependency which he challenges of all the bad-affected and undutiful rebels of Ireland to be upon his peace and upon his war, makes bold to deliver his opinion that Tyrone is a most dangerous, cunning, and crafty

1597.

traitor, and therefore to be subdued by all possible means; for, the longer he is borne with, in hope of amendment, the further assuredly will he gripe, and the greater dependency will he draw unto himself, to the hazard of Ireland. Gives the following reasons for his opinion:—

"Tryone's desire of peace for years, months, &c., induceth me to conceive his drift to be none other, but that Her Majesty should withdraw her forces, and then, &c.

"His shameless boldness in affirming that a letter was sent out of England directing an indirect course to cut him off, showeth his own vile conceit in heart against Her Majesty and your Lordships.

"His obstinate refusal to deliver one of his sons as a pledge to Her Majesty, being the only bond which he can give, maketh me to think he hath no dutiful meaning.

"His protestation between him and God that, if both his sons were pledges, he would have done as he hath done, moveth me to doubt whether his eldest son be a sure pledge upon him, or no.

"His allegation that they must still be in the country, scratching for themselves, or else they will not be regarded, showeth his meaning to continue them in barbarism; and small regard to have them righted by law.

"His rehearsal of Tirlough Lynagh's preferment and countenance showeth and bewrayeth a corosy in his heart.

"His monstrous ingratitude, not acknowledging Her Majesty's gracious bounty towards him, and in ascribing the getting of that he hath, rather to his own scratching than to Her Majesty's goodness, induceth me to think that he is become degenerate from all good nature, duty, and honesty, and that small hope of grace remains in him.

"His demands for the Moores and Connors, M'William, Feagh's sons, and others, to be upon his peace, and to be restored to their predecessors' lands, importeth such a league of villany and such a combination against Her Majesty, as in my poor opinion must of necessity be broken; otherwise the discontentment of any of these dependents (whom it is impossible with any reason to content) will still breed a new rebellion, &c.

"His denial of wood to the fort of Blackwater, in his passes near to the same, doth show his purpose to maintain still his holds against Her Majesty.

"His doubt of the Lord Lieutenant's authority, and that his Lordship's agreement with him should be altered, showeth he hath small confidence either in Her Majesty or any other.

"His demand made now for the Moores and Connors, and for Edmund Gerald [Kavanagh], of whom he made no mention in his treaty with Sir John Norreys, may induce us to think that, the longer he is suffered, the further will he extend his power, and the more unreasonable demands will he stand upon.

"His unwillingness to make an absolute acknowledgment of his offence to Her Majesty, doth show he yet doth not feel his offence, and that he is far from repentance for it.

1597. VOL. CCI.

"His crooked answers to the articles by us prescribed do show his undutiful disposition.

"His refusal of his oath to keep the peace, which he promised before to take, sheweth that there is little hold to be taken of his word.

"The show of O'Donnell's letter to us, the contents being so proud and lofty, was in my conceit to draw us to yield to his unreasonable conditions.

"His petition for religion, that all the inhabitants of this land might have free liberty of their conscience, showeth his drift to become popular amongst this idolatrous people.

"His confession to me that he was sworn to the priests of the Pale to make that petition, showeth there is a further ground and reason of this rebellion than yet is discovered.

"The same appeareth more plainly by the rest of his unreasonable and most undutiful demands, which, neither in polity, honour, nor safety, may be yielded unto; &c. (*sic*)"

Leaves the consideration of the foregoing to Burghley. Trusts that, "in these perilous times and most distressed state of this poor kingdom," he may provide such sovereign remedies for the same as are most requisite.—Dublin, 1597, December 28. *Holograph. Seal. pp.* 12. *Incloses,*

122. I. "*The humble petitions of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, to the Lord Lieutenant-General of Her Majesty's army.*" [Duplicate of No. 114 above.]—[1597, *December* 23.] *Copy. p.* 1.

Dec. 29. Whitehall. 123. Queen Elizabeth to the Earl of Ormonde. Have seen divers letters of his to the Privy Council and Burghley, besides one to herself, since he received his commission of Lieutenancy. Find in them both judgment and affection to her service, properties in him with which she is not unacquainted, and therefore sufficient arguments for her election of him. So, without any further circumstances, she delivers him such directions as are fittest for the present occasions.

"First, we are not so alienated from hearkening to such submission as may tend to the sparing of effusion of Christian blood, but that we can be content, in imitation of God Almighty (whose minister we are here on earth, and who forgiveth all sins) to receive the penitent and humble submission of those traitors that pretend to crave it; wherein we doubt not but you, that are of noble blood and birth, will so carry all things in the manner of your proceedings, as our honour may be specially preserved in all your actions, seeing you do know that you now represent our own person, and have to do with inferior people and base rebels; to whose submission if we in substance shall be content to condescend, we will look to have the same implored in such reverent form as becometh our vassals and such heinous offenders to use, with bended knees and hearts humbled; not as if one Prince did treat with another upon even terms of honour or advantage, in using words of peace or war, but of rebellion in them, and mercy in us; for rather than ever it shall

1597. VOL. CCI.

appear to the world that in any such sort we will give way to any of their pride, we will cast off either sense or feeling of pity or compassion, and, upon what price soever, prosecute them to the last hour."

Ormonde is to hear their complaints against her ministers, and, on his due examination and report, she will take such order as shall pertain to honour and justice, if they deserve it; "never doubting but that you will so distinguish between faithful servants' revenges and rebels' outrages, in such measure as they deserve to be weighed, and not to suffer them so to abuse your ears with complaints, as to justify all their treasons by such imputations."

Sends Ormonde a note of such matters as she has heretofore prescribed for the rebels, to the intent that all may be performed, if it may be; "but, if that cannot be, but that their own iniquities make them fearful of others, who disdain to deal otherwise than princely and justly, we can be content that you dispense with such things as you shall find likely to interrupt or delay the conclusion of mercy and quietness, which we, out of commiseration, can be content to afford them. But for divers of them, they are of such necessity, as we will grant nothing else, if they should not be performed, which we do precisely note in the schedule enclosed, as things which are particularly to be prescribed, howsoever you shall see cause in your judgment to dispense with the rest."

Sir Conyers Clifford's hope of some of the rebels in and near Connaught, especially if the Earl of Ormonde hearkens to the offers of the "capital rebel." His Lordship is to direct and inform him in such things as he holds convenient. Has commanded Sir Conyers to proceed according to Ormonde's directions.

"And further, when we so find that the offal left of Feagh M'Hugh and other rebels near the Pale do daily infest our good subjects and distract those forces which should be otherwise used, we are content, and do hereby give you authority and warrant, to take all such into our mercy, and to give them our pardon whom you shall, with the advice of the Lords Justices, think fit to be received for our service; and so have we also in Connaught given Conyers Clifford warrant to do the like." Doubts not that Ormonde will use all circumspection. The "misgovernments" of Ireland as regards the distribution of treasure and the abuses in the musters. Has written to the officers concerned. Her reliance on the fidelity and wisdom of Ormonde. Allows well of Sir Geffrey Fenton being his assistant in treating with the rebels. "And further, we do give you full power to receive and pardon any of the rest of the capital rebels with such conditions as possibly you can procure, although they have followed the principal traitor, but in no sort to do it for his sake, but in regard of their several duties and love, to loyalty, and upon their several submissions."—Whitehall, 1597, December 29. *Incloses,*—

123. 1. "*Heads of matters for our Cousin the Earl of Ormonde to urge to Tyrone at the meeting.*" [Duplicate, with very slight alterations, and without the marginal notes, of No. 95. 1. In the

1597. VOL. CCI.

concluding note, article 8 is here added as "necessary," and the following note is appended. "Because your Lordship hath the articles under the Queen's hand, and that the paper is interlined, and so may be obscure, I send you this copy also, being that which agreeth with Her Majesty's original, and wish your Lordship as happy success, as I know you desire for Her Majesty's service."] *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194, fos. 56b.-59. *pp.* 4½.

Dec. 29. Whitehall. 124. Queen Elizabeth to Sir Conyers Clifford. Have seen his letters to divers of the Council, and do right well allow of his care and diligence, wherein he has never deceived her expectation. Refers him to the authorities in Ireland for his particular wants. Gives him full authority to conclude with O'Rourke, and with other rebels whose submissions may be profitable to the resettling of Connaught. The Earl of Ormonde has been told to assist him with news and advice.—Whitehall, 1597, December 29. *Copy. Entry Book*, No. 194. fos. 59, 59b. *p.* 1.

Dec. 29. Dublin. 125. Sir Henry Wallop to Burghley. Concerning his offer to provide, from his place at Enniscorthy, pipeboards, puncheons, and hogshead boards, for Her Majesty's navy. Is ready to deliver them either at Enniscorthy, Portsmouth, or London.—Dublin, 1597, December 29. *Signed. pp.* 2½.

Dec. 30. Dublin. 126. The Lord Justice Loftus to Burghley. The Bishop of Meath's report of the proceedings with Tyrone is wisely conceived and digested. Little hope of any good to be expected at that traitor's hand, unless God give him grace hereafter to conform himself without dissimulation.—Dublin, 1597, December 30. *Signed. p.* ½.

Dec. 127. List of Captains of horse-bands and foot-bands at Newry, Dundalk, Carlingford, and Blackwater. Horse, 270; foot, 2,500.—1597, December. *p.* 1.

[Dec.] 128. The humble petition of Sir Edward Moore, Knight, that in consideration of his long service in Ireland for twenty-eight years, it may please Her Majesty to grant him a lease in reversion, for forty-one years, of all such lands and tithes as he holds already of Her Majesty in Ireland, paying such rents as he now does for the same. *There is a marginal note, as follows:*—"200 per annum. Thought meet that Her Majesty should be moved, in respect of his long, faithful, and chargeable service, to grant the suppliant's request."—[1597, December.] *p.* ½.

[Dec.] 129. Note of certificate by Commissary James Birt, of the ward of Olderfleet Castle, sold to the Scots on 9 December 1597, by Robert Strabridge and John Wright. The ward numbered seven and the constable of the castle was Moses Hill, "now lieutenant to Captain Constable."—[1597, December.] *p.* ½.

1597. 130. Substance of a letter from the Earl of Tyrone to the King of Spain. They received his letters by Don Roderigo de Voyen in March last, by which His Majesty bade them go forward in their

1597. Vol. CCI.

enterprise, and that he would send present aid. Hopes the King received their answer by Don Roderigo. And now, fearing that His Majesty should be let to understand by way of policy out of England ("as they are full") of any agreement past in Ireland, which should let His Highness's aid to them, they crave that he do not believe any information against them, until he see it under their hands. Although they have great offers made to them by the Queen of England, they will not break their oath and promise to His Highness. Thought good to advertise their estate at this present. They are compassed round on each side in such order that, except God of His infinite goodness help them, they will be undone. As yet they have given them [the English] the worse. Lately he has had the killing of the Sergeant-Major of the Queen's army, and of the Lord Deputy's brother-in-law, with many others. The Lord Deputy escaped him very narrowly. The Earl of Kildare was hurt and died. The Governor of Connaught defeated by O'Donnell with great loss. They are so set to, that they most humbly crave His Majesty's present succour.—[1597.] *p.* 1.

1597. 131. A clause in Tyrone's requests touching Burghley. "Item, the Lord Treasurer of England, being a great friend to Sir William Fitzwilliams and the Marshal, did, as the Earl is credibly informed, suppress and conceal from Her Majesty such articles of grief as sundry times he exhibited to several Commissioners, which could not but have been known to Her Highness, if by his means the contrary had not been wrought; and also, as the Earl understandeth, the Lord Treasurer wrote letters over, to cut the Earl off by any means."—[1597.] *p.* ½.

1597. 132. Private instructions for one to be sent into Ireland. The Earl of Ormonde to conclude with Tyrone, even if the latter utterly refuses personal submission, or to give his son as a hostage; also, the Earl is to grant a cessation, rather than have an open breach again. To learn from the Treasurer what unnecessary charges the Queen is put to; the Treasurer to help to abate them. The Secretary [Sir Geffrey Fenton] to send the Queen good information of all things, without fear or flattery. To remember to deliver the likelihood of a peace between Spain and England, as he shall be instructed by the Secretary [Sir Robert Cecil]. To go as a Commissioner, together with Sir Geffrey Fenton and the Earl of Ormonde to the conference with Tyrone; [Sir William] Warren to be told that the Queen looks to him for his best endeavours to draw Tyrone to such conditions as shall be honourable to her.—*Endorsed*:—1597. *pp.* 3.

1597. 133. Draft warrant to Sir Henry Lea, to deliver out of the Tower of London, to Sir George Bourchier, Master of the Ordnance in Ireland, certain armour and munition specified. *Endorsed*:—1597. *One sheet.*

1597. 134. Draft of a letter from the Privy Council to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland for the time being. Recommending the case

VOL. CCI.

1597. of George Castell, a gentleman who has served Her Majesty in sundry places. About seven years ago, a great spoil was made upon him by rebels in Connaught. Castall desires an order for restitution to be made to him upon the goods of the rebels who spoiled him, their receivers, aiders, and abettors; "and otherwise upon every barony, whereinto any of his goods were conveyed, according to the custom of the country." Divers other hard measures offered unto him in those parts. He had heretofore their letters to Sir Richard Bingham, but was little the better for them. Require them to take instant steps for restitution and redress of Castell's losses and wrongs.—1597. "The direction to be to the Lord Deputy and Council for the time being, being uncertain when to tender this letter, in respect of the troubles in the country." *p.* 1.

1597. 135. "Instructions for the Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, General of Her Majesty's army and forces in the Province of Munster, for using and executing of the martial law." *Endorsed:*—1597. *One sheet.*

[1597.] 136. Disposition of the whole garrison of Ireland.—[1597.] *pp.* 2.

[1597.] 137. Duplicate of the preceding.—[1597.] *pp.* 2.

[1597.] 138. Letter of the Earl of Tyrone to Captain Tirrell and others. "O'Neill doth charge you, Captain Tirrell and Captain Nugent and all others, both great and small, that went to Leinster in O'Neill's name, that you shall come back again without any malice. And the Earl of Ormonde promised you a sufficient protection and promise, till you come to O'Neill. And O'Neill commands you, upon pain of death, to do no harm to any of Her Majesty's subjects, till you come to himself. And the Earl of Ormonde promised that he would give order for your meat and drink till you come to O'Neill." *Irish and English. p.* 1.

[*See the Bishop of Meath's letter of December* 28, *in the account of the second day's parley with the Earl of Tyrone.*]

1597. 139. "Notes touching the furtherance of Her Majesty's service in Ireland." There is some proof of the assurance Tyrone hath in the King of Scots. Tyrone will never be a faithful subject, unless he yield one of his sons as a pledge. Tyrone's wings must be taken from him, before he can be hurt. His chiefest helps are the Brenny, M'Mahon's country, both the Clandeboys, and the Route. The army which now remains in the Pale, and does no service, should be placed upon the borders above mentioned, where it may do great service, ease the Pale, and benefit itself. The offers the M'Mahons made of themselves, to have a garrison placed at Monaghan among them. When the enemy come in and submit themselves, and hope to be defended by Her Majesty's forces, little regard is had of them, and they are left to the spoil of the enemy, when they are ready to relieve the garrison with victuals. It is easy to banish James M'Sorley [Boy] if M'Quylyne is maintained, who is a good subject, and Lord of the Route, which James now keeps by force. The

1597. VOL. CCI.

manner of issuing the Queen's victuals, and the benefit that the Victualler gets, which is unreasonable, and may be saved. "What the last speeches were which Tyrone had with me." What profit the placing of a Governor at Carrickfergus will yield both to the Queen and her subjects, if he be of any sufficiency and experience. *Endorsed*:—1597. *p.* 1.

1597. 140. Note of moneys due to divers Captains. Total, 538*l.* 12*s.* 11*d.* *Endorsed*:—1597. *p.* ½.

[1597.] 141. "A note how the garrisons in Ulster and Brenny, *alias* county of Cavan, and along the borders of both, are coasted, and how far distant one from another."—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 142. Duplicate of the preceding.—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 143. Petition of the Earl of Thomond, Sir Calisthenes Brooke, and Captain O'Connor Sligo to the Privy Council. That the proportion of apparel appointed for the use of the provincial companies of Connaught fell short, and the companies of the petitioners were not supplied as the others were. They are to make a journey with the rest of Her Majesty's troops, and it may be doubted that, unless the soldiers are relieved, they will forsake their ensigns, and run away. Pray for a speedy supply of apparel.—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 144. "The humble suit of the Baron of Dunsany." His brother lately dead of a hurt received in Her Majesty's service, with eight more of his name and kindred slain, beside thirty of his followers and servants. All his lands, and his kinsmen's, upon that border utterly spoiled by the enemy. Allowance received by his brother for his band of twenty horse during fourteen years past, notwithstanding a grant by Her Majesty of sterling pay. Prays that the Queen would grant him, in respect of his former losses and wrongs, and of his long service, sterling pay, with meet allowance for himself, as all others have, to be paid him in the Exchequer of Ireland, in nature of a pension, he putting in sufficient bonds to continue during his life the service of as many horse as hitherto. Has been ruined in living and credit. Need of effectual service upon that border.—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 145. "A proportion of victuals for 7,000 men, for two months, set down by the Lord Treasurer."—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 146. Petition of the inhabitants of the county of Meath to the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland. Complain of the burthens imposed on them for supply of the garrisons at Navan, Trim, Ratoath, Dunboyne, Kells, and Athboy.—[1597.] *Copy. One sheet.*

[1597.] 147. Memorandum concerning Lieutenant Birne. It is reported that he is a very lewd fellow, in that he hath received his hurts in drunken quarrels, and not in service. Captain Sheffield discharged him for his lewdness. Birne brought no certificate or warrant in his commendation, and himself doubts that the Lord Admiral understands thus much of him. The Lord Admiral was his heavy friend. Order craved that the money due to Lieutenant Birne may be

1597. VOL. CCI.

stayed until better information be had of his deserts.—[1597.] *p.* ½.

[1597.] 148. Petition of Donogh O'Connor Sligo to Sir Robert Cecil. Loyalty of all his ancestors to the English Crown. His uncle, Sir Donnell O'Connor, surrendered to Her Majesty all his lordships, lands, and castles. The Queen thereupon sent a warrant, under her hand and the Great Seal of England (which warrant the petitioner has to show) to the Lords Deputies of Ireland for the time being, to inquire what lordships, lands, &c. the said Sir Donnell was seized of at the time of his surrender; whereupon a Commission was awarded out of the Chancery in Ireland, bearing date 12 May, 20 Eliz., to inquire thereof accordingly; by virtue of which Commission an inquisition was taken and returned to the Chancery on 16 October, 20 Eliz., under the Great Seal of Ireland. This inquisition the petitioner also has to show. He beseeches that, in regard of his faithful service done to Her Majesty in drawing the greatest part of the rebels of Connaught to submit themselves, it may please Sir Robert to be a mean that Her Majesty may, by letters patent under the Great Seal of England, grant unto him and his two brothers, and to six others of his cousins german, whom he shall name, and to their heirs male, all the lordships, lands, and castles, by special names contained in the said inquisition, with all their appurtenances, notwithstanding any office sithence found, together with the reversion of Tyetample and the monastery of Sligo, with their appurtenances, reserving a hundred pounds Irish yearly, according to the warrant aforesaid. Also, that the petitioner may be pardoned for all the mesne profits; the rather that, since his repair into Ireland, he has testified his dutiful mind with the loss of his blood in Her Majesty's service, and has brought many in Connaught to submit themselves, as the Governor of that province and others can testify.—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 149. Fragment of notes on the state of Ireland. Tyrone lays the blame of truce-breaking on the Lord Deputy [Sir William Russell]. The Lord President of Munster [Sir John Norreys] affirms that, if he had the disposing of the treasure for the service, he would undertake to end this miserable war in a short time. But, while sometimes the managing of the war is referred to him by the Lord Deputy, and at other times the same again "contraried," he cannot possibly proceed therein to any effect; besides which he is forced to sustain the continual want of munition, victual, and money. "It is high time the difference and disunion between these two were ordered, otherwise no good service can be performed here." [Tyrone] has sent to divers, who were not before in open action, to join with him. This is understood by his own letters, intercepted and translated out of Irish. "It may not be otherwise thought but the state of this land stands most dangerously tottering now, more than ever it did; the downfall and utter ruin whereof is too eminent and apparent, requiring the more speedy and convenient props to support it, which can be none other but good justice, direction, and unanimity in the chiefs here, with

1597. VOL. CCI.

a royal army, and a round mass of treasure to be advanced without delay."—[1597.]

[1597.] 150. Memoranda on the lands of the Earl of Kildare, all of which are in Her Majesty's hands, to dispose of at her pleasure. *A brief pedigree, in Burghley's hand, is subjoined.*—[1597.] *p.* 1.

[1597.] 151. Petition of David, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, to Sir Robert Cecil. Florence M'Carthy, understanding that petitioner has repaired with all the forces he can to the Lord Deputy [Burgh], for the northern journey, goes about by secret means to get a renovation of his first grant from Her Majesty of the fine imposed on petitioner. Prays that it may not be bestowed on his "mortal adversary, who cannot in any sort deserve, neither in policy nor prowess, any favour at Her Majesty's hands." Also, that the fine may rest in suspense as before, till further trial be made of petitioner's deserts.—[1597.] *One sheet.*

[1597.] 152. Petition of David, Lord Barry, Viscount Buttevant, to Sir Robert Cecil. Florence M'Carthy's suit to Her Majesty for a new grant of the fine of 500*l.* imposed upon petitioner during the government of Lord Grey. This suit is in revenge for the discovery of some disloyal practices by the said M'Carthy made by the petitioner, whose services to Her Majesty, testified under the hands of sundry Governors of Ireland, merit a better reward than the remittal of that fine. Petitioner is able to discharge more dutiful parts to Her Highness than the said M'Carthy or his alliance can perform. Desires Sir Robert to be a mean to Her Majesty on his behalf. Craves the remittal of the fine, the payment of which would ruin him for ever.—[1597.] *One sheet.*

[1597.] 153. Notes on certain offices that are considered needless in Ireland, viz., those of Grand Cessor, Collector of Ecclesiastical fines, clerk of the First Fruits Office, Second Ingrosser, Second Chambers lain, Surveyor, Victualler, Customer at Dublin, Comptroller at Dublin, Customer at Drogheda, Comptroller at Drogheda, Usher of the Star Chamber, Auditor, Auditor's Deputy and Transcriptor.—[1597.] *Two sheets.*

[*This document has been erroneously endorsed by Burghley,* "1593."]

[1597.] 154. Charges against Sir Roger Wilbraham, Solicitor-General of Ireland. His fees of office are, one way or another, 200*l.* per annum. For this he is to give his utmost attendance in the Court of Exchequer, where he is most needed. But, for any fees, he will be hired to go to any court, and leaves the Exchequer. By reason of his absence many suits are wonderfully delayed, to the great charges of Her Majesty's subjects. The Barons in the Exchequer are very weak, and so allied in the countries, that they will not any ways deal against their cousins or friends, but rather take part against the Queen. There is neither Serjeant nor Attorney in the Exchequer; the one is old and feeble, the other is sequestered. "But then should he not get such sums of money as he hath and

1597. VOL. CCI.

doth get (*sic*) daily for making purchases in Cheshire, he may praise God for coming into Ireland, for that hath been better to him than Gray's Inn would have been in many years."

Besides his getting by extraordinary fees and exactions, and encroaching into other men's offices, he will, for setting his hand to a fiant, have 40*s*., 60*s*., 5*l*., 6*l*., yea 10*l*., where indeed his fee is but 10*s*. Besides this, he has had more concordatums, and more gifts and wardships, than ever any solicitor has had, and yet keeps no house, nor spends a penny, which the country expects in all those that have Her Majesty's fees. "Every man complaineth of him for taking excessive fees; of some he taketh silver, of some gold, of some horses, of some armour of proof, or anything else; nothing cometh amiss. But he will be sure he will do nothing without great consideration" Again, he takes the making of all grants, both from the Serjeant Attorney and Remembrancer, who ought to have the making of them all. Whoever will not give him his own asking, he will keep his fiant from him, and cross his proceedings.

Particulars of his eagerness to obtain wardships. If any commodity is to be had by licenses for coin, he will not stick to beg a license, as of late he has done, and sold some for 40*l*. He had a good sum of money for drawing Mr. Marshal's [Sir Henry Bagenall's] grant of lands in Monaghan in a larger and more effectual form than the rest. His suit against Mr. Colman, the Remembrancer. His action respecting the goods of Michael Fitzsymonds, who was executed for high treason. He is suspected in greater causes. Particulars of excessive fees taken by him.

"Here may many other matters be brought in, but these for a touch ['tuche'], to show the qualities of the man, may suffice. The country wish him away, for he wringeth them too much, and the people are poor, whereof he hath no consideration, but to serve his own turn."—[1597.] *Three sheets.*

[*This document has been erroneously endorsed by Burghley,* "1593."]

1597. 155. "An abstract of several depositions concerning Sir Richard Masterson, knight, Seneschal of the county of Wexford, taken before several persons during the Lord Burgh's government in Ireland, in anno 1597."

Touching the traitorous and unjust practices of the Seneschal, chiefly in respect of his confederacy with Feagh M'Hugh. *pp.* 11.

[1597.] 156. "How Irish rebels may be taught to be obedient to her Majesty, this supplication declareth;" addressed to Burghley by John Bell, Vicar of Christchurch.

First, by sending an army of 20,000 men into Ireland. Secondly, by giving it in charge to the General of such army to compass every three hundred acres of Irish measure, throughout the lands of the Earl of Tyrone and his associates, with a broad and deep trench. Thirdly, by giving the fee simple of each plot of three hundred acres to an Englishman, to him and his heirs for ever upon these conditions; the payment of five pounds rent yearly

1597. VOL. CCI.

"aforehand" into the English Exchequer: the maintaining on those acres of a "family" of ten English men and ten English women "of those young men and those young women, which now live in England, by begging and naughty shifts;" and the laying out and assigning to every one of these young men and women of two acres of English measure, to be by them cultivated. The next two conditions refer to various facilities for the keeping of cattle and other beasts. The sixth condition relates to the serving of the young men in the wars in Ireland. The Vicar then mentions certain privileges which he considers should be granted to the "Maister" of each "family," by reason of the great charges he must be at. These privileges concern mines, the free importation of Irish goods into England, and the cutting down of trees. He then states the pecuniary profits of this "planting war." The application of the scheme is then made to the various classes in England, the grant to a bishop or nobleman being twelve hundred acres, with a proportionate maintenance of "families," sundry privileges of rank to be extended to the heirs of each grantee. The Vicar then states how the "families" are to be planted in each plot for the purposes of mutual defence against the Irish rebels, who cannot then "come so suddenly trotting and jumping upon Her Majesty's good subjects, with their forty or threescore swords, as hitherto they have done." This "planting war," by God's blessing will in seven years, prevail more against the Irish rebels, to the quieting of Ireland, than has yet been seen "by pursuing them from place to place by dent of sword." It will also enrich the Queen, and make a godly provision for her poorest subjects in England. An analogy is then drawn from Franciscus Tarapha's work, "De Regibus Hispaniarum." God will greatly bless such a project. References to David and Solomon, and the building of the Temple.

"I will not say, as Joshua and Caleb said, if the Lord have a favour unto us; but I will say, the Lord having a special love unto us, God hath given the Kingdom of Ireland to Her Majesty; a country most sweet, most wholesome, and most fruitful to dwell in; so full of springs, so full of rivers, so full of lakes, so full of fish, so full of cattle, and so full of fowl, that there is not a country upon the face of the earth more beneficial to the life of man than that is."—[1597.] *Holograph. pp.* 16½.

[1597.] 157. "The description of the Realm of Ireland, the circuit and bound of every county, with the names of all the principal towns, gentlemen, castles, rivers, and freeholders. With a particular description of the state and several forces of the Province and Captains of Ulster; and a brief discourse declaring how the service against the North Rebels may be arranged, and the Connaught troubles in some sort repressed." [*? By Dr. Meredith Hanmer.*] [1597.] *pp.* 52.

# GENERAL INDEX.


## A.

"A.B.," advertisements delivered by, 249.
....., conference of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 249.
....., at Armagh, 249.
Aboylen, John, 326.
Admiral, Lord. *See* Howard.
Aghneskeagh, co. Monaghan, 44.
Aghynare, a castle of the O'Flaherties, 28.
Alaredo (Laredo in Biscay), 191, 411.
Aldersey, William, Mayor of Chester, 117.
Alexander, relative of Francis Wadding, 356.
Allen, Cardinal, History of England by, 203.
....., Lieutenant John, 373.
....., John, Clerk of the Ordnance, 34, 245, 302.
....., ....., committed to Dublin Castle, 245, 252.
....., ....., purchase of munition from, 246.
....., ....., sent to England, 312.
....., ....., letters recommending, 312.
....., ....., moneys due to, 312.
....., Thomas, of Kilhill, 32.
Amiens, in France, taken by composition, 398.
Andalusia, 173, 175, 277.
Andrewes, Thomas, 103.
Andros, John, customer of Bristol, 330.
Annaly, the district of, 8, 24, 29, 164, 192.
Anstell, Thomas, of London, 317.
Antone, Mr., debts of, 424.
Ardbraccan, co. Meath, 70.
....., ....., letters from, 31, 81, 98, 145, 258.
Ardcrome, in Ormonde, 215.
Ardee or Atherdee, co. Louth, 56, 69, 103, 134, 255, 270, 271, 310.
....., ....., ....., letters from, 61, 72, 158, 163, 171.
....., ....., ....., in great danger, 171.
....., ....., ....., great scarcity at, 274.
Ardern, Robert, 396, 475.
....., ....., letters of, 333, 348, 350, 368, 386, 387, 402.
Ardfert, Bishop of, letter of, 230.
Ardglass, co. Down, 103.
Ardragh, co. Galway, letter from, 223–4.
Argall, Rowland, letter of, 251.
Argyle, Earl of, 40, 362.
....., ....., to marry the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, 249.
....., ....., called in the North, James M'Connell, Lord of the Irish Scots, 249.
Arklow, co. Wicklow, 175.
Armagh, Magauran, Archbishop of, 352.
....., ....., ....., letter of, 427.
....., city of, 33, 142, 189, 237, 249, 313, 316, 322, 325, 384, 427.
....., ....., letters from, 129, 135, 144, 165, 193, 267, 341.
....., ....., garrison of, 141, 159, 267, 434.
....., ....., convoy from, overthrown, 141.
....., ....., exploit against, determined, 144.
....., ....., critical position of, 152, 154, 164–166, 177, 179, 191, 193, 205, 206, 207, 216, 267, 307, 315, 316, 333.
....., ....., Captain Baker not suffered to go to, 165.
....., ..... the Earl of Tyrone warns the garrison of, 162, 166, 177, 271.
....., ....., ambush laid by the Earl of Tyrone against, 178, 186, 193, 206.
....., ....., losses at, 178, 193.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys required to relieve, 187, 191, 199, 207.
....., ....., steps for the relief of, 140, 151, 170, 191, 192, 194, 205, 207, 208, 211, 213, 215, 217, 218, 231, 264, 267, 270, 307, 310, 316, 333.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone offers a convoy to Captain Baker to, 191, 193.
....., ....., list of forces for relief of, 199, 217.
....., ....., relief of, 191, 193, 217, 219, 221, 228, 241, 310, 316, 317, 333.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone on the victualling of, 199, 205–207, 211, 217, 218, 221, 225, 226, 285, 286, 334.
....., ....., bad practices at, 205.
....., ....., good effect of the relief of, 217.
....., ....., some composition for, recommended, 228.
....., ....., Captain Baker in command of, 267.
....., ....., sickness of Lord Burgh at, 419, 420.
....., ....., abandoned by Lord Burgh, 439, 456.

Armagnac, 351.
Aron [Arran, co. Galway], island of, 84.
Arthur, Father, a Jesuit, 135.
Ashendon, Captain, 141.
Ashers ["Asseroy"], Abbey of, near Ballyshannon, 373.
Asheton, John, of Manchester, letter of, 323.
Ashley, brother of Lord Burgh, 402.
....., nephew of Lord Burgh, wounded, 343.
Athboy, co. Meath, 72, 495.
Athenry, co. Galway, 8.
....., ....., garrison of, 29, 174.
....., ....., Baron of, summoned to Dublin, 48.
....., ....., reported burning of, 218, 222, 223.
Atherdee. *See* Ardee.
Athy, co. Kildare, 470.
Atkinson, William, 341.
Athlone, barony of, 79, 211.
....., co. Roscommon, 3, 6, 7, 11, 24, 29, 61, 68, 96, 102, 105, 113, 114, 116, 118, 131, 132, 172, 194, 245, 251, 257, 373, 374, 414, 475.
....., ....., letters from, 8, 11, 12, 21, 22, 24, 31, 32, 48, 49, 54, 64, 71, 79, 80, 94, 95, 97, 102, 104, 106–109, 113, 121–123, 130, 133, 152–154, 158, 177, 183–186, 188, 251, 258, 270, 280, 285, 338, 371, 373, 379–381, 410, 422, 451, 452, 459, 460.
....., ....., Vice-Constable of, 11, 351.
....., ....., submissions of Irish chiefs at, 86.
....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham to be tried at, 112, 128, 130.
....., ....., Constable of, 130, 132.
....., ....., victuals and munition sent to, 143.
....., ....., to be better fortified and provisioned, 152.
....., ....., the forces for Sir Conyers Clifford to assemble at, 235.
....., ....., danger of, 251.
....., ....., provisions, &c., asked for, 269.
....., ....., the ward of, 376.
Audlie, Captain, mortally wounded, 88, 91, 93.
Aughrim, co. Roscommon, garrison of, 174.
Ayala, or L'Aquila, Don John de, Spanish commander, Governor of Brittany, 85, 111, 124.
Ayala, the Zurado Gonzalo Xiseres de, 300.

## B.

Baccabaro, Don Jorge de, Corregidor of Medina, letter to, 354.
Bagenall, Sir Henry, Knight, Marshal of Ireland, 49, 134, 152, 163, 345, 422.
....., ....., letters of, 166, 192, 235, 240, 241, 260, 269, 294, 344, 415–417, 419, 428, 430.
Bagenall, Sir Henry—*cont.*
....., ....., letters to, 166, 235, 267, 286.
....., ....., increase of company of horse of, 49.
....., ....., differences of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 49, 240, 272, 291, 307, 314, 456–458, 468, 477, 483, 493.
....., ....., writes for speedy aid of men, 191.
....., ....., partially relieves Armagh, 191, 193.
....., ....., asks for additional forces, 192.
....., ....., has committed no spoil on the Earl of Tyrone's friends, 240.
....., ....., has observed the truces, 240, 241.
....., ....., false reports about, 240, 241.
....., ....., concerning the victualling of Armagh, 241.
....., ....., touching restitution to the Earl of Tyrone, 241.
....., ....., complains of stealths on his own people, 241.
....., ....., on the scarcity at Newry, 241.
....., ....., ordered to put victuals into Armagh, 270, 316.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys writes to, 279.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes to, respecting Armagh, 286.
....., ....., wishes success to Lord Burgh, 294.
....., ....., declaration by messenger of, 295.
....., ....., ambush laid for, by the Earl of Tyrone, 295.
....., ....., victuals Armagh, 310, 316.
....., ....., nearly takes the Earl of Tyrone and his wife, 310, 316, 317.
....., ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 415–417.
....., ....., has spent much of his patrimony in the Queen's service, 416, 419.
....., ....., the poor entertainment of, 416, 431.
....., ....., sends an agent to England to report on the state of Ireland, 416, 417.
....., ....., sends Lord Burgh's will to Sir Robert Cecil, 416, 417.
....., ....., on the state of Ireland, 416–419.
....., ....., an "overseer" of Lord Burgh's will, 417.
....., ....., recommends prosecution, 418, 419, 431.
....., ....., on the sufferings of the soldiers, 418, 430, 431.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish among the forces, 418.
....., ....., asks for a strong garrison for Lough Foyle, 419.
....., ....., and a grant to Captain Stafford, 419.
....., ....., writes in favour of Philip Williams, 428.

Bagenall, Sir Henry—*cont.*
....., ....., at the election of a Lord Justice, 430.
....., ....., on the treasure sent to Ireland, 430, 431.
....., ....., grant of lands in Monaghan to, 498.
Bagott, John, a soldier, suit of, 318.
Baie, William, 80.
Baker, Captain James, 165, 313.
....., ....., letters of, 267.
....., ....., letters to, 129, 135, 144, 193, 197.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone restores certain property of, 144.
....., ....., not suffered to go to Armagh, 165.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone offers a convoy to, to Armagh, 191, 205.
....., ....., promises of the Earl of Tyrone to, 197, 206.
....., ....., made prisoner, 205.
....., ....., order for release of, 205.
....., ....., cows taken by, from Earl of Tyrone, 259.
....., ....., takes beeves for the supply of Armagh, 267.
....., ....., in command at Armagh, 267.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 267.
....., ....., on the state of Armagh, 267.
....., ....., letter of Sir John Norreys to, taken by enemy, 267.
....., ....., Con O'Neill sends warning to, 267.
....., ..... on the rebels, 267, 268.
Balhasteney, 96.
Balhatchett, John, examination of, 182.
Ball, Lieutenant Thomas, letter of, 381.
....., Thomas, payment to, for carrying rebels' heads, 214.
Ballenalaka [Ballynalack], co. Westmeath, 31.
Ballenecarge [Ballynacraggy], co. Westmeath, 31.
Ballentire, or Balmartie, co. Westmeath, 312.
Ballicorigg, co. Clare, 43.
Ballinacor or Ballincora, co. Wicklow, fort of, 41, 80, 103, 117, 139, 140.
....., ....., letters from, 80, 81, 95, 228.
....., ....., provisions wanted for, 80, 81.
....., ....., attack on, 95.
....., ....., capture of, by Feagh M'Hugh, 103, 104, 142.
....., ....., could well have been held, 117.
....., ....., re-captured, and Feagh M'Hugh slain, 288, 289.
Ballinasloe, co. Galway, 7, 8, 29, 95.
....., ....., letter from, 244, 245, 250.
....., ....., the rebels' intention to have burnt, 251.
Ballinkillegoe, letter from, 94.
Ballinrobe, co. Mayo, letter from, 28.
Ballymahon, co. Longford, 24.
Ballymore, co. Westmeath, 106.
Ballymote, co. Sligo, 92, 139, 146, 219, 239, 376.
Ballymulghan, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
Ballyshannon, co. Donegal, 90, 334, 342, 358, 373, 375, 382, 407.
....., ....., must be recovered, 162, 163, 229, 302, 319, 408.
....., ....., position of, 163, 407, 408.
....., ....., in the hands of O'Donnell, 338.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford drawing to, 357.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford nearly takes, 372.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford driven from, 374, 375.
Balmartie. *See* Ballentire.
Baltinglas, house of, taken and spoiled, 218.
... ....., Viscount, 192, 478.
....., Viscountcy of, a claimant to, 70, 117.
Baltinglasses, the, 160.
Bangor, Captain Roger, murder of, 84, 91.
Bankes, —, at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 443.
Bann, the river, 10.
Bards, Irish, 19, 20.
Barnewell, James, letter of, 256.
....., Sir Patrick, case of, 40.
Barnewells, the, 485.
Barrett, Captain Edmond, grant of pension to, 303, 306.
....., Edmund, patent to, to be revoked, 197.
....., ....., the fraudulent patent obtained by, 237.
Barretts, the, submission of, 324.
Barrow, the river, 207.
Barry Court, co. Cork, letter from, 268.
Barry, Lieutenant, at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 443.
....., David, Lord, Viscount Buttevant, good service of, 1, 268, 328.
....., ....., fine on, 1, 268, 328, 497.
....., ....., letter of, 268.
....., ....., petitions of, 328, 497.
....., ....., charges of, against Florence M'Carthy, 497.
Bartelett, Richard, letter in favour of, 290.
Bartholomew fair, 362.
Bathe, Mr. Justice, of the Common Pleas, 367.
Bayonne, Governor of, 129.
Bealagarr (Bealagary, co. Mayo), 91.
Bealasadarra, co. Sligo, 91.
Bellinges, Belling, or Bealings, Richard, letters in favour of, 292, 306.
....., ....., suit of, 325.
Beare and Bayntree [Bear and Bantry], barony of, 13.

Beaumaris, co. Anglesea, letters from, 224, 253, 288.
....., ....., lingering of Sir Richard Bingham at, 228.
Becher, Mr., 201.
Bedford, Lady, 199,
Bedlow, James, a merchant of Dublin, letter in favour of, 297.
....., Patrick, 74.
Beer, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Beeves, price of, in Ireland, 227, 377, 378.
Beleek or Belleek, co. Donegal, 38, 373, 408.
....., ....., position of, 407.
Belfast, 30.
....., castle of, 46, 72, 326.
....., victualling of the ward of, 268.
....., capture of the castle of, 326.
....., atrocities on the English in, 326.
....., castle of, retaken, 326.
....., Sir John Chichester takes the castle of, 396.
Bell, John, vicar of Christchurch, "supplication" of, to Burghley, as to the resettling of Ireland, 498, 499.
....., ....., description of Ireland by, 499.
Bellaghlughed, 475.
Belleisle, in Brittany, 127.
Bellew, James, an Alderman of Dublin, letter on behalf of, 261.
....., ....., services and losses of, 261, 262.
....., ....., money due to, 325.
Beresford, Mr., of Lincolnshire, killed at the Blackwater, 343, 364.
Berkley, Lord, 346.
Bermyngham. *See* Brimegham, Edmond.
Berwick, town of, 198.
Betaght, Mr. Richard, wounded, 222.
Bethell, Rowland, 103.
Beverley, George, victualler of the forces in Ireland, 136, 155, 302, 393.
....., ....., letters of, 1, 62, 99, 121, 148, 149, 152, 188, 242, 317, 341.
....., ....., disbursements by, 156, 242.
....., ....., is not able to get more grain from England, 188.
....., ....., sickness of, 188.
....., ....., has ordered a bark to Carrickfergus, 188.
....., ....., on the action of London merchants as to cheese and butter in Cheshire, 317.
Bibles, 15.
Bicknell. *See* Bycknell.
Bilbao, in Biscay, 120, 126, 129, 142, 175, 177, 191, 253, 254, 356, 386, 411.
Billingsley, Henry, Lord Mayor of London, letter of, 395, 396.
Bingham, Sir George, 124.
....., ....., son of, 124.
....., George, murder of, 408.
Bingham—*cont.*
....., Captain John, 23, 28, 88, 132, 197.
....., ....., letter of, 91.
....., ....., letter to, 28.
....., ....., complaint against, 8.
....., ....., writes to Sir Richard Bingham, 132.
....., ....., leave to repair to England asked for, 351.
....., Sir Richard, Governor of Connaught, 3, 4, 6, 9, 31, 55, 61, 88, 137, 164, 178, 194, 218, 235, 409, 494.
....., ....., letters of, 39, 68, 76–79, 88, 127, 147, 151, 160, 162, 163, 188, 194, 224, 253, 351.
....., ....., letters to, 71, 79, 91, 174.
....., ....., hatred of people of Connaught to. *See* Connaught.
....., ....., outrage by lieutenant of, 6.
....., ....., called "Improvido," 11, 12.
....., ....., accusations against, 21, 23, 33, 37, 39, 48, 62, 64, 65, 68, 76–79, 89–91, 104–108, 113–115, 122, 138, 174, 178, 183, 184, 185, 197.
....., ....., answers of, to accusations, 37, 39, 68, 76–79, 89–91, 113, 122, 127, 131–133, 138, 197.
....., ....., charges against, and answers thereto, sent to the Privy Council, 37, 68.
....., ....., threat by, 8.
....., ....., stayed in Dublin, 37, 68, 78, 105, 128.
....., ....., stayed formerly at Athlone, 37.
....., ....., seeks license to repair to England, 37.
....., ....., removal of, demanded, 53, 68, 77, 78.
....., ....., warrant by, 62.
....., ....., on the Irish, 68, 90, 91.
....., ....., has been long restrained from his charge, 68, 89, 91.
....., ....., accusers of, summoned to Dublin, 65, 68, 77, 104, 107, 108.
....., ....., to be tried in Dublin, 68, 133, 201, 224.
....., ....., on the rebels, 39, 40, 76, 77, 90, 91.
....., ....., anxious for his trial, 37, 39, 68, 76–78, 89, 113, 128, 133, 174, 224, 253.
....., ....., complaints of, against Sir John Norreys, 68, 77, 78, 89, 91, 112, 113, 122, 128, 131–3, 174.
....., ....., complaints of, against Sir Geffrey Fenton, 78, 89, 91, 112, 113, 128, 131–3.
....., ....., on M'William, 78, 79.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, 88, 89.
....., ....., services of, 89, 90, 128, 132, 133.

Bingham, Sir Richard—*cont.*
....., ....., opposed by the Lord Deputy at Galway, 91.
....., ....., to be tried at Athlone, 112, 128, 130, 132.
....., ....., commanded to repair to Athlone, 112, 114, 122.
....., ....., petition of, 112, 115, 118, 128, 138.
....., ....., asks to be tried before the Irish Council or the Privy Council, 113, 133, 147.
....., ....., flight of, into England, 114, 115, 118, 122–124, 127, 128, 130–133, 139.
....., ....., commissioners for trial of, stayed by the Council, 122.
....., ....., at Coventry, 127.
....., ....., purposes to wait on Sir Robert Cecil, 128.
....., ....., disregards order of the Council of Ireland, 128.
....., ....., John King, servant of, 128.
....., ....., causes moving him to repair into England, 131–133.
....., ....., no commodity for, in Athlone, 131.
....., ....., to be stayed in the Dillon's country, 132.
....., ....., "disgraced in the eyes of traitors," 132.
....., ....., delay of Council's decision in the causes of, 133.
....., ....., Sir Robert Cecil's letter touching, 142.
....., ....., in the Fleet prison, 147, 151.
....., ....., illness of, 151, 194, 211, 224, 253.
....., ....., note of entertainment of, 160.
....., ....., commissions to, 160.
....., ....., and martial law, 160.
....., ....., on the reduction of Connaught to obedience, 162, 163.
....., ....., thinks the waste in Connaught but "Tartarian," 162.
....., ....., on the revenues of Connaught, and their rise under him, 162, 163.
....., ....., the accounts of, as chief commissioner, 162, 163.
....., ....., craves an interview with Burghley, 163.
....., ....., notes by Burghley on a letter of, 162, 163.
....., ....., desires to know what course the Queen will hold in Connaught, 163.
....., ....., recommended for the command of an army, 170.
....., ....., is to return to Ireland to answer the charges against him, 174.
....., ....., the names of the kindred, followers, and servants of, 174.
....., ....., two of the council to be joined in the commission for trying, 178.
Bingham, Sir Richard—*cont.*
....., ....., the servants of, also to be tried, 178.
....., ....., reported release of, 183.
....., ....., asks to be tried in Dublin, 194.
....., ....., will cross to Ireland as soon as he is better, 194, 253.
....., ....., the rebels do not stand upon the trial of, at Athlone, 194.
....., ....., has not been the cause of the stirs, 194.
....., ....., opinions of, to be had concerning the armies proposed against the rebels, 184.
....., ....., said to purposely delay his crossing over to Ireland, 199.
....., ....., death of, would be acceptable to the Irish, 201.
....., ....., doubting of his safety, 209.
....., ....., Her Majesty's severe proceeding against, 211.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford to supply the place of, 211.
....., ....., how certain payments were made to, 211.
....., ....., delays as to the case of, 227.
....., ....., the lingering of, at Liverpool and Beaumaris, 228, 253.
....., ....., loss and charges of, 253.
....., ....., prays for trial before competent judges, 253.
....., ....., greatly impoverished by his troubles. 351.
....., ....., desires favourable letters to the Lord Deputy and Council, 371.
....., ....., desires that his brother and nephew may have license to repair into England, 351.
....., ....., charges of, 351.
....., ....., craves Burghley's favour on his behalf with the Queen, 351.
....., ....., genealogical notes on the famil of, by Burghley, 351.
....., Thomas, gentleman, Vice-Constable of Athlone, examination of, 11.
....., ....., ....., leave to repair to England asked for, 351.
Bingley, John, servant of Sir Richard Bingham, 77.
....., ....., letter of, 178.
....., ....., charges against, 37, 178.
Birchall, John, petition of, 199.
Birford, Nicholas, 81.
Birmingham, co. Warwick, sale of arms in, for Irish rebels, 323.
Birne, Lieutenant, charges against, 495.
....., Edmund, gentleman, suit of, 325.
Birt, Commissary James, certificate by, 492.
....., James, letter of, 446.
....., ....., on the defeat near Carrickfergus, 446.

Biscay, province of, 120, 141, 175, 199, 411.
Biscuit, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Blackwater, the river, 62, 325, 333, 339–345, 351, 358, 364, 365, 368, 373, 402–404, 419, 427, 433, 440, 477.
....., ....., rebuilding of the fort and bridge of urged, 228.
....., ....., preparations for passage of, 338.
....., ....., fort on the ford of, built by the Earl of Tyrone, 340, 345, 463.
....., ....., letters from, 341, 342, 344, 358, 434.
....., ....., passage of, by Lord Burgh, 341–345, 351, 356, 360, 366, 368, 439.
....., ....., fort erected at, by Lord Burgh, 343, 344, 358, 364, 366, 397.
....., ....., Lord Burgh plans a second fort on, 366.
....., ....., the fort at, must be re-victualled, 399–401, 408, 414, 419, 424, 426, 427, 435, 436, 437, 439, 451, 456, 461, 463, 468, 469, 477, 478.
....., ....., sorties from the fort at, 400, 436.
....., ....., determined attack on the fort at, repulsed, 414, 422, 435.
....., ....., victualling of the fort at, 418.
....., ....., garrison at, 434, 435, 463, 468, 469, 477, 492.
....., ....., Captain Thomas Williams in command at, 434, 435.
....., ....., more men asked for, 435.
....., ....., deserters from the fort at, 449.
....., ....., Tyrone and the victualling of the fort at, 468, 477, 479, 485.
....., ....., estimate for victuals for the fort at, 472.
....., ....., report on the state of the fort at, 476, 477.
....., ....., sufferings of the garrison of, 477.
....., ....., wood for the garrison at, 485, 489.
Blage, James, 84.
Blake, James, 185.
Blanchfield, Captain, drowned, 268.
Blavet. *See* Bluett.
Bleeke, Mr., murdered, 77.
Bloicke, or Bloyck [Bullock, co. Dublin], the Spaniards to land at, 85, 86.
Bluett [Blavet], in Brittany, 127, 141, 321, 387.
....., ....., Spaniards refused entrance to, 387.
....., ....., arrears of the pay of the commander at, 387.
Blunt, Captain Robert, one hundred foot asked for, 229, 239.
Bolibegg [Ballybeg, co. Cork], 73.
Bolle, Captain Sir John, muster-roll of company of, 146.
Bonsor, 209. *See* Bourchier, Sir George.
Bordeaux, city of, 46.
Borough, W., letter of, 338.
....., ....., estimate by, 449.
Boulogne, Bishop of, 204.
Bourchier, Sir George, Master of the Ordnance, 27, 129, 136, 156, 302, 312, 393, 414, 439, 481.
....., ....., letters of, 212, 217, 221, 237, 243, 246, 264, 267, 270, 271, 273, 314, 439.
....., ....., letters to, 239, 246, 247, 259, 265, 270, 272.
....., ....., certificates by, 143, 214, 303, 306, 455.
....., ....., to go with Sir John Norreys to Armagh, 208, 209, 211.
....., ....., conference of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 217, 221.
....., ....., to meet Tyrone, 239.
....., ....., instructions given by, to Captain Warren, 242, 243, 264.
....., ....., desires further instructions, 264.
....., ....., urges the relief of Armagh, 264.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 267.
....., ....., prays for a speedy supply of munition, 314.
....., ....., to go to the north with Lord Burgh, 334.
....., ....., on the defalcation for munition, &c., 439.
....., ....., should send an estimate for munition, 480.
....., ....., munition to be delivered to, 493.
"Bourg, Machelian," letter of, to the King of Spain, 353.
Bouthe, Michael, certificate of, 396.
Bowen, Mr., exercises martial law, 74.
Bowes, Captain Sir Edward, 156.
....., ....., muster roll of company of, 146.
Boyle, a substitute-escheator, 76, 473.
....., abbey of, co. Roscommon, 8, 29, 251, 376.
....., ....., ....., besieged, 69, 71, 92–95, 97, 102.
....., ....., ....., letters from, 71, 95, 251, 335.
....., ....., ....., relieved, 239.
Boyne, the river, 81, 129, 168, 169.
....., ....., almost made a border, 150.
....., ....., blockhouses recommended on every bridge over, 166.
Brabazon, Captain Anthony, employed in Connaught, 3, 79, 91, 165, 273.
..... ....., stayed by the rebels, 32.

Brabazon, Captain Anthony—*cont.*
....., ....., one hundred foot asked for, 229, 239.
....., ....., letter of, 134.
....., ....., declaration by, 273.
Bradie, Bishop, 98.
....., Patrick, of Tonemore, 98.
Brannanston, co. Meath, preyed, 176.
Bray, arrival of Lord Burgh at, 291, 292.
Brees, the, a strong castle, co. Mayo, taken, 239.
Bremmigen. *See* Brimegham.
Brenny, the, district of, co. Cavan, 23, 35, 70, 98, 104–106, 122, 133, 138, 143, 145, 150, 164, 173, 181, 192, 236, 247, 249, 315, 358, 364, 365, 367, 370, 494.
....., ....., ....., defeat of rebels of, 222, 325.
....., ....., ....., Sir Geffrey Fenton to work up a party in, 370.
....., ....., ....., the garrisons in, 495.
Brereton, Arthur, suit of, 325.
Brereton, Sir William, 149, 172.
Brest, in France, 387.
Brett, Alexander, merchant, report by, 142.
Brett, Captain, defeats Ferdorogh O'Kelly, 173.
....., ....., Ferdorogh O'Kelly put in the charge of, 185.
Brian Teig. *See* Burke.
Brice, Robert, of Dublin, 346.
Brickhill, co. Bucks, 117.
Brill, in Holland, 227, 265.
Brimegham, Brymycham, Brimedghame, Bremmigen, Brimingam, or Bermyngham, Edmond, secretary to the Earl of Tyrone, 111.
....., ....., almost drawn away by Sir G. Fenton, 264.
....., ....., knows Spanish, 264.
....., ....., note of, to Richard Weston, 265.
....., ....., letter of, 270.
....., ., ....., on the destination of the Spanish fleet, 283.
....., ....., sent to the King of Spain, 401, 448.
Briskelaghes, the, 163, 192, 207.
Bristol, 161, 260, 361, 431.
....., chamberlain of, 330.
....., customer of. *See* Andros, John.
....., mayor of. *See* Yate, William.
....., letters from, 330, 368.
....., butter and cheese at, 330.
....., victuals sent from, 382.
Brittany, 84–86, 100, 127, 141, 196, 290, 352, 464.
....., the Spanish forces in, 84, 85, 120, 141, 155, 386.
....., the governor of, 111.
..... regiment, the, 337.
Brixianos, Don Mignel de, Abad de Medina, letter to, 354.
Brocker, the, co. Antrim, 30.
Bronckerd, Mr., 193.
Brook, Mr., recommended by Sir Conyers Clifford, 229.
Brooke, Sir Calisthenes, letters of, 338, 381, 459.
....., ....., on service in Ireland, 338.
....., ....., on the campaign of Sir Conyers Clifford in Connaught, 338, 373.
....., ....., commended by Sir Conyers Clifford, 373, 375, 460.
....., ....., prays for employment in the Low Countries, 381, 459.
....., ....., on military service in Ireland, 381, 382, 459.
....., ....., on the fighting near Ballyshannon, 382.
....., ....., rewards of Lord Burgh to, 460.
....., ....., petition of, 495.
Broumcker or Brunker, Henry, letter of, 304.
....., ....., services of, 304.
....., ....., knighthood asked for, 394.
Browne, Nicholas, letter of, 318.
....., ... .., on the state of Ireland, 318.
....., ....., on the treatment of Munster, 318.
....., Richard, 111.
....., Mr. Richard, 203.
....., Sir Valentine, 230.
Brymingham, country of, co. Galway, 211.
Brymycham. *See* Brimegham, Edmond.
Buckhurst, Lord, 201.
....., ....., chief butler of England, 322, 323.
Bullen, John, of St. Malo, 254.
Bunduff, co. Sligo, 375.
Burgh, Thomas, Lord, 498.
....., ....., Sir William Russell to deliver the sword to, 189, 266.
....., ....., instructions concerning, 193, 266.
....., ....., to be made a Privy Councillor, 194.
....., ....., commission of, as Lord Deputy of Ireland, 265.
....., ....., divers commissions to, 265, 300, 333, 335, 473.
....., ....., strong feelings of Sir John Norreys against, 209, 218, 228.
....., ....., list of events in Ireland delivered to, 226.
....., ....., instructions for, 227, 239, 250, 265, 266, 438, 455.
....., ....., the coming of, to be hastened, 225, 234, 235, 245, 247, 248, 257, 259, 282, 289.
....., ....., "pestilent advertisement" of disposition of, 242.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone fears the coming over of, 246, 247.

Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., James Nott desires to be recommended to, 252.
....., ....., treasure to be sent to Ireland with, 255.
....., ....., Sir Henry Knyvett, brother-in-law of, 262.
....., ....., composition in lieu of cess to, 266.
....., ....., payment of stipend and imprest to, 266, 281, 315, 437.
....., ....., general discretion allowed to, in executing the plot against the Earl of Tyrone, 266.
....., ....., leaving the making of a war to, 270.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's distrust of, 272, 273, 275, 280, 283.
....., ....., to have definite directions either for peace or war, 273, 275, 278, 280, 282, 288.
....., ....., Nicolas Weston desires to be recommended to, 276.
....., ....., sent over, 281.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys to assist in Council with, 281.
....., ....., letters of, 283, 288, 296, 299, 301, 306–309, 312, 315, 316, 322, 324, 332, 333, 335, 339, 340, 343, 358, 364, 382, 383, 385, 390, 392–394, 396, 399, 402, 425.
....., ....., letters to, 293, 294, 295, 300, 301, 303, 305, 307, 312, 316, 317, 318, 320, 324, 330, 335, 360, 373, 380, 385, 398, 401, 433.
....., ....., lameness of, 283.
....., ....., illness of, 283, 383, 414.
....., ....., arrives at Westchester, 283.
....., ....., is to post to Holyhead, 283.
....., ....., on the scarcity in Ireland, 283, 288, 299, 309, 315.
....., ....., asks for money and victuals, 283, 288, 296, 299, 306, 307, 309.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone may be holden in suspense till the coming of, 288.
....., ....., detained at Beaumaris on his journey to Ireland, 288.
....., ....., on the rebels, 288, 296, 299, 306, 307, 309, 316, 332, 333, 336, 383, 384.
....., ....., will not rely on the Muster-master in Ireland, 288.
....., ....., on the discipline requisite in Ireland, 283.
....., ....., the coming of, to Ireland, 290.
....., ....., arrives in Ireland, 291, 292, 296.
....., ....., account of the state of Ireland, to be got ready for, 291, 292.
....., ....., advised how to deal with the Earl of Tyrone, 292.
....., ....., should be informed of the forces in Ireland, 293.

Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., letter of Queen Elizabeth to, 293.
....., ....., to inquire as to O'Donnell's escape, 293.
....., ....., heads of Piers and Walter Butler promised to, 295.
....., ....., the sword delivered to, 296.
....., ....., entrance of, into office, 296.
....., ....., on the wasting of the Queen's treasure in Ireland, 296, 382.
....., ....., has lined the northern frontiers with garrisons, 296, 297.
....., ....., hopes to settle the Pale, 296.
....., ....., calls the Earl of Tyrone a "base beast," 296.
....., ....., on the Earl of Ormonde, 296.
....., ....., will endeavour to repair the broken condition of things, 296.
....., ....., charges of, against the Muster-master, 297.
....., ....., will be glad if peace can be made with the Earl of Tyrone, 297, 306.
....., ....., will do all he can against the Earl of Tyrone, 297, 322, 336, 385, 386.
....., ....., sends the names of captains and others, absent in England, 297.
....., ....., has agreed well with Sir John Norreys, 297, 298, 300.
....., ....., tired in his very brains, 297.
....., ....., and Sir Robert Cecil, 297, 300, 320, 321, 339, 361, 385, 398, 416, 459.
....., ....., and the escape of prisoners, 298.
....., ....., restrained from making knights, 300, 310, 333, 336, 344, 361.
....., ....., two new commissions sent to, 300.
....., ....., warrants to, 301, 303, 305, 327, 328.
....., ....., advised by the Council to invade the Earl of Tyrone's country, 301.
....., ....., thinks the prosecution of the Earl of Tyrone necessary, 301, 310.
....., ....., case of Henry Sheffeld committed to, 303, 304.
....., ....., intended journey of, into the north, 304, 316, 322, 325.
....., ....., is going to establish commissaries, 305, 309, 319, 337, 339.
....., ....., assistance given by, to Sir Conyers Clifford, 305.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 306, 307, 315, 316, 332–334, 336, 339, 364, 365, 384–386, 390, 393–395, 399, 400, 426.
....., ....., will relieve Armagh, 307, 316.
....., ....., recommends Sir Conyers Clifford to the Privy Council, 307.
....., ....., asked by the Earl of Tyrone for a written agreement, 307.

Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., warnings of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 308, 316, 385, 386.
....., ....., expects daily submissions of rebels, 309.
....., ....., commends the Earl of Ormonde, 310.
....., ....., has satisfied Sir John Norreys in regard of the moneys due to him, 310.
....., ....., commends John Allen to the Privy Council, 312.
....., ....., asks for a supply of munition, 312.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes to, 313, 315, 385.
....., ....., writes on behalf of the town of Drogheda, 315.
....., ....., operations of the Earl of Tyrone against, 315.
....., ....., sends Captain Turner towards the borders, 315, 316.
....., ....., on the numerous rebels' heads brought to Dublin, 315.
....., ....., calls the Earl of Tyrone a "beast," 316.
....., ....., replies of, to Earl of Tyrone, approved, 319.
....., ....., the Privy Council blame, 319, 320.
....., ....., supplies promised to, 319.
....., ....., to help Sir Conyers Clifford, 319.
....., ... .., to see to the musters, 319.
....., ....., to change some horse companies into foot, 319.
....., ....., Sir Robert Cecil on the replies of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 320.
....., ....., asks for the office of Chief Butler of Ireland, 322.
....., ....., Robin, son of, 322.
....., ....., considers it necessary to prosecute Tyrone and O'Donnell, 332.
....., ....., journey of, against Tyrone, 332–336, 391.
....., ....., expects to meet Sir Conyers Clifford at Lough Foyle, 334, 342, 344.
....., ....., petition of Maurice Kyffin to, 335.
....., ....., complains that his despatches are not answered, 335.
....., ....., difficulties of, 335, 336, 399, 402.
....., ....., forces of, for the journey into the north, 337, 340, 427.
....., ....., encourages the captains, 337, 402.
....., ....., preparations of, to pass the Blackwater, 338.
....., ....., accepts the services of the Earl of Tyrone's brother and son, 338.
....., ....., sets out towards Dundalk "in great jollity," 338.
....., ....., justifies himself as to the military expenditure, 339.
....., ....., on the Ordinances for the army, 339, 382, 383, 392, 413.
....., ....., will advertise Sir Ralph Lane of his "remove," 339.
....., ....., and the Earl of Essex, 339, 343, 361, 366, 385, 398.
..... ..., ....., has not failed in advertisements to Sir Robert Cecil, 339.
....., ....., hopes to be allowed to retire after the expedition, 340.
....., ....., aims of, in his service, 339, 340, 343, 344.
....., ....., on Tyrone's preparations against him, 339, 340.
....., ....., writes in favour of Mr. John Morgan, 340.
....., ....., passage of the Blackwater by, 341–345, 351, 356, 360, 366, 368, 439.
....., ....., determines to leave a strong garrison in the Blackwater fort, 342.
....., ....., purposes to pass to Lifford, 342.
....., ....., leaves a cipher with the Council at Dublin, 342.
....., ....., sends the Council a transcript of the Ordinances for the army, 342.
....., ....., bravery of, 341, 343, 345, 360, 361, 366.
....., ....., volunteers with, at the Blackwater, 343.
....., ....., laments the loss of his friends, 343, 360, 493.
....., ....., erects a fort at the Blackwater, 343, 344, 358, 364, 366, 439.
....., ....., will fortify at Lough Foyle, 343.
....., ....., asks for leave to make knights, 344, 394, 398.
....., ....., eulogises the Earl of Kildare, 344.
....., ....., on the state of the forces with him, 344, 364, 365, 394, 399, 400, 402, 456.
....., ....., difference between Mr. Kyffin and, 344.
....., ....., assists at a muster of his troops, 344, 368.
....., ....., sends many sick soldiers to England, 344.
....., ....., three sons of the Lord Chancellor Loftus with, 345.
....., ....., prohibits Sir Ralph Lane from the Council Board, 345.
....., ....., change of plan of campaign of, 356–358, 365.
....., ....., the Queen's satisfaction with, 360, 361.
....., ....., promises to look to the reformation of expense, 360, 365, 398.
....., ....., the wife of, 360, 417, 437.
....., ....., Sir Robert Cecil thanks, for a present of hawks, 361.
....., ....., on the cowardice of the Earl of Tyrone, 364, 384, 385, 395, 399, 400.

Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., inflicts losses on the Earl of Tyrone, 364, 394, 395.
....., ....., plans of, 365, 385, 386, 390, 392–395, 399, 400, 424, 426.
....., ....., praises Sir Henry Bagenall, 365.
....., ....., burns Dungannon, 365, 366.
....., ....., is drawn towards Newry for want of victual, 366, 370.
....., ....., plans a second fort on the Blackwater, 366, 370.
....., ....., and the nobility of the Pale, 367.
....., ....., tries to draw the rebels out of their woods, 370, 393.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford on the journey of, into Ulster, 371.
....., ....., retreat of, notified to Sir Conyers Clifford, 374.
....., ....., the Council raise beeves for the army with, 377, 378.
....., ....., asks for more beeves, 378.
....., ....., on the purchase of Irish-made clothes for the soldiers, 383.
....., ....., discontent among the forces of, 383.
....., ....., re-victuals the fort at the Blackwater, 384.
....., ....., answer of, to the Earl of Tyrone's messenger, 384.
....., ....., wastes "O'Neill land," 384.
....., ....., goes to Cavan, 384.
....., ....., hopes to compass a garrison at Lough Foyle, 384.
....., ....., desire of, to see the Queen, 385, 401.
....., ....., insolent letter of the Earl of Tyrone to, 385.
....., ....., household expenses of, 389.
....., ....., commends his chaplain for the Bishopric of Leighlin, 390.
....., ....., returned to Dublin, 390.
....., ....., on the disposition of the foot-bands, 390.
....., ....., is despatching six bands to Lough Foyle, 390, 439.
....., ....., on the supply of powder to Tyrone from Scotland, 390, 393.
....., ....., will have to cass more captains, 390, 454.
....., ....., has appointed commissaries, 391.
....., ....., asks that the clothes for the soldiers may be hastened, 392, 399, 401.
....., ....., on the horse bands, 392.
....., ....., on the corruption in Ireland, 392.
....., ....., asks the Treasurer and others for their accounts, 393.
....., ....., will lie on the borders, 393, 394, 398.
....., ....., is not competent for his charge, 393.
Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., cannot send a chart of Ulster to Burghley, 393.
....., ....., hopes to subdue the Earl of Tyrone, 392–395, 399–401.
....., ....., has planted garrisons in the north, 393.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish in his forces, 394, 399, 400.
....., ....., asks for more men, 394, 395.
....., ....., on a new governor for Munster, 395.
....., ....., entertains an offer to kill the Earl of Tyrone, 395.
....., ....., writes in favour of Captain Par Lane, 396.
....., ....., petition to, 396.
....., ....., warrants of, 396.
....., ....., twenty-one rebels' heads sent to, 397.
..... .., ....., censured, 398.
....., ....., reported to have struck one Warren, 398.
....., ....., to send Sir Geffrey Fenton to report on the state of Ireland, 398.
....., ....., and the vacant posts in Ireland, 398.
....., ....., on the levies sent from England, 399, 400.
....., ..... must refresh the fort of the Blackwater, 399–401, 426, 427.
....., ....., is going to Dundalk, 400.
....., ....., praises Sir Conyers Clifford, 401.
....., ....., asks for supplies of men, 401, 403.
....., ....., recommends Tirlogh M'Henry, 401, 481.
....., ....., on the cowardice of those in the English Pale, 402, 403, 425, 426.
....., ....., on "a new stock of English" in Ireland, 403.
....., ....., calls the Earl of Ormonde to the borders, 403.
....., ....., the failure of, in Ulster, 403, 418.
....., ....., garrisons placed on the borders by, 408.
....., ....., Tyrone hopes to prevent the relief of the Blackwater fort by, 408.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford on the journey into Ulster of, 410.
....., ....., and the Deanery of St. Patrick's, Dublin, 411, 412.
....., ....., sickness of, at Newry, 414–416, 420.
....., ....., death of, 415–417, 420–425, 428, 429, 431, 460.
....., ....., Sir Henry Bagenall on, 415–417.
....., ....., will of, 416, 417.
....., ....., children of, 417, 437.
..... ....., has spent his patrimony in the Queen's service, 417.

Burgh, Thomas, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., grant by, 419.
....., ....., changes in the companies effected by, 421.
....., ....., knowledge of Ireland acquired by, 424.
....., ....., testimony of, in favour of Philip Williams, 424, 428.
....., ....., defends his journey to the north, 425.
....., ....., on the treachery of officers in Offaley, 425.
....., ....., calls Tyrone "the great divill," 425.
....., ....., would purchase quietness for Ireland, 427.
....., ....., directions of, to the provincial commissaries, 428, 429.
....., ....., offer of, to Sir Ralph Lane, 428, 429.
....., ....., Sir Ralph Lane's answer to, 428, 429.
....., ....., promise of, to Sir Ralph Lane, 428.
....., ....., interview of, with James Nott, 429.
....., ....., and the training of soldiers, 429.
....., ....., abandons Armagh, 439, 456.
....., ....., and the issue of the treasure, 440.
....., ....., Clinton, a servant of, 446.
....., ....., Tyrone says his submission would never be accepted by, 456.
....., ....., rewards of, to Sir Calisthenes Brooke, 460.
....., ....., rewards of, to Tirlogh M'Henry, 471.
Burghley, William, Lord, *passim.*
....., ....., letters of, 324, 412.
....., ....., letters to, 1, 11, 13, 21, 24, 33, 37, 39, 41, 43, 48, 62, 67, 76, 80, 84, 88, 95, 96, 98, 99, 103, 106, 108, 112, 113, 114, 117, 119, 120, 121, 125, 130, 136–138, 142, 146, 147–150, 152–156, 159. 160, 162, 163, 167, 171, 172, 175, 177, 182, 187–191, 193, 194, 196, 198, 204, 205, 207, 210, 212–214, 216, 218, 219, 223–225, 229, 231, 233–237, 240–243, 245, 246, 248, 249. 252, 253, 255, 259, 262, 263, 265, 268, 273, 275, 277, 280, 281, 282, 284, 287, 288, 290, 291, 297, 299, 304, 306, 309, 311, 312, 314, 317, 318, 323, 330, 332, 333, 337, 339–342, 348–351, 358, 361–363, 366, 368, 371, 377, 379, 381, 382, 386, 391, 392, 395, 396, 401, 402, 405, 407, 412–416, 422, 423, 428, 429, 431, 433, 439, 441, 451, 454, 459–462, 464, 467, 470, 472–475, 477, 483, 492.
....., ....., extract from letter of, 156,
....., ....., petitions to, 155, 327, 328, 348.
....., ....., notes of, on letter of Sir Richard Bingham, 162, 163.
....., ....., "the father of all good counsel in this age," 170.
Burghley, William, Lord—*cont.*
....., ....., memorandum by, on forces requisite in Ireland, 254.
....., ....., notes by, on the project for suppressing the Irish rebellion, 254.
....., ....., presents to, from the Corporation of Waterford, 341.
....., ....., genealogical notes by, 351, 497.
....., ....., sketch of fort at the Blackwater sent to, 368.
....., ....., character of, by Sir Ralph Lane, 369.
....., ....., Lord Burgh cannot send chart of Ulster to, 393.
....., ....., sharp letter to Sir Henry Wallop by, 412, 413.
....., ....., gratitude of the Lord Chancellor Loftus to, 459.
....., ....., alterations by, in the articles for Tyrone, 463, 464.
....., ....., obligations of Sir Henry Wallop to, 474.
....., ....., charges by the Earl of Tyrone against, 477, 483, 489, 493.
Burke, Brian Teig, 177.
....., David, uncle to the supposed M'William, 284.
....., ....., lately repaired out of England, 284.
....., ....., may be useful in prosecuting M'William, 284.
....., ....., intelligence received from, 285, 286.
....., David Burke FitzJohn M'Oliverus, *alias* M'William Eughter, letters of, 144, 155.
....., ....., desires employment in Connaught, 155.
....., ....., petition of, 155.
....., ....., career of, 155.
....., Lady Mary, 239.
....., Oliverus, of Castlereagh, 286.
....., Oliverus M'Richard Enyeren, 475.
....., Richard, 174.
....., ....., son of the Devil's Hook, 324.
....., Thomas, 92.
....., Tibbott. *See* M'William.
....., Ulick, 25.
....., ....., helps [Ferdorogh] O'Kelly, 158.
....., ....., murderer of George Bingham, 408.
....., William, of Shrowle or Shrule, 380, 452.
....., of Castlebar, 236.
....., —, son of the late Baron of Leitrim, 485.
....., ....., mother of, 485.
Burkes, the, 6, 7, 9, 26, 28, 36, 42, 68, 106, 108.
....., ....., pledges of, 42, 280.
....., ....., at variance with O'Donnell, 102.
....., ....., associates of M'William, 104, 108, 137.

Burkes, the—*cont.*
....., ....., still stand out in Connaught, 145.
....., ..... Tibbott Ne Longe the man to reduce, 294.
....., ....., submission of the chief gentleman of, 303, 324.
Burnell, Henry, 346, 377.
....., John, a spy, 324, 437, 438.
....., ....., letter of, 358.
Burren, barony of, co. Clare, 84.
Butler, Captain, defeat of, 290.
....., Edmund. *See* Mountgarrett, Viscount.
....., Sir Edmund, 70, 73, 96, 102, 103, 112, 118, 120, 165, 192, 193, 255, 311.
....., ....., arrest of, and of his wife, 138.
....., ....., under some restraint in Waterford, 323.
....., James, son of Sir Edmund, and nephew of the Earl of Ormonde, 2, 29, 70, 72, 73, 96, 111, 112, 119, 193.
....., ....., hangs some soldiers, 80, 81.
....., ....., to marry Rory Oge's sister, 80.
....., ....., goes with all his forces to Feagh M'Hugh, 80, 120.
....., ....., joins the Moores in rebellion, 102.
....., ....., will not go to Dublin, 111.
....., ....., letter of, 159.
....., ....., dispersal of followers of, 165.
....., ....., intended flight of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 192.
....., ....., killed, 257, 311.
....., John, deceased, brother to Sir Edmund, 311.
....., Pierce or Piers, son of Sir Edmund, and nephew of the Earl of Ormonde, 2, 73, 96, 101, 111, 112, 158, 193, 255.
....., ....., consultation how to capture, 96.
....., ....., and the Earl of Tyrone, 96, 101.
....., ....., joins the Moores in rebellion, 102.
....., ....., will not go to Dublin, 111.
....., ....., marries Lord Mountgarrett's daughter, 120.
....., ....., joins Feagh M'Hugh, 120.
....., ....., letter of, 159.
....., ....., dispersal of followers of, 165.
....., ....., bad character of, 178.
....., ....., intended flight of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 192, 207.
....., ....., nearly captured, 207.
....., ....., in the Dullogh, 207.
....., ....., confederates of, 255.
....., ....., taken by the Earl of Ormonde, 294–296, 310, 311.
....., ....., head of, brought to Dublin, 309, 311.
....., Richard, 312.
....., Theobald, detained in Dublin Castle, 310, 311, 320.
Butler—*cont.*
....., Walter. *See* Mountgarrett, Viscount.
....., Walter, son of John Butler, deceased, 311.
Butlers, the, 2, 36, 43, 46, 70, 80, 92, 103, 104, 112, 140, 143, 170, 202, 324, 346.
....., ....., and "some notable murder," 101–103.
....., ....., desire restoration in blood, 43, 46, 80, 117, 120, 160.
....., ....., in arms, 46, 101, 102.
....., ....., cry out against Captain Lee, 117.
....., ....., burn the property of Captain Lee, 125.
....., ....., help reported to be given to Feagh M'Hugh by, 158, 159, 169.
....., ....., spoils by, in county Kilkenny, 169.
....., ....., adherents of Feagh M'Hugh, 180.
....., ....., successes against, 191.
....., ....., service promised upon, 192.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone and, 206.
....., ....., name of, hateful in Spain, 215.
....., ....., incursions by, 221.
Butter, price of, in Ireland, 227.
....., ....., in Bristol, 330.
....., bad, for Ireland, 401, 402.
Buttevant, Viscount. *See* Barry, Lord.
Bycknell or Bicknell, a paymaster in Connaught, 479, 482, 483.
Byrne, Donogh, letter of, 150.
....., Edmund, a pensioner, 347.
Byrnes. *See* O'Byrnes.

## C.

Caddell, Patrick, a merchant, advertisements from, 98, 165, 166.
Cadiz, capture of, by the English, 67, 141, 151, 153, 161, 177.
....., Spanish fleet for Ireland to depart from, 177.
....., arrival of the India fleet at, 177.
....., advertisements from, 204.
Calais, town of, 387, 411.
....., ....., plot for the getting again of, 429.
Caleb, 499.
Callan, co. Kilkenny, letters from, 111, 339.
Callough or Callow, the district of, garrison of, 174.
....., ....., Captain Dillon sent to, 186.
....., ....., O'Kelly ready to deliver, 186.
Calthorpe, Sir Charles, Attorney-General of Ireland, 78, 424.
....., ....., letters of, 149, 312, 424.
Campbell, Dionise, Dean of Limerick, letter of, 40.
Canary Islands, the, 46.

Cano, Don Alonso de, 260, 261.
Canterbury, 300.
....., letter to the Archbishop of, 390.
Cantire, Scotland, 30, 97, 232.
Cantwells, the, killing of, 299.
Cape, Northern, the, 173.
Capstock, a deputy-surveyor, 76.
Captains, method of choosing, 59, 165, 181.
....., decree to restrain extortion by, 230.
....., names of such as have charge in Ireland, 66, 97, 179.
....., misconduct of, 180–182, 231, 232, 235, 236, 249, 263, 265, 290, 297, 305, 315, 318, 337, 355, 356, 365, 390, 392, 395, 413, 481.
....., petition of, 263.
..... (knights), misconduct of, 195.
....., notes of, for Ireland, 138, 146.
....., muster-rolls of companies of, 146.
....., list of, 226, 460, 492.
....., note of, absent in England, 297.
....., reformation in conduct of, 315.
....., cassed, 405, 434, 455.
....., untrained, 431.
....., moneys due to, 495.
Carbery, barony of, co. Cork, 13.
Carew, Sir George, 321, 454.
Carlile, Captain Christopher, 268.
Carlingford, co. Louth, 36, 44, 51, 121, 165, 189, 194, 433.
....., ....., garrison of, 141, 492.
....., ....., Spaniards expected to land at, 158.
....., ....., castle of, 206.
....., ....., provisions for, 347, 358, 378, 389.
....., ....., troops to be sent to, 437.
Carlow or Catherlogh, county of, sheriff of, 80, 81.
....., ....., Earl of Kildare's lands in, 134.
....., ....., spoils in, 169, 175.
....., ....., like to be lost, 180.
....., ....., Sir W. Russell returns from, 245.
....., ....., continually subject to spoil, 390.
....., town of, 235.
....., ....., letters from, 240.
....., fort called, 346, 377, 462.
Carlton, Thomas, 189.
Carnebane, or Carackbawne. *See* Crobane.
Carmonye, near Belfast, 326.
Carrack Croe, letter from, 30.
Carrick, town of, 127.
....., ....., letters from, 30, 164.
Carrickfergus or Knockfergus, co. Antrim, 30, 268, 396, 397, 414, 433, 434, 449, 456, 481.
....., letters from, 30, 31, 72, 141, 171, 235, 254, 441, 444–6.
....., advertisements from, 69, 71, 72.
....., mayor of, 30, 268.
Carrickfergus—*cont.*
....., corn to be sent to, 84, 121.
....., the garrison at, 20, 217, 268, 480.
....., threatened, 141, 268, 441, 444, 445.
....., held by force, 144.
....., critical position of, 152, 154, 441, 444–446.
....., a bark ordered to, 188.
....., provision for, 240.
....., spoiled, 247.
....., Neale M'Hugh, prisoner in castle of, 254.
....., outrages at, 268.
....., constable of. *See* Eggerton, Captain Charles.
....., Captain Sir Edward Stanley asks for the command of, 289.
....., the Earl of Tyrone attempts to distress, 294, 295, 297, 301, 319, 334.
....., Captain Eggerton removed from the command of, 326.
....., Captain Merriman sent to, 326.
....., Sir John Chichester appointed governor of, 396, 434.
....., the Scots offer to come to, 435.
....., the Scots near, 441–446, 465–467.
....., defeat of Sir John Chichester near, 441–446, 451, 464–467, 480.
....., forces asked for, 441, 445, 446.
....., forces sent to, 444.
....., preys near, 445.
....., Captain Eggerton appointed governor of, 444–446.
....., deserters from, 449.
....., must be preserved, 451, 456.
....., Sir Ralph Lane asks for the colonelcy of, 465, 467.
....., profit of a governor at, 495.
Carroll, Sir Charles, letter of, 298.
....., ....., commends Sir William Russell, 298.
....., ....., sends hawks to Sir Robert Cecil, 299.
....., ....., charged with the killing of the Cantwells, 299.
....., ....., desires to be commended to Lord Burgh, 299.
Carrollanston, co. Westmeath, 72.
Cascales (? Cascaes, in Portugal), 406, 411.
Cashel, co. Tipperary, 14.
....., Meyler Magrath, Archbishop of, 486.
....., ....., letters of, 82, 95.
Casque, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Castell, George, letter of, 299.
....., ....., suits of, 299, 494.
....., ....., on letters of commendation, 299.
....., ....., case of, recommended by the Privy Council, 493, 494.
Castille, 354.

"Castillian," Adelantado Major de, 259.
Castlebar or Castle Barry, co. Mayo, 236, 292, 303, 324.
Castle Kevin, co. Wicklow, threats to besiege, 111.
....., ....., ward placed in, 158.
Castlereagh, house of Oliverus Burke, 286.
Castle Row or Roe, co. Londonderry, 30, 41.
....., ....., letter from, 9.
Castro, in Portugal, 254, 406.
Catherlagh. *See* Carlow.
Cavan, county of, 168, 279, 384, 495.
....., ....., revolt of the, 168.
....., ....., the "wild Irish," 328.
....., ....., Lord Burgh hopes to reduce the, 365, 366, 383.
....., ....., the garrisons in, 495.
..... ... Castle, capture of, 166.
....., losses of the rebels at, 400.
....., letters from the camp near, 382, 383.
....., the garrison at, 404, 420, 440.
....., accounts from, 433.
Cawell, George, advertisement of, 49.
....., ....., goes to Dublin, 62, 118.
....., ....., has license to return to the Earl of Tyrone, 63.
....., ....., good service of, 118.
....., ....., attack on, 118.
....., ....., accused of taking away a horse, 151.
....., ....., the vain advices of, 153.
Cawfield, Mr., 351.
Cecil, Sir Robert, *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 161, 295, 300, 320, 360, 398.
....., ....., letters to, 1, 2, 12, 22, 38–40, 46, 54, 61, 63 ,64, 67, 68, 76, 80, 85, 86, 96, 99, 104, 107, 108, 109, 112, 115, 116, 119, 120, 123–125, 127, 130, 135, 137, 138, 142, 147–149, 151, 153, 155–157, 159, 161, 162, 166, 171, 172, 176–178, 183–185, 187, 191, 193, 198, 199, 203, 204, 207–210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 218–220, 222, 224, 227–229, 232, 233, 236–238, 240–244, 246–248, 252–254, 257, 259–264, 267, 268, 273–275, 277, 278, 280–283, 287–291, 293, 294, 296–298, 300, 301, 304–306, 309–313, 315, 318, 322–325, 335, 337–341, 343, 345, 349, 350, 356, 358, 359, 363, 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 378, 379, 381, 383, 386–390, 392, 394, 398, 399, 402, 403, 406, 410–412, 414–417, 419, 421, 422, 424, 427–430, 432, 436–440, 445, 446, 448, 452, 454, 459, 460, 462, 467, 471, 473, 477, 479.
....., ....., on the government of Ireland, 138.
....., ....., on the expenditure in Ireland, 148, 320.
....., ....., touchstone for house of, 153, 254.
....., ....., and the employment of an Irish intelligencer in Spain 161.
Cecil, Sir Robert—*cont.*
....., ....., petitions to, 198, 228, 496, 497.
....., ....., and Lord Burgh, 297, 300, 320, 321, 339, 361, 385, 398, 416, 459.
....., ....., and Sir John Norreys, 298.
....., ....., hawks sent to, 299.
....., ....., on the replies of Lord Burgh to the Earl of Tyrone, 320.
....., ....., on the Queen examining the accounts, 320.
....., ....., on the payment of messengers, 320.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 321.
....., ....., and the office of Chief Butler of Ireland, 324, 325.
....., ....., and the wardship of the Earl of Ormonde's daughter, 323, 324.
....., ....., and the Earl of Essex, 361, 398.
....., ....., thanks Lord Burgh for a present of hawks, 361.
....., ....., censures Lord Burgh, 398.
....., ....., thinks Sir Geffrey Fenton should be sent to report on the state of Ireland, 398.
....., ....., gives news from Spain, 398.
....., ....., and the vacant posts in Ireland, 398.
....., ....., and the charges against John FitzEdmund, 403.
....., ....., present of a deer's head to, 406.
....., ....., an "overseer" of Lord Burgh's will, 417.
....., ....., memoranda by, on Ireland, 434.
Chamberlain, Michael, mayor of Dublin, examinations before, 245.
....., ....., certificates by, 246, 252.
....., ....., suits of, 281, 327.
Chambers, Thomas, Deputy Clerk for the Musters and Check, declaration by, 180.
....., ....., charges against, 196.
Champion, John, letter of, 94.
....., —, 347.
Chantry lands in Ireland, 20.
Chapman, —, 437.
....., Thomas, letter in favour of, 13.
Cheese, price of, in Ireland, 227.
....., ....., in Bristol, 330.
....., putrid, sent to Ireland, 334, 335.
....., ....., for Ireland, 401, 402.
Cheshire, 358, 498.
....., dearth in, 136, 148, 216.
....., butter in, 317.
..... cheese, 62, 317.
Chester, city of, 1, 2, 99, 108, 117, 133, 142, 146, 147, 149, 152, 156, 171, 188, 247, 283, 312, 323, 371.
....., ....., letters from, 1, 2, 62, 99, 121, 146–149, 152–155, 171, 188, 189, 242, 281, 283, 284, 317, 323, 341.
....., ....., musters at, 172.
....., ....., a *spelunca latronum*, 172.
....., ....., Thomas Smith, mayor of. *See* Smith, Thomas.

Chester, city of—*cont.*
....., ....., transport of soldiers to Ireland from, 284, 285.
....., ....., examination of merchants at, 318, 323.
....., ....., search for arms at, 323.
Chichester, Captain John, Serjeant-Major, afterwards Sir John, report by, 104.
....., ....., letters of, 192, 396, 398.
....., ....., burns towns in the Briskelagh, 192.
....., ....., takes two of the Eustaces, 192.
....., ....., at the killing of Feagh M'Hugh, 289.
....., ....., letters in favour of, 289.
....., ....., takes a castle, 357, 397.
....., ....., appointed Governor of Carrickfergus, 396, 434.
....., ....., takes the castle of Belfast, 396.
....., ....., defeats the rebels, 397.
....., ....., sends in twenty-one heads to Lord Burgh, 397.
....., ....., dealings of, with James M'Donnell and his brother Randal, 397.
....., ....., refers Angus M'Connell to the Council, 397.
....., ....., asks for provisions, 397.
....., ....., asks for the privileges of his post, 397, 398.
....., ....., was to have been sent to Lough Foyle, 439.
....., ....., defeat of, at Carrickfergus, 441–446, 451, 464–467, 480, 481.
....., ....., slain, 443, 444, 456, 466, 493.
....., ....., head of, sent to the Earl of Tyrone, 444, 445, 466.
....., ....., the office lately held by, 462, 465.
Chiswick, co. Middlesex, letter from, 318.
Christchurch, vicar of. *See* Bell, John.
Church of England and Ireland, service of, 15.
Clancarr. *See* Clancarty.
Clancarties, the, 212.
Clancarty or Clancarr, death of the Earl of, 230, 232, 480.
....., base son of the Earl of, 480.
....., Earls of, followers of the, 230.
....., ....., lands of the, 230, 480.
....., ....., ....., particular survey of, ordered, 330, 331.
Clandeboys, the, 397, 434, 456, 467, 480, 494.
Clandeboy, 164, 167, 241, 347, 357, 404.
....., North, co. Antrim, 69, 72.
Clandonnells, the, 376.
....., submission of the, 324.
....., promise to join O'Donnell, 376.
Clangibbon, letters from, 350.
Clan Jonyns, pledges of the, 280.
Clan Jordans, submission of the, 324.
Clanricarde or Clanrickarde, district of, co. Galway, 29, 174, 205, 211, 250, 409.
....., ....., spoiling in, 221.
....., ....., revenue of, 376.
Clanrickarde, Earl of, 6, 105.
....., ....., payment of revenue by, 162.
....., ....., letter to, 196.
....., ....., commission to, 196.
....., ....., letter of, 221.
....., ....., asks for help, 221, 223.
....., ....., to meet Sir Conyers Clifford with reinforcements, 250, 251.
....., ....., O'Donnell had sought the hand of the daughter of, 260.
Clanshies, the, 84.
Clare, cousin of Lord Burgh, 343.
....., county of, 43, 83.
Clark or Clarke, Sir William, letters to, 141, 248, 251.
Clery or Loughsewdye, priory of, co. Westmeath, 237.
Cleyton, Lancelot, pension of, 405, 406.
Clifford, Sir Conyers, governor of Connaught, 274, 300, 358, 423, 481.
....., ....., letters of, 212, 213, 216, 229, 239, 240, 244, 245, 250, 257, 258, 269, 280, 285, 305, 306, 314, 335, 371, 373, 379, 380, 407, 410, 422, 451, 452, 460.
....., ....., letters to, 244, 245, 250, 251, 269, 285, 324, 482, 492.
....., ....., directions for, 178.
....., ....., hindered from crossing over to Ireland, 194.
....., ....., opinions of, to be had concerning the armies proposed against the rebels, 194.
....., ....., arrival of, in Dublin, 199, 210.
....., ....., expected to reduce Connaught, 208.
....., ....., must have a "correspondence" from the Lord Deputy, 208.
....., ....., commissioned by, and sworn in of, the Irish Council, 211.
....., ....., stayed from going to Connaught until the return of Sir John Norreys, 211, 212.
....., ....., horse and foot allowed to, 211.
....., ....., on the draining away of the forces from Connaught, 213.
....., ....., is to be sent to Connaught when Armagh is relieved, 213.
....., ....., asks for men, &c. against O'Donnell, 216.
....., ....., on the state of the Pale, 216.
....., ....., six hundred pounds to be imprested to, 225.
....., ....., assisted by Sir John Norreys, 228.
....., ....., advised to "begin with" O'Rourke, 228.
....., ....., forces with, 228, 235, 252, 305, 372, 373, 380, 382.
....., ....., touching the numbers requisite for settling Connaught, 229.
....., ....., recommends Mr. Brook, 229.
....., ....., sent to Connaught, 229, 234, 239, 253.

Clifford, Sir Conyers—*cont.*
....., ....., on the project of three armies, 229.
....., ....., asks for men, munition, and victuals, 229, 239, 240, 280, 285, 305, 375–377, 407.
....., ....., on the supply of horses, 229.
....., ....., expects to succeed, 229.
....., ....., thinks forces should be in readiness on the English coast, 229.
....., ....., on the weakness of the companies with, 239, 252, 280, 285, 305, 372–377, 380.
....., ....., submissions received by, 239, 280.
....., ....., scarcity of victuals, &c. for the forces with, 239, 244, 245, 251, 280, 281, 285, 306, 372–377, 380, 382, 407–410, 452.
....., ....., marches into M'William's country, 239.
....., ....., retires to Galway, 239.
....., ....., relieves certain garrisons, 239.
....., ....., thinks the Irish endure in hopes of Spanish aid, 240, 375, 380.
....., ....., thinks the people of Connaught will never be subjects but by force, 240.
....., ....., can spare no forces from Connaught, 243.
....., ....., will not easily let slip hold of Sligo, 243.
....., ....., will do his utmost against O'Donnell, 244, 251.
....., ....., sends forces into O'Rourke's country, 245.
....., ....., journal of the doings of, 245.
....., ....., appoints the Earl of Clanrickarde to meet him with reinforcements, 250, 251.
....., ....., expects Tibbott Burke [Ne Longe], to join him, 251.
....., ....., has great hopes of Tibbott Burke, 251.
....., ....., all the country stand to see his good or bad success, 251.
....., ....., no submitter of any name offered to go with him, 251.
....., ....., advises reinforcements for Galway, 257.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone asks that M'William and O'Rourke may not be attacked by, 258.
....., ....., the Earl of Thomond recommended to, 266.
....., ....., will forbear attacking O'Donnell before the meeting, 269.
....., ....., will act as commanded concerning Connaught, 269.
....., ....., provisions, &c. asked for, 269.
....., ....., the Irish Council are careful to supply, 269, 302.
....., ....., supported by Sir John Norreys, 271.
Clifford, Sir Conyers—*cont.*
....., ....., answer of, to O'Donnell, 269, 271.
....., ....., has kept possession of Connaught for the Queen, 280.
....., ....., on the beggarly state of Connaught, 280, 305.
....., ....., services of, 280, 302.
....., ....., defensive war of, against O'Donnell, 280.
....., ....., offensive war of, against M'William, 280, 302, 305.
....., ....., has drawn Tibbott Ne Longe to submit, 280, 302, 311.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 280, 408, 410, 452–454.
....., ....., character of M'William by, 280.
....., ....., pledges taken by, 280.
....., ....., policy of, regarding Irish chiefs, 280.
....., ....., entertainment of, 281.
....., ....., is treating with Tibbott Ne Longe, 284, 303, 409.
....., ....., sends intelligence from David Burke, 285.
....., ....., Maurice Kyffin renders great assistance to, 291.
....., ....., success of, in Connaught, 291, 294, 302, 305, 307, 314, 324, 334, 338, 372–374, 390, 401, 408, 409, 452.
..... .., ....., to make a strength at Sligo against O'Donnell, 294, 302, 319.
....., ....., to be helped to get Ballyshannon, 302, 319.
....., ....., commended by the Irish Council, 302.
....., ....., submission of the chief gentlemen of the Burkes to, 303.
....., ....., the demands of Tibbott Ne Longe apostilled by, 303, 305.
....., ....., has seen to the base abuses of the captains, 305.
....., ....., hopes shortly to give a good account of O'Donnell, 305.
....., ....., proclamation by, has good effect, 305.
....., ....., on the late project to recover Connaught, 305.
....., ....., assistance given by Lord Burgh to, 305.
....., ....., moneys due to, 305, 338, 373, 376, 452, 454.
....., ....., on the composition in Connaught, 305, 376.
....., ....., begs a favourable consideration for the demands of Tibbott Ne Longe, 305, 306, 409.
....., ....., goes to Dublin, 306, 314.
....., ....., recommended by Lord Burgh, 307.
....., ....., returns to Connaught, 310.
....., ....., has taken good assurance of the county of Mayo, 314, 324.

Clifford, Sir Conyers—*cont.*
....., ....., forces sent by Sir John Norreys to, 314.
....., ....., desires to be enabled to stay O'Donnell, 314, 407–410.
... ....., ....., to be helped by Lord Burgh, 319.
....., ....., commended by the Privy Council, 319, 324.
....., ....., again drives M'William from Connaught, 322, 338, 372, 401.
....., ....., the Queen's satisfaction with, 324, 482, 492.
....., ....., expected to meet Lord Burgh at Lough Foyle, 334, 342, 344.
....., ....., drawn up near Ballyshannon, 334, 357.
....., ....., intends to fortify Sligo, 334, 401, 408.
....., ....., asks for 700*l.* to build the castle of Sligo, 334, 335.
..... , ....., beeves taken up in Connaught by, 334, 335.
....., ....., does not think O'Donnell will care to return to Connaught, 335.
....., ....., hopes to get Ballyshannon, 338.
....., ....., hopes to prevent O'Donnell from joining Tyrone, 338.
....., ....., forbears O'Rourke to follow O'Donnell, 338.
....., ....., is towards Sligo, 357.
....., ....., reported to have crossed the Erne, 364.
....., ....., on Lord Burgh's journey into Ulster, 371, 410.
....., ....., on the plans of the Earl of Tyrone, 371.
....., ....., on the "wicked priests" in Ireland, 372.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish in the army, 305, 372, 380.
..... .., ....., on abuses in the army, 372, 380.
....., ... ... on the pacification of Ireland, 372.
....., ....., on O'Donnell and Maguire, 372.
....., ....., nearly takes Ballyshannon, 372.
....., ....., on his administration of Connaught, 372, 376, 380.
....., ....., crosses the Erne, 373.
....., ....., reaches the Abbey of Ashers, 373.
....., ....., commends Sir Calisthenes Brooke, 373, 375, 460.
....., ....., defeats Maguire and O'Rourke, 374.
....., ....., retreat of Lord Burgh notified to, 374.
....., ... .., driven from Ballyshannon, 374, 375, 389, 493.
....., ....., addresses his troops, 375.
Clifford, Sir Conyers—*cont.*
....., ....., advises a thorough prosecution of the rebels, 375, 377, 380, 408, 410, 422.
....., ....., fears O'Donnell will offer to put up M'William again, 376.
....., ....., and the Clandonnells, 376.
....., ....., and Tibbott Ne Longe, 376.
....., ....., has taken up 700 beeves in Mayo, 376.
....., ....., accounts of, 376, 454.
....., ....., promises special service on O'Donnell, 377.
....., ....., Burghley's favourable exposition of the endeavours of, 379.
....., ....., on Sir John Norreys, 379.
....., ....., the government of Connaught never worth a sixpence to, 380.
....., ....., the great odds against, 380.
....., ....., bravery of, in the retreat from Ballyshannon, 382.
... ....., ....., the peril of, 398.
....., ....., praised by Lord Burgh, 401.
....., ....., will not be able to follow M'William, 407.
....., ....., on the importance of Ballyshannon, 408.
....., ....., hopes to win over O'Rourke, 408, 422, 451–453.
....., ....., account of the state of Connaught by, 409, 410.
....., ....., head of Thomas Burke sent to, 409.
....., ....., recommends the services of Tibbott Ne Longe, 409, 410.
....., ....., on his Irish soldiers, 410.
....., ....., calls O'Donnell "this prince of beggars," 410.
....., ....., hopes of, to have gained all Connaught, 422.
....., ....., submission of people of Connaught to, 422, 423.
....., ....., on Lord Burgh's death, 422, 453.
....., ....., hopes to bring Connaught to amendment, 422, 451–454.
....., ....., desires to be commended to the new Lord Deputy, 423.
....., ....., policy of, after Lord Burgh's death, 451–454.
....., ....., places sheriffs in three counties, 451, 481, 482.
....., ....., asks for a letter in favour of O'Rourke, 451, 452.
....., ....., has taken many pledges in Connaught, 451.
....., ....., has broken all O'Donnell's devices, 453.
....., ....., O'Donnell's new task for, 452, 453.
....., ....., project of, for ending the war, 453, 454, 482.

Clifford, Sir Conyers—*cont.*
....., ....., on the Earl of Ormonde, 453.
....., ....., offers his services in the treaty with Tyrone, 453, 482.
....., ....., hopes to gain Maguire, 453, 482.
....., ....., will make a defensive war, 454.
....., ....., and the government of Ireland, 454.
....., ....., retains, and places over bands, many of the Connaught rebels, 475.
....., ....., requests of, 476.
....., ....., concerning certain moneys sent to, 479, 480, 482, 483.
....., ....., directed to conclude with O'Rourke, 482, 492.
....., ....., to endeavour to gain Maguire, 482.
....., ....., to favour O'Connor Don and M'Dermott, 482.
....., ....., to follow the Earl of Ormonde's directions in martial affairs, 482, 491, 492.
....., ....., to consult the Lords Justices in civil matters, 482, 483, 492.
....., ..... hopes of, as to some of the Connaught rebels, 491.
....., ....., is given power to conclude with the Connaught rebels, 491, 492.
Clinton, —, a servant of Lord Burgh, 446.
Clonacashell (? Mayo), 78.
Clonemore (? Queen's Co.), letter from, 96.
Clonfert, Bishop of, 356.
Clonin co. Tipperary, letters from, 72, 102, 146.
Clonmel, co. Tipperary, 14, 295.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys writes on behalf of, 204.
Clonyberne, co Roscommon, 197.
Clothgronain [Cloghgrenan, Queen's County], 118.
Cloyne, co. Cork, 224.
Clynawly, co. Longford, prey of, 31.
Cobham, Lord, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, letter to, 229.
Cobos, Alonzo, 50.
Coimbra, in Portugal, 215.
Coissea, farm at, 30.
Colclogh, Sir Thomas, letter of, 29.
....., ....., letter to, 29.
Coleraine, co. Londonderry, 439.
Colley, Captain, 425.
Colley, Sir George, 425.
....., ....., preyed to his gate, 432.
Colman, Richard, Esq., Chief Remembrancer for Ireland, warrant to, 396.
....., ....., suit against, 498.
Comerford, Gerrott, Attorney-General of Connaught, letters of, 43, 223, 475.
....., ....., dangers incurred by, 223.
....., ....., expenses of, 223.
....., ....., arrears of pay of, 223.
....., ....., on the state of Connaught, 475.
Condon, Patrick, suit of, 325, 339, 348.
....., ....., letter of, 339.
....., ....., petition of, 348.
Conelaugh [Connello, barony of], 57.
Cong, co. Mayo, 5, 8, 28, 31.
....., garrison of, 28, 29.
....., letter from, 28.
Connaught, province of, *passim.*
....., ....., negotiations with the rebels of the, *passim.*
....., ....., rebellious condition of, 11, 12, 36, 37, 43, 48, 88, 89–93, 101, 102, 104, 106, 107, 108, 162, 170, 372, 408–410, 452–454, 482, 487.
....., ....., Attorney-General, *see* Comerford, Gerrott.
....., ....., combined with Ulster, 35, 170.
....., ....., to be divided from Ulster, 40, 90, 106.
....., ....., loss of castles in, 21, 41.
....., ....., people of, weary of the rule of O'Donnell, 4, 12, 56, 106, 107, 453.
....., ....., hatred of people of, to Sir Richard Bingham, 4, 11, 12, 33, 41, 53, 61, 65, 88, 90, 91, 104, 106, 107, 114, 115, 117, 124, 125, 130–133, 137, 228.
....., ....., devoted to the King of Spain, 36, 87.
....., ....., desirability of new Governor for, 41.
....., ....., the army may not be withdrawn from, 46.
....., ....., the people of, want their pledges from O'Donnell, 48.
....., ....., rebels of, in Limerick county, 94.
....., ....., the forces in, can no longer be spared, 103.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys recommended as governor of, *pro tem.*, 105, 109, 110, 115, 131, 133, 148.
....., ....., a new governor of, necessary, 107, 108, 116, 122, 123, 184, 218.
....., ....., the war in, 109.
....., ....., numbers of the troops in, 113.
....., ....., promises to the people of the, 115, 185.
....., ....., "staggering disposition" of the people of, 115.
....., ....., inconstancy of the people of, 168, 169.
....., ....., in the way of settling, 116, 185.
....., ....., the composition rents of the, 116, 122, 162, 178, 211, 305, 332, 376, 436, 480, 481, 482.
....., ....., the people of, look to "have their Macs and Oes," 117.
....., ....., the pledges of, 118, 215, 390, 422, 451–453.
....., ....., books of complaints by the people of, 122.

Connaught, province of—*cont.*
....., ....., Sir Geffrey Fenton on the submitters in, 130, 137.
....., ....., letters from the Council to the chief gentlemen of, advised, 130, 131.
....., ....., expenses in, owing to long cessation, 137, 143.
....., ....., the delays in, 142, 168.
....., ....., supplies for the army in, 143, 229.
....., ....., M'William and others still stand out in, 145.
....., ....., many in, adhere to O'Donnell and the Earl of Tyrone, 145.
....., ....., payments to forces in, 147.
....., ....., "all like to be worse than ever" in, 158.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes on behalf of those of, 159.
....., ....., martial law in, 160.
....., ....., the "Tartarian" waste in, 162.
....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham on the reduction and revenues of, 162, 163.
....., ....., detention of rents in, 162.
....., ....., by whom the revenues of, are paid, 162, 163.
....., ....., wine imported into, 162, 178.
....., ....., baronies in, 163.
....., ..... pasturage in, 163.
....., ....., the English that possessed lands in, 164.
....., ....., to be laid waste, 164.
....., ....., the people of, depend on help from the north, 168.
....., ....., an army to be sent into, 170.
....., ....., note of late service done in, 173.
....., ....., forces in, not too many for its defence, 178, 243.
....., ....., the chief charges of, how answered, 178, 211.
....., ....., the submitters in, stand firm, 137, 183.
....., ....., better-tempered than Leinster, 183, 199.
....., ....., the greatest part of, reduced by a sharp war, 184.
....., ....., M'William still holds out in, 184.
....., ....., better-tempered than any province except Munster, 185.
....., ....., results of Sir John Norreys leaving, feared, 185.
....., ....., greatly improved state of, 186.
....., ....., unsettled state of, 187.
....., ....., good forwardness of, 188, 314.
....., ....., no profit had from, 189, 214, 218.
....., stirs began in Ulster before they did in, 194.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford expected to reduce, 208.
Connaught, province of—*cont.*
....., ....., activity of Sir John Norreys against the rebels of, 208.
....., ....., account of the state of, by Sir John Norreys, 210, 211, 216.
....., ....., the Irish Council inform the gentlemen of, of the intended proceedings against Sir Richard Bingham, 211.
....., ....., Sir C. Clifford stayed from going to, until the return of Sir John Norreys, 211.
....., ....., commissioners to be appointed regarding the composition of, 211.
....., ....., horse and foot allowed to Governor of, 211.
....., ....., in danger through the draining away of forces thence, 213.
....., ....., the Irish Council on the state of, 215, 216.
....., ....., as bad as, or worse than, ever, 215.
....., ....., the poor and mean freeholders in, 215.
....., ....., critical condition of affairs in, 216.
....., ....., action of O'Donnell in, 218, 219, 221, 222, 225, 228.
....., ....., impoverished condition of, 219, 280, 305, 407, 408.
....., ....., submission of rebels in, 219, 324, 422.
....., ....., numbers requisite for settling, 229.
....., ....., the horsemen should be strengthened from the people of, 229.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford sent into, 234, 235, 239, 253.
....., ....., list of forces for, 235.
....., ....., Burke of Castlebar goes into, 236.
....., ....., corn for the army in, to be sent by sea, 237.
....., ....., desolate state of great part of, 239, 240.
....., ....., is fast tied to Tyrone and O'Donnell, 240.
....., ....., improved prospects in, 248, 294, 305, 310.
....., ....., the present state of, 250.
....., ....., reinforcements wanted in, 250, 305.
....., ....., corn and powder sent to, 250, 305.
....., ....., mustering of forces for, 252.
....., ....., Spanish ships seen off the coast of, 256.
....., ....., pension of Earl of Thomond out of the revenues of, 266.
....., ....., recovery of, 266, 305.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford will act in as commanded, 269.

Connaught, province of—*cont.*
....., ....., miserable estate of companies in, 270, 280, 282, 290.
....., ....., conspiracy formed for the spoiling of, 271.
....., ....., how the tumults in, may be in some sort repressed, 277.
....., ....., possession of, kept for the Queen, 280, 372.
....., ....., M'William arch-traitor of, 280.
....., ....., operations of Sir Conyers Clifford in, 280, 305, 372–377.
....., ....., provisions for, 290, 373.
....., ....., lack of supplies for the army in, 291, 305, 372–377.
....., ....., assistance of Maurice Kyffin in, 291.
....., ....., success of Sir Conyers Clifford in, 291, 294, 302, 305, 307, 314, 322, 324, 372–4, 390, 401, 408, 409, 422, 452.
....., ....., coming on to conformity, 294, 305.
....., ....., all the heads of the septs in, drawn in upon good pledges, 302.
....., ....., 5,000 famished in, 305.
....., ....., proclamation to people of, 305.
....., ....., waste, 318, 407–410.
....., ....., beeves taken up in, 334, 335, 376.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford does not think O'Donnell will return to, 335.
....., ....., for the most part reduced to very good conformity, 335, 338.
....., ....., O'Donnell undertook to rule, against the Queen, 372.
....., ....., Clerk of the Council in, 379.
....., ..... the traitors of, 380.
....., ....., castles captured in, 390, 409.
....., ....., M'William and O'Rourke have undertaken to disturb, 399.
....., ....., famine and poverty of, 404, 407–410.
....., ....., O'Donnell wishes again to set up M'William in, 404, 452, 453.
....., ....., account of the state of, by Sir Conyers Clifford, 409, 410.
....., ....., revenues of, 414.
....., ....., list of captains of horse and foot in, 429.
....., ....., revival of the title of M'William and other names in, 436.
....., ....., moneys due to the people of, 452, 483.
....., ....., many of the rebels of, retained and placed over bands, 475.
....., ....., the Attorney-General of, on the state of the province, 475.
....., ....., error in the accounts for, 479, 480, 482, 483.
....., ....., sessions for government in, 482.
Connaught, province of—*cont.*
....., ....., the clothing for the companies in, 495.
....., ....., how the troubles in, may be suppressed, 499.
Connors. *See* O'Connors.
Constable, Captain Robert, letters of, 441, 444.
....., ....., taken prisoner, 443, 444, 446, 465, 466.
....., ....., companies of, 465.
....., ....., sometime page to Burghley, 465.
....., ....., lieutenant of, 492.
Conyers, Mr. Auditor, 359.
Cooke, Richard, servant of Sir William Russell, 220, 269.
Cookstown, co. Meath, 72.
Cork, city of, *passim.*
....., ....., letter from, 13.
....., ....., jail at, 58.
....., ....., to be strengthened, 189, 198.
....., ....., Spaniards expected to attack, 198.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys to have charge of, 198.
....., ....., victualling ships driven into haven of, 290.
....., county of, 224 325.
....., ....., sheriff of, 347.
Cork and Ross, William Lyon, Bishop of, letter of, 13.
....., ....., on the state of religion in Munster, 13–20.
....., ....., on the character of the Irish, 16, 18.
....., ....., [Dr.] Meredith Hanmer brought to Ireland by, 427.
Corneish, Ro., of Plymouth, examination of, 286.
Cornwall, county of, intelligence from, 67.
Corry, —, Her Majesty's Serjeant-at-Laws in Ireland, death of, 390.
Costillo, co. Mayo, 186. *See* M'Costollo.
Cotille, Thomas, house of, 300.
....., ....., grave of, 300.
Courseyes or Courceys, barony of, co. Cork, 13.
Coventry, co. Warwick, 117.
....., ....., letter from, 127.
Crawford, Earl of, 204.
Crehan, James, a merchant, 131.
Creve [co. Donegal], letter from, 291.
Crobane ["Carnebane," or "Carackbawne"], near Newry, co. Down, letter from, 340.
....., ....., muster at 341.
Croft, Captain Francis, letters of, 281, 325.
....., ....., petition of 281.
....., ....., repairs to Dublin, 325.
....., ....., in the Brenny, 325, 326.
Crofton, Mr., 79.
....., John, petition of, 198.

Cromwell, Captain Henry, 108.
....., ....., muster-roll of company of, 146.
Crosbie, Patrick, complaints against, 181.
Crosse, Richard, servant of Sir Henry Wallop, 99, 332.
Crosswick, letter from, 154.
Cuan, or Coane, Lough. *See* Strangford, Lough.
Curbe [Corrib], Lough, co. Galway, 5, 28.
Curlews, the, cos. Sligo and Roscommon, 92, 97.
....., ....., letters from, 106, 118, 127.
Curraghboy, co. Roscommon, 81.
Curteys, Mr. Nicholas, Clerk of the Council of Munster, 415.

## D.

Dalkey, co. Dublin, village of, 86.
Dalton, Roger, 305.
....., Alison, widow of Roger, royal warrants in favour of, 305, 327.
....., ....., Roger, son of, a royal ward, 305, 327.
Danett, Mr., constable of Limerick Castle, letter on behalf of, 229.
Daniel, Bartholomew, servant of the Earl of Ormonde, 339.
....., William, preacher of the Word, letter of, 121.
Dantzic, rye from, 33, 194, 343, 357.
Daventry, co. Northampton, 117, 200.
David, King of Israel, 499.
Decies, Lord, Garrett FitzJames, *alias*, 305.
Delvin, barony of, co. Westmeath, 72.
....., Christopher Nugent, ninth Baron of, 28, 58, 69, 91, 100, 134, 293, 315, 325.
....., ....., letters of, 72, 102, 145.
....., ....., warned against the rebels, 28.
....., ....., danger of, 70.
....., ....., kinsmen of, slain, 72.
....., ....., letters on behalf of, 229, 233.
....., ....., has license for six weeks to repair into England, 233.
..... , ....., suits of, to the Queen, 255, 328.
....., ....., grant of lands to, 279, 283.
....., ....., grant of military command to, 279.
....., ....., apprehends some Nugents, 298.
....., ....., defeats the rebels in the Brenny, 325.
....., ....., asks for certain lands, 328.
....., ....., asks for certain companies, 328.
....., Edmund, a rebel leader, 407.
Denmark, powder and munition bought from, 383.
Denmark—*cont.*
....., corn could be brought from, to Ireland, 145, 233.
Dering, Anthony, servant of Captain Eggerton, letter of, 326.
....., Captain, pension of the late, 327.
Derry, Redmond O'Gallagher, Bishop of, letter of, 354.
Desmond, country of, cos. Kerry and Cork, 211, 212, 330, 331.
..... .., earldom of, 138.
..... rebellion, 348, 478.
....., Earl of, 478.
....., ....., Lord James, son of, 17.
....., Countess of, 325.
Desmonds, the, one of, to be created Earl of Desmond by the Spaniards, 277.
Devenish, Patrick, sailor, of Waterford, examination of, 191.
....., Christopher, news from Spain by, 174.
Dexter, Thomas, of Rabranne, 285, 286.
Didiaco, Jean. *See* Idiaques, Don Juan de.
Dillon, country of, called Maghericork, co. Westmeath, seneschalship of, 132, 212.
....., James, son of Sir Lucas, letters of, 212, 291.
....., ....., ....., desires the seneschalship of Maghericork, 212.
....., ....., ....., complains of Theobald Dillon, 212, 291.
....., Sir Lucas, the late, Chief Baron of the Exchequer in Ireland, 212.
....., Sir Robert, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in Ireland, advertisements from, 32.
....., ....., theft of stud of, 32.
....., ....., death of, 363, 367, 368, 370, 387, 424, 433.
....., Captain Theobald, 6, 79, 91.
....., ....., letters of, 186.
....., ....., letter to, 8.
....., ....., sent to O'Donnell, 94.
....., ....., services of, 186.
....., ....., hardships endured by, 186.
....., ....., petition of, 198.
....., ....., complaints against, by James Dillon, 212, 291.
..... ....., takes the name of O'Dillon, 212.
....., ....., money due to, 325.
....., ....., sent to Tibbott Ne Longe, 376.
....., Mr. Justice [Thomas], 78, 79, 475.
....., ....., committed to prison, 182.
Dinglecush or Dingle, co. Kerry, letter from, 94.
Dixon, Patrick, examination of, 245.
Dodd, Thomas, letter of, 251.
Dollardston, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
Donamore, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
Donegal, county of, 95.

Donegal county of—*cont.*

....., town of, 51, 98, 125, 129, 254, 259.

....., ....., the Spaniards at, 254.

....., ....., letter from, 269.

Donnoghane, 164.

Donogaurle [? Donegal], 75.

Doria, Prince Andrea, 386, 387.

*Dorothy*, the, a ship of Dublin, 276.

Dorsetshire, 156.

Dover, 300.

Dowdall, Sir John, foot-company of, 73.

....., ....., in charge of the fort of Duncannon, 203, 402.

....., ....., warrant from Privy Council to, 260.

....., William, declaration by, 262, 272.

Dowdinge, Thomas, merchant, 254.

Dowdy, John, merchant, report by, 142.

Dowgan, Rorie, examination of, 245.

Down, 93, 103.

....., constable of, 74.

....., Bishop of, letter of, 254.

Downamor, co. Kilkenny, letter from, 295.

Downs, the, 321.

Doyley, Dr., 197.

Drogheda, co. Louth, 62, 63, 85, 101, 120, 125, 142, 159, 176, 260, 262, 272, 386, 428, 473.

....., ....., letters from, 212, 217–220, 252–255, 259, 260, 261, 262, 264, 265, 267, 269–271, 273–275, 283, 290, 386, 399, 428, 467, 470, 472, 473, 477.

....., ....., mayor of. *See* Elcock, Bartholomew.

....., ....., ..... *See* Hamlin, Thomas.

....., ....., miserable impoverishment of, 270.

....., ....., letter of the Irish Council on behalf of, 315.

....., ....., the Earl of Kildare dies at, 364, 365, 368.

....., ....., moneys due to, 428.

....., ....., interview of Sir Ralph Lane with Lord Burgh at, 428, 429.

....., ....., Spanish and Italian prisoners committed to, in 1588, 428.

....., ....., troops to be sent to, 437.

....., ....., customer at, 497.

....., ....., comptroller at, 497.

Dromchane or Dromcan [? Dromcar, co. Louth], village of, 72.

....., ....., preyed, 103.

Drumconraugh [Drumcondra, co. Dublin], letter from, 42.

Dublin, city of, *passim*.

Dublin, city of—*cont.*

....., ....., letters from, 1, 2, 13, 25, 33, 34, 37–41, 46, 48, 59, 61, 64, 67–69, 76, 84, 86, 88, 92, 99, 100, 110, 112–116, 119, 124, 125, 128–130, 136–140, 142–144, 146–157, 162, 165, 172–175, 177, 182, 183, 185–188, 190–193, 199, 204, 205, 207–216, 219, 221, 222, 225, 227–239, 241–250, 252–257, 259–264, 268, 269, 272, 273, 275–277, 280–282, 284–312, 314–316, 318, 323–327, 332, 333, 335, 337, 340, 342, 348–350, 356, 359, 362, 363, 366–368, 370, 377–379, 381, 386, 387, 389–394, 396–398, 403, 406, 411–414, 419, 421, 423, 424, 427–433, 436–440, 444–446, 448, 454, 455, 457–464, 467, 471–474, 483, 492.

....., ....., mayor of. *See* Chamberlain, Michael.

....., ....., sheriffs of. *See* Palles and Shelton.

....., ....., Archbishop of. *See* Loftus, Adam.

....., ....., St. Sepulchre's by, letter from, 167.

....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham's accusers summoned to, 65, 68, 77, 104, 107.

....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham detained at, 37, 68, 78, 105.

....., ....., dangers threatening, 93, 126, 129, 137, 179.

....., ....., Connaught Commissioners have to return to, 105.

....., ....., replenished with traitorous seminary priests, 113.

....., ....., George Cawell lives in, 118.

....., ....., the "new College" in [Trinity College], 121, 188, 190, 193, 283.

....., ....., Lord Mountgarrett and others to be brought to the castle of, 138.

....., ....., certificate by gentlemen of, 142.

....., ....., most improbable that the King of Spain will come to, 153.

....., ....., carriage of fish to, 156.

....., ....., reduced to poverty by continual receipt of soldiers, 157, 169, 213, 287, 327.

....., ....., absence of Sir William Russell from, inconvenient, 162.

....., ....., Spanish news from merchants returned to, 174.

....., ....., the Spaniards expect no resistance in Ireland save from, 177.

....., ....., burning by Tyrone's troops within 12 miles of, 177.

....., ....., hatred in, of the English, 179.

....., ....., townsmen of, commanded to have guns, &c., ready in their houses, 179.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys with all forces ordered to, 184.

....., ....., grant by the Queen to the college of, 190, 283.

Dublin, city of—*cont.*
....., ....., suits on behalf of the college in, 193.
....., ....., preaching of God's Word in, 193.
....., ....., castle of, to be well guarded 198.
....., ....., munition to be sent to, 199, 217.
....., ....., news that there should be a Parliament holden at, 201.
..... .., ....., distrust of mayor and sheriffs of, by the Irish Council, 212.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford stayed in, 212.
....., ....., heads of rebels brought to, 214, 315.
....., ....., loans from merchants of, 225, 357, 378, 436, 450, 461.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone threatens to come and see, 249.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde writes on behalf of citizens of, 277.
....., ....., explosion of gunpowder at, 243–246, 249, 252, 255, 262, 277, 231, 282, 287, 318, 325, 327.
....., ....., suits of mayor and sheriffs of, 281, 327.
....., ....., the Lord Chancellor Loftus writes on behalf of citizens of, 287.
....., ....., Sir Henry Wallop writes on behalf of citizens of, 287.
....., ....., the head and quarters of Feagh M'Hugh sent to, 287, 289.
....., ....., the Pale of, 293.
....., ....., Viscount Roch restrained in the castle of, 293.
....., ....., the Records of Survey to be placed in the castle of, 295, 296.
....., ....., the captains "would make a city of London at," 297.
....., ....., victuals in store in, 300.
..... ....., munition in store in, 306.
....., ....., head of Piers Butler brought to, 309.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde goes to, 309.
....., ....., Sir Henry Wallop concerning certain trials at, 311.
....., ....., embezzlement of records in, 311, 322, 324, 346.
....., ....., examination of merchants of, for importing arms, &c., 318, 323.
....., ....., moneys due to citizens of, for victualling of soldiers, 325, 327.
....., ....., losses of citizens of, in the explosion, 325, 327.
....., ....., petition of mayor and citizens of, 327.
....., ....., juries in, 327.
....., ....., forfeitures, fines, &c., in, 327.
....., ....., manufacture of "yearne" in, 327.
Dublin, city of—*cont.*
....., ....., customs on woollen clothes at, 327.
....., ....., impost on wines at, 327.
....., ....., putrid cheese sold to the poor inhabitants of, 335.
..... ....., Feagh M'Hugh's wife brought prisoner to, 338, 388.
..... ....., Deanery of St. Patrick's, 363, 364, 366, 368, 370, 371, 379, 381, 389, 411, 412.
....., ....., arrival of provisions at, 364, 367.
....., ....., bad wheat sent to, 367.
....., ....., contagious sickness at, 368.
....., ....., "the most chargeablest place of the realm," 371.
....., ....., Lord Burgh returned to, 390.
....., ....., Tyrone may easily come to the gates of, 423.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys elected Lord Justice at, 430.
....., ....., submitted rebels sent to, 434.
....., ....., troops to be sent to, 437.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde asked to repair to, 446.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde goes to, 455, 457, 458.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde leaves, 462.
....., ....., Grand Cessor at, 497.
....., ....., Collector of Ecclesiastical Fines at, 497.
....., ....., Clerk of the First Fruits Office at, 497.
....., ....., Second Ingrosser at, 497.
....., ....., Second Chamberlain at, 497.
....., ....., surveyor at, 497.
....., ....., victualler at, 497.
....., ....., customer at, 497.
....., ....., comptroller at, 497.
Duffs, the, 81.
Duke, Sir Henry, charges against, 181.
Dullogh, district of the, co. Dublin, 207.
Dunboyne, co. Meath, rectory of, survey of, 312.
....., ....., fee-farm of, 327.
....., ....., rent of, 348.
....., ....., tithes of, 462, 481.
....., ....., the garrison at, 495.
Duncannon or Dungannon, co. Wexford, fort of, 203, 313, 402.
....., ....., should be strengthened, 120, 234, 303, 313.
....., ....., easy for Spaniards to land below the, 198.

Dundalk, co. Louth, 3, 8, 12, 44, 49, 54, 56, 63, 69, 72, 88, 94, 95, 104, 113, 117, 143, 165, 174, 189, 191, 192, 194, 205, 206, 217, 219, 220, 222, 237, 240, 241, 245, 248, 251, 256, 259, 264, 269–272, 275, 276, 290, 295, 297, 310, 325, 332, 342, 344, 362, 377, 458, 462, 463, 471, 473, 477, 483, 486, 488.

....., ....., letters from, 42, 44, 60, 96, 221, 248, 256, 278, 280, 310, 370, 427, 479.

....., ....., critical position of, 154, 164.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone comes with his forces near, 167, 217.

....., ....., wasting on the borders of, 186.

....., ....., forces for the journey to, 239, 244, 245, 250.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone will not come to, unless his first pledges are released, 247.

....., ....., the rebels intend to prey, 248.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone will not fail to meet the Commissioners at, 265.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone avoids answering directly as to his coming into, 267.

....., ....., O'Donnell purposes to join in a treaty of peace at, 269.

....., ....., no likelihood of the Earl of Tyrone coming to, 270–272.

....., ....., causes given by the Earl of Tyrone for not coming into, 272, 273, 275.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys at, 278.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone near, ready to treat, 278.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys refuses to treat at, 278, 279.

....., ....., rendezvous of forces at, 332, 333, 338.

....., ....., Lord Burgh going to, 400.

....., ....., the garrison at, 440, 467, 492.

....., ....., miserable state of the forces at, 467, 468, 470.

....., ....., "the beggarly town of," 468.

....., ....., O'Donnell expected near, 473.

....., ....., treaty with the Earl of Tyrone near, 477, 478, 483–490.

Dundrum, co. Down, castle of, 75, 103.

....., ....., forces sent from, 444, 445.

Dungannon, co. Tyrone, 72, 74, 88, 126, 129, 236, 246, 248, 249, 256, 258, 342, 424, 449.

....., ....., letters from, 96, 97, 142, 246, 247, 251, 259, 261, 264, 265, 270, 272, 273, 286, 307, 314.

....., ....., making of arms at, 75, 86.

....., ....., burnt by Lord Burgh, 365, 366.

Dunluce Castle, co. Antrim, 448.

....., ....., ....., three Spanish pieces of ordnance planted at, 397.

Dunmow, co. Meath, 81.

Dunsany, Lord, horse-company of, 56.

....., ....., petition of, 495.

....., ....., brother of, 495.

....., ....., losses of, 495.

Dutchmen, 47.

Dwally, district of, 212.

Dymok, John, 417.

Dyrrecke, Lyttell, 327.

## E.

Eastmeath, 70, 146, 168.

Eaugh [Neagh], Lough, *alias* Lough Sydney, 358, 397, 407.

Edeirdocarrig, or Edenduscarrick, castle of, taken, 357, 358, 397.

Edmund Oge. *See* O'Neill.

Edward III., King of England, 322.

Edwardes, Robert, of London, 317.

Eggarton or Eggerton, Captain Charles, Constable of Carrickfergus, 268, 467.

....., ....., letters of, 30, 141, 171, 268, 441, 443–445.

....., ....., arrears of pay of, 30, 171, 268, 326, 327.

....., ....., sufferings of, and of his men, 171, 268.

....., ....., craves leave to repair to England, 171, 268, 269, 327.

....., ....., warrant for payment to, and to his men, 195.

....., ....., fined and imprisoned, 268.

....., ....., charges against, by Captain Mansell, 268.

....., ....., suits of, 325–327.

....., ....., letters to, 444, 445.

....., ....., letter to wife of, 326, 327.

....., ....., removed from his command, 326.

....., ....., fights with Captain Mansell, 326.

....., ....., complains of Sir William Russell, 326.

....., ....., charges of, against Captain Merriman, 326.

....., ....., charges of, against Ensign Pullen, 326.

....., ....., Belfast Castle, taken from, 326.

....., ....., illness of, 327.

....., ....., on the defeat at Carrickfergus, 441–445.

....., ....., narrow escape of, 443.

....., ....., appointed Governor of Carrickfergus, 444–446.

Eirwin [? Irvine], town of, 235.

Elcock, Bartholomew, mayor of Drogheda, letters of, 254, 386.

Eliot, John, a Baron of the Exchequer, and a Commissioner to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, 43, 44, 60.
....., ....., letters of, 42, 44, 45, 60.
....., ....., letter to, 45.
....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 42–44.
Elizabeth, Queen, *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 194, 196, 198, 225, 266, 293, 301, 305, 312, 317, 328, 401, 430, 433, 434, 449, 490, 492.
....., ....., style and title of, torn out from Irish school books, 17.
....., ....., disposed to enter into war, 59, 274, 275.
....., ....., disposed to pacification, 63.
....., ....., strictures of, on the government of Ireland, 63, 266, 491.
....., ....., as to the pardon of the Earl of Tyrone, 66.
....., ....., on the expenditure in Ireland, 319, 320, 329.
....., ....., petitions to, 134, 230.
....., ....., displeasure of, at the state of Ireland, 138, 147.
....., ....., writes to the King of Spain that the Irish have made peace, 150, 166.
....., ....., anger of King of Spain at his letters being presented to, 159, 166.
....., ....., grant by, to the College of Dublin, 190.
....., ....., conferences of, with Sir Robert Gardener, 196.
....., ....., letter of Sir Ralph Lane to, 214.
... ....., ....., is inclined to grant the petitions of the Earl of Kildare, 225.
....., ....., just conceit of, as to the Earl of Tyrone's unsoundness, 237.
....., ....., is disposed to give mercy to the Earl of Tyrone, 237.
....., ....., commandment of, concerning the northern urraghs, 238.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone cannot, of himself, withstand the army of, 261.
....., ....., rejects the plot of the Irish Council for the prosecution of Tyrone, 266.
....., ....., has caused a new plot to be devised for proceeding against Tyrone, 266.
....., ....., slander of a bishop against, 279.
....., ....., finds it very inconvenient for Sir John Norreys to go to England, 281.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's solemn vow regarding peace with, 286.
....., ....., instructions of, to Lord Burgh, 293.
....., ....., on O'Donnell's escape, 293.
....., ....., much troubled at some knights made in Ireland, 300.
....., ....., annoyed at the sending of Feagh M'Hugh's head to England, 300.
Elizabeth, Queen—*cont.*
....., ..... warrants of, 301, 303, 327, 328.
....., ....., success of, against the Spaniards, 308.
....., ....., and the Earldom of Ormonde, 311, 322–324.
....., ....., Sir William Russell barred the presence of, 321.
....., ....., prayer made by, 321.
....., ....., satisfaction of, with Sir Conyers Clifford, 324, 482, 492.
....., ....., on the peopling of Munster with English, 329, 330.
....., ....., frauds in connexion with the Irish lands of, 346, 347, 377.
....., ....., Irish leaders promise not to conclude peace with, 352.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone will renew the war with, 352.
....., ....., and the making of knights by Lord Burgh, 361.
....., ....., Lord Burgh's desire for the sight of, 385, 401.
....., ....., death of Sir John Norreys a "great grief" to, 401.
....., ....., bequests of Lord Burgh to, 417.
....., ....., appoints the Earl of Ormonde Lieutenant-General of the forces in Ireland, 430, 449, 450.
....., ....., touching the entertainment of the Earl of Ormonde and the Lords Justices, 430, 481.
....., ....., appoints the Lord Chancellor Loftus and Sir Robert Gardener to be Lords Justices of Ireland, 449, 450.
....., ....., on Sir Thomas Norreys as President of Munster, 449, 450.
....., ....., thanked by the Irish Council for relief given, 456.
....., ....., goodness of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 484, 489.
....., ....., commends the Earl of Ormonde, 490.
....., ....., directions of, to the Earl of Ormonde, as to the Irish rebels, 490, 491.
Ellistonread (? co. Meath), preyed, 176.
Ely, district of [country of O'Carroll, King's County], 29.
England, 65, 68, 76, 98, 99, 106, 114, 115, 118, 122, 124, 139, 141, 143, 148, 157, 171, 173–5, 193–196, 200–204, 211, 212, 216, 229, 230, 233, 235, 244, 247, 250, 257, 266–269, 270, 274, 276, 279, 281, 289, 298, 299, 300, 303, 306, 311, 313, 317, 324, 327, 333, 334, 341, 350, 351, 352, 365, 367, 369, 371, 375, 378, 383, 389, 391, 398, 399, 404, 412, 413, 416, 417, 420, 426, 428, 429, 431, 432, 438, 440, 441, 450, 453, 454, 456, 463, 465, 473, 479–483, 486, 487, 489, 493, 499.
....., great dearth in, 136, 288, 319.
....., designs of King of Spain against, 141, 173–175, 177, 191, 254, 275, 276, 278.

England—*cont.*
....., Spanish report that a Catholic King would soon be crowned in, 177.
....., Lord Chief Justice of, 201.
....., books concerning the succession to the Crown of, 203.
....., history of, by Cardinal Allen, 203.
....., Lord Chancellor of, 203.
....., suggested removal of certain Irish trials to, 224.
....., cannot expel the Scots from Ireland, 227.
....., a special force must be sent from, if the Spaniards come, 235.
....., preparation of a fleet in, advised, to threaten Spanish dominions, 253.
....., reported preparation of a fleet in, 254.
....., fears that the Spanish fleet will be fired by that of, 254, 257.
....., corn sent to Ireland from, 257, 319, 357, 364, 367, 404.
....., corn to be provided from, for Ireland, 267, 357.
....., the Earl of Tyrone offers to repair into, 278.
....., no hope of supplies from, for Ireland, 282.
....., note of captains and pensioners absent in, 297.
....., report of great quantity of rye come into, 309.
....., concerning great trials in, 311.
....., Richard Butler sent to, 312.
....., export of arms, &c., from, for Ireland, 318, 323.
....., sick soldiers sent to, 344.
....., deserters propose to go to, 358.
....., clothing for soldiers from, 359.
....., fine imposed by the Star Chamber in, 363, 366, 370.
....., a sound lawyer to be sent from, for the post of Chief Baron, 371.
....., a lawyer wanted from, as Serjeant-at-Laws, 391.
....., Lord High Admiral of. *See* Howard.
....., a supply of herrings asked from, 456.
....., the Catholics in, 487.
....., likelihood of a peace between Spain and, 493.
....., the Exchequer of, 499.
Ennezon [Inisowen], O'Dogherty's country, 129.
Enniscorthy, co. Wexford, timber-works at, 46, 47, 492.
Ennisketin, within the river of Limerick, 276.
Enniskillen, co. Fermanagh, capture of castle of, by Maguire, 212.
Erne, Lough, co. Fermanagh, 163, 338.
....., the river, 250, 251, 334, 364, 373, 374.
Essex, Robert Devereux, Earl of, 45, 51, 52. 55, 64, 97, 381.
....., ....., letters to, 151, 316, 317.
....., ....., to give instructions concerning the musters, 193.
....., ....., despatch of [to the Spanish coast], 318, 319, 337, 361.
....., ....., objects of the expedition under, 321.
....., ....., and Lord Burgh, 339, 343, 361, 366, 385, 398.
....., ....., and Sir Robert Cecil, 361, 398.
....., ....., at Ferrol, 398.
..... butter, 402.
Eustace, —, 117.
....., David, of Bolibegg, 73.
Eustaces, the, 140, 143, 180, 192.
....., ....., help reported to be given to Feagh M'Hugh by, 158, 159.
....., ....., successes against, 191, 192.
....., ....., incursions by, 221.
Evers, Mr., 343.
Exchequer, the Barons of, 293, 317.

## F.

Fallon, Redmond, letter of, 211.
Fallonslow [? co. Louth], letter from, 127.
Farrinenerrin, town of, burning of, 117.
Faugher [? co. Donegal], 221.
Fawkner, Mr., a priest, intrigues of, 199, 200, 204.
"Fayrckole," "Fayrcole," "Farckeol," or "Farkeole" [? Forkhill, co. Armagh], letters from, 456–458.
Feagh M'Hugh. *See* O'Byrne.
Fearne Priory [Farrinepriory, Queen's County], 469.
Federt [? Fethard, co. Tipperary], 14.
Fenton, Sir Geffrey, Secretary in Ireland, and one of the Commissioners for the Affairs of Ulster and Connaught, Surveyor of the Queen's Possessions in Ireland, &c., *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 2, 11, 12, 24, 28, 41, 61, 67, 71, 80, 94, 97, 102, 104, 106–108, 113–116, 124, 130, 133, 137, 150, 151, 153, 156, 162, 165, 172, 175, 182, 183, 185, 187, 188, 190, 199, 210, 217, 219–222, 227, 232, 234, 237, 238, 244, 246, 248, 251, 253, 257, 260, 263, 264, 267, 270, 271, 273, 275, 280, 282, 287, 291, 294, 300, 301, 310, 323, 324, 325, 341, 366, 370, 378, 379, 387, 389, 390, 403, 406, 414, 421, 436, 438, 448, 459, 462, 473, 477.

Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., letters to, 8, 10, 11, 28, 42, 79, 126, 152–154, 161, 185, 186, 211, 218, 239, 246–249, 251, 259–261, 264, 265, 270, 271, 272, 280, 281, 283, 285, 447, 449.
....., ....., report to, 8.
....., ....., styles Sir Richard Bingham "Improvido," 11, 12.
....., ....., report by, 35.
....., ....., services of, and his treatment, 23, 185, 187, 188, 220, 221, 237, 241, 288, 294, 327, 387, 388, 405, 436.
....., ....., on the rebels, 28, 80, 106, 107, 115, 176, 244, 249, 267, 270, 282, 287, 288, 294, 370, 405, 421, 422, 438, 449, 474.
....., ....., returns from Connaught, 38, 56, 108.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 41, 61, 80, 107, 108, 130, 150, 210, 217, 219, 222, 234, 237, 238, 244, 249, 257, 260, 267, 270, 271, 275, 280, 282, 294, 300, 301, 310, 404, 438, 477, 478.
....., ....., on the purpose of pacification, 55, 61, 67, 106–108, 113–116, 175, 176, 459.
....., ....., on the government, 61, 130, 150, 156, 182, 210, 222, 223, 238, 244, 282, 301, 405, 421, 422, 438.
....., ....., must repair again to Athlone, 61, 67, 69.
....., ....., complaints of Sir Richard Bingham against, 78, 89, 91, 112, 113, 128.
....., ....., examines George Goodman, 79.
....., ....., on O'Connor, Sligo, 102.
....., ....., on the causes of Sir Richard Bingham, 104, 106, 107, 108, 112, 113–115, 124, 125, 137, 199, 227.
....., ....., hopes for the coming in of M'William, 104, 137.
....., ....., on Philip O'Reilly, 105.
....., ....., on O'Donnell, 106, 107, 219, 294.
....., ....., on the Irish, 107, 150, 262.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Sir Richard Bingham, 112, 128, 131–133, 178.
....., ....., stayed from going into Connaught, 115.
....., ....., goes to Connaught, 116.
....., ....., on the differences between Sir William Russell and Sir John Norreys, 116, 153, 182.
....., ....., on the Irish climate, 124.
....., ....., on the projects of the Spaniards, 124, 137, 153, 156, 183, 219, 227, 244, 249, 262, 275, 276, 300, 301, 405.
....., ....., goes to Dublin, 131.
....., ....., advises the receiving to pardon of Feagh M'Hugh, 124, 130, 150, 219.
....., ....., declaration before, 129.
Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., on the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, 137, 138, 150, 162, 173, 175, 219, 244, 287.
....., ....., on the submitters in Connaught, 130, 137, 183, 199.
....., ....., recommends two spies for Spain, 151, 238, 253.
....., ....., sickness of, 156, 176, 183, 209, 459, 473.
....., ....., never promised Feagh M'Hugh his pardon, 165.
....., ....., asks that his advices be kept secret, 173, 182, 223.
....., ....., declaration of Lestrange against, 182.
....., ....., advises a general muster in Ireland, 183.
....., ....., treatment of, in the matter of Sir Robert Gardener's mission, 187, 188, 219, 220, 221, 227.
....., ....., writes on behalf of the College of Dublin, 190.
....., ....., petitions to, 197.
....., ....., envious writing against, 199.
....., ....., to go with Sir John Norreys to Armagh, 208, 209, 211.
....., ....., styles Sir William Russell "Menelaus," 210.
....., ....., advises another Lord Deputy for Ireland, 210, 222.
....., ....., recommends decisive action with regard to the Earl of Tyrone, 210, 301.
....., ....., on the state of religion in Ireland, 210, 244, 245.
....., ....., conference of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 217, 221.
....., ....., on the relief of Armagh by Sir John Norreys, 219.
....., ....., was imprisoned by Sir John Perrot for debt, 220.
....., ....., on the project of employing three armies, 222, 227.
....., ....., thinks Sir John Norreys should have been Lord Deputy for a time. 222.
....., ....., against the employment of Scots, 227, 232, 234.
....., ....., on Florence M'Carthy, 232.
....., ....., on the new project for the suppression of the rebellion, 234.
....., ....., thinks Lord Burgh's coming should be hastened, 234, 282.
....., ....., prays for instructions as to the meeting with the Earl of Tyrone, 237.
....., ....., age of, 237.
....., ....., begs Lord Burghley's furtherance of his suit, 237.
....., ....., to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, 239.
....., ....., instructions given by, to Captain Warren, 242, 243, 264.

Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., expects to hear from Captain Warren, 244.
....., ....., thinks the combination of Leinster and Ulster must be broken, 244.
....., ....., on the gunpowder explosion at Dublin, 244.
....., ....., note of, on Weston, 251.
....., ....., advises preparation of a fleet for threatening Spanish dominions, 253, 257, 300.
....., ....., begs Sir Robert Cecil to favour his poor suits, 257.
....., ....., thinks Sir Robert Gardener's mission might be dissolved, 257.
....., ....., thinks Sir John Norreys should be sent for to Dublin, 260.
....., ....., will start for Drogheda, 260.
....., ....., moved in the Council that Sir John Norreys should be sent for, 262.
....., ....., sent to Drogheda, 262.
....., ....., arrives at Drogheda, 262.
....., ....., advises short extension of the truce with the Earl of Tyrone, 262.
....., ....., desires further instructions, 264.
....., ....., has nearly drawn away Brymycham, the Earl of Tyrone's secretary, 264.
....., ....., desires money for spies, &c., being already spent "to the bones," 264.
.. ....., ....., has written to the Earl of Tyrone about some spoils, 264.
....., ....., hopes to return soon to Dublin, 264.
....., ....., urges the relief of Armagh, 264.
....., ....., advises preparation for war, 267, 271.
....., ....., on the conference between Brian Ne Sawgh and Tirlogh M'Henry, 270.
..... ..., ....., will repair home after Captain Warren's return, 271.
....., ....., recommends reinforcement of places of garrison, 271.
....., ....., advises immediate preparation of a fleet, 275, 276.
....., ....., considers Lord Burgh should have definite directions as to the Earl of Tyrone, 275, 280, 282, 288.
....., ....., is ready to join Sir John Norreys at Dundalk, 275.
....., ....., writes on behalf of one of the Council Chamber messengers, 275.
....., ....., sends intelligences from Spain, 275.
....., ....., urges Nicolas Weston be recommended to Lord Burgh, 276.
....., ....., John Walley, servant of, 280.
....., ....., suits of, 280, 288, 327.
Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., letter to Sir William Russell sent through, 281.
....., ....., sends intelligence from Weston, 282, 447.
....., ....., on the scarcity in Ireland, 282, 405.
....., ....., on the importance of the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 287, 404.
....., ....., thinks the Spaniards built more upon Feagh M'Hugh than upon the Earl of Tyrone, 287.
....., ....., has written to Sir John Norreys to work with Tyrone on the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 287.
....., ....., thinks Tyrone may be holden in suspense till Lord Burgh comes, 288.
....., ....., eighteen years' service of, in Ireland, 288, 294, 327.
....., ....., letter intercepted by, 290.
....., ....., on the arrival of Lord Burgh, 291.
....., ....., on the driving of M'William from Connaught, 294.
....., ....., on employing Tibbott Ne Longe, 294.
....., ....., hopes for the early quieting of Leinster and Connaught, 294.
....., ....., on the preservation of the records of survey, 295.
....., ....., deplores the want of good spies, 300.
....., ....., on the good agreement beween Lord Burgh and Sir John Norreys, 300.
....., ....., thinks Sir John Norreys should remain yet awhile in Dublin, 300.
....., ....., on the lack of victuals, money, and munition, 301.
....., ....., on the preparations for the journey into Ulster, 310.
....., ....., on the coming in of Tirlogh M'Henry, 310.
....., ....., has good confidence in the recovery of Connaught shortly, 310.
....., ....., on the Earldom of Ormonde, 323.
....., ....., urges Sir Robert Cecil to obtain the office of Chief Butler of Ireland, 324, 325.
....., ....., to accompany Lord Burgh in the journey against Tyrone, 325, 334.
....., ....., writes in favour of Mr. Plunkett, 325.
....., ....., asks for a part of the forfeitures of Philip O'Reilly's sureties, 327.
....., ....., asks for the fee-farm of the parsonage of Dunboyne, 327.
....., ....., asks for the late Captain Dering's pension, 327.
....., ....., charge of, against Sir William Russell, 327.
....., ....., long attendance of, at Court about Sir John Perrot's causes, 327.

Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., on Lord Burgh's passage of the Blackwater, 341, 342, 360.
....., ....., claim by, 348.
... ....., ....., sent to the Pale to procure beeves, 370, 379.
....., ..... , sent to work up a party in the Brenny, 370.
....., ....., on the scarcity of beeves, 370, 378, 379.
....., ....., on the need of beer for the soldiers, 378, 379.
....., ....., on Lord Burgh's household expenses, 389.
....., ....., and Spanish prisoners in Ireland, 389.
....., ....., on Lord Burgh's services, 389.
....., ....., on the death of Serjeant Corry, 390, 391.
....., ....., wardship granted to, 396, 436.
....., ....., to be sent to report on the state of Ireland, 398.
....., ....., "a mixture of a soldier and a long robe," 398.
....., ....., on the failure of Lord Burgh in Ulster, 403.
....., ....., on the weakness of the bands, 403, 404.
....., ....., on Feagh M'Hugh and his sons, 404.
....., ....., and the troubles of Ireland, 405.
....., ....., on the futility of force, 405, 421, 422, 438, 449.
....., ....., charges against, 405.
....., ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 421, 422.
....., ....., urges the appointment of another Lord Deputy, 421, 422.
....., ....., on the danger of the English Pale, 448, 449.
....., ....., has not for a long time heard from Sir Robert Cecil, 449.
....., ....., is glad of the appointment of the Earl of Ormonde, 449.
....., ....., wishes one of the Council sent to report on the state of Ireland, 459.
....., ....., on "these long enduring storms of Ireland," 459.
..... ..., ....., has delivered various writings about Tyrone to the Earl of Ormonde, 462.
....., ....., advises as to the treaty with Tyrone, 462–464.
....., ....., considers the Earl of Ormonde should have absolute authority to conclude, 463, 473, 474.
....., ....., thinks some of the Council might be appointed to assist the Earl of Ormonde, 463, 473, 474.
....., ....., appointed to assist the Earl of Ormonde, 473, 475, 478, 483, 491, 493.
Fenton, Sir Geffrey—*cont.*
....., ....., on the treaty near Dundalk, 477, 478.
....., ....., to send the Queen good information of all things, 493.
Ferrol, in Spain, 126, 173–176, 199, 204, 223, 252, 253, 254, 257, 268, 276, 277, 300, 386, 387, 398, 411, 472.
....., ....., Irish rebels at, 252, 254, 277.
....., ....., the Earl of Essex to burn the fleet at, 321.
....., ....., the Earl of Essex at, 398.
Fews. *See* Fues.
Fildew, William, charges against, 37.
Fines for absence from church on Sundays, 18.
Finisterre, Cape, 175, 223, 235, 254, 398.
Fitton, Captain Edward. *See* Phyton, Captain Edward.
....., G., letter of, 221.
FitzAdam, Anasta Walshe, 215.
FitzButler, Sir Edmund, 322.
FitzDermott Oge, George, 30.
FitzEdmond, Ulick Burke, 475.
FitzEdmonds or FitzEdmund [Gerald], John, commission to try, for high treason, 99.
....., ....., ought to be tried in England, 224.
....., ....., Chief Justice Saxey's conduct towards, 230, 403.
....., ....., to be dismissed of his trouble, on giving bonds, 266.
....., ....., letter of, 403.
..... [Fitzgerald], John, of Ballentire, or Balmartie, late seneschal of Imokilly, son of, 312, 317.
FitzGarrett, Sir Edward, declaration of, 299.
....., Captain James, of Lecale, conference of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 74–76, 92, 93.
Fitzgerald, —, the advices of, 153.
....., Edward, letter of, 108.
....., Gerald, petition of, 198.
....., Thomas, state of the cause of, 354.
....., ....., charges against, 415.
..... , Captain Walter, letters to, 93, 97.
....., ....., injuries to, by the rebels, 93.
....., ....., letter of, 103.
FitzGibbon, Maurice, son of the White Knight of Munster, suit of, 386.
....., ....., charges against, 386.
Fitzharris, Edward, letter of, 386.
FitzJames, Garrett. *See* Decies, Lord.
Fitzmaurice, Lord, 58.
Fitz Oliver, Christopher Nugent, 72.
Fitzpatrick, John, of Upper Ossory, 156.
FitzPhilip, Philip Roche, of Kinsale, recommended as a spy in Spain, 161.
Fitzsymonds, Michael, executed for high treason, 498.

Fitzwilliams, Sir William, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, 22, 38, 66, 78, 160, 168, 312, 363, 447, 477, 493.
....., ....., letter of, 225.
....., ....., the men of Ulster cry out against, 117.
....., ....., charges by an Irish attorney against, 225, 226.
....., ....., ill health of, 225.
....., ....., John, son of, 312.
....., ....., chaplain to, 390.
Flanders, 233, 351, 352.
....., the marksmen of, 151.
Fleet prison, the, 147.
....., ....., letters from, 147, 151, 160.
Fleming, Captain, company of horse of, 56.
Flemish ships on the coast of Spain, 276.
Flinne, William, examination of, 177.
Flower, Captain, 341.
*Flying Hart*, the, a ship, 242, 281, 335, 338.
....., ....., John Steward, master of, 338.
Folan, Sir Patrick, priest, examination of, 191, 192.
Foljambe, Captain 374.
Folliott, Captain Henry, 108.
....., ....., muster-roll of company of, 146.
Forces asked for Ireland, 36–38, 41, 43, 44, 46, 51, 52, 60, 71, 85, 97, 110, 112, 116, 119, 129, 135, 138, 145, 152, 154, 165, 187, 191, 216, 218, 229, 234, 257, 274, 277, 377, 394, 395, 399, 401, 403, 407, 419, 432, 433, 435, 437, 439–441, 445, 446, 450, 453, 454, 456, 461, 471, 497.
Forces levied for Ireland, 88, 97, 100, 138, 267.
Forces sent to Ireland, 21, 97, 133, 140, 142, 147, 152, 154, 160, 165, 166, 177, 179–181, 189, 193, 196, 213, 226, 284–286, 429, 432, 449, 450.
Forces in Ireland, weak state of the, 77, 87, 89, 93, 94, 113, 142, 148, 157–159, 179, 183, 194, 239, 245, 249, 250, 257, 261, 263, 274, 280, 285, 288, 299, 302, 309, 314, 334, 344, 347, 372–377, 390, 399, 400, 402–404, 407–409, 418–420, 430–432, 445, 461, 467, 468, 470, 478, 482.
....., pay of the, 97, 136, 138, 147, 148, 153, 177, 195, 199, 213, 214, 232, 263, 283, 284, 293, 329, 330, 340, 341, 347, 355, 359, 418, 432, 437, 450, 456, 462.
....., desertions from the, 52, 113, 142, 157, 166, 179, 181, 195, 250, 263, 358, 399, 400, 429, 431, 432, 433, 437, 441, 444, 449, 465, 470.
....., sufferings of the, 113, 137, 142, 145, 157, 173, 179, 181, 188, 195, 214, 232, 233, 239, 242, 250, 255, 257, 263, 274, 277, 282, 285, 288, 290, 291, 296, 302, 309, 315, 355, 360, 372–377, 379, 380, 383, 384, 418, 419, 430, 431, 433, 459, 461, 467–470, 477.
Forces—*cont.*
....., necessity for commissaries for the, 113, 142, 213–215, 249, 263, 305, 309, 324, 337–339, 428, 429, 450, 451.
....., deaths among the, 142, 263, 288, 302, 315, 399, 400, 419, 432.
....., cassed, 405, 421.
....., cowardice of English soldiers among the, 151, 358, 433, 442.
....., lack of discipline of English soldiers among the, 151, 169, 194, 429.
....., outrage and pillage committed by the, 157, 169, 179, 182, 194, 209, 232, 233, 235, 249, 263, 283, 299, 309, 315, 347, 355, 432, 433, 437, 475, 481.
....., Lieutenant-General of the, 430.
....., means to be taken to restore discipline among the, 189.
....., Ordinances for the pay and clothing of the. *See* Musters.
....., a list of the, 194.
....., moneys due to inhabitants of towns for diet of the, 225, 250, 302, 335, 354–356, 361, 373, 376, 409, 428, 437, 452, 455, 483.
....., prices paid by the, for victuals, 227, 455, 479.
....., decree to restrain extortion by the, 230.
....., estimate of charge for the, 250, 437.
....., estimate of the, 255, 314, 357.
....., improvements amongst the, effected by Maurice Kyffin, 314, 315.
....., the change into foot of some horse among the, suggested, 319.
....., distribution of the, 335, 362, 494.
....., state of the, 337, 341, 421, 433.
....., clothing of the, 358–360, 381, 383, 392, 399, 401, 413, 419, 432, 450, 455, 461, 462, 480, 495.
Forges, lands for, 197.
Forlong, Nicholas, examination of, 276.
Foster, Martin, examination of, 177.
Fowre, Half, barony of, 168.
..... or Fore, co. Westmeath, 72.
Fox, David, merchant, of Limerick, advertisements by, 199.
....., James, examination of, 245.
Foyle, Lough, 52, 67, 137, 262, 343, 356–358.
....., ....., forces to be sent to, 52, 170.
....., ....., reported arrival of [Spanish] ships at, 127, 134, 258.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone said to be going to, 241.
....., ....., the Irish Council urge the sending of a force to the river of, 285.
....., ....., supply of biscuits to be sent to, 334.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford expected to meet Lord Burgh at, 334, 342.
....., ....., Lord Burgh will draw towards, 342.
....., ....., provisions sent to, 343.

Foyle, Lough—*cont.*
....., ....., importance of a strong garrison at, 357, 384, 390, 398, 419, 435, 439.
....., ....., recall of provisions from, 357, 358.
....., ....., powder, &c. for the Earl of Tyrone landed at, 431.
Foynes, island of, near Limerick, fortification of, urged, 302, 303.
France, 352, 431, 450.
....., method of the Kings of, towards rebellious subjects, 51.
....., intelligence from, 67.
....., league between the King of, and the King of Spain, 127, 130, 150.
....., reported match between, and the King of Spain's daughter, 130.
....., the marksmen of, 151.
....., arrival in Ireland of a bark from, 223, 258.
....., men of war of, on the coast of Portugal, 276.
....., help given by Elizabeth to the Huguenots in, 308.
....., success at Blavet of the King of, 321.
French, Oliver Oge. *See* Galway, town of.
Frieze, Irish, 359.
Frith, John, a merchant of Dublin, letter in favour of, 282.
....., ....., losses of, 282.
Frith, —, a brewer in Dublin, 347.
Fues or Fews, the, co. Armagh, 309, 310, 313, 481.
....., ....., letter from, 45.
Fyan, William, Spanish intelligence by, 253, 254.
....., ....., report by, 257.
Fysher *alias* Parsons, 202, 203.

## G.

Gainsborough, Baron of, 417.
Galicia, in Spain, 223, 276.
Gallin, Gallen, or "Gallyun," land in the district of, claimed by Onie M'Rory, 73, 447.
Gallmorston, co. Kildare, letter from, 73.
"Galloghore, Bishop of the Dirrye," 14.
Galway, county of, 145, 205, 212, 314.
....., ....., payment of revenue by, 162, 376.
..... ..., ....., spoiling in, 211, 222, 223.
....., town of, 5, 6–8, 21, 28, 29, 37, 39, 44, 51, 67, 68, 91, 94, 205, 247, 276, 300, 335, 433.
....., ....., garrison of, 28, 29, 98, 257, 314.
....., ....., Oliver Oge French, mayor of, letter of, 222.
....., ....., ....., letter to, 257.
Galway, town of—*cont.*
....., ....., warrant to mayor and sheriff of, 62.
....., ....., murder of merchants of, 84.
....., ....., the Spaniards' intention to arrive at, 98, 155, 252.
....., ....., complaints against Sir Richard Bingham at, 113.
....., ....., letters from, 121, 222, 239, 240, 245, 286.
... ....., ....., state of religion in, 121.
....., ....., victuals and munition for, 143, 229, 237, 242, 290.
....., ....., burning of the suburbs of, 221–223.
....., ....., divers men of, stayed to be pilots of Spanish fleet, 222.
....., ....., arrival of a ship from Spain at, 223.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford retires to, 239.
....., ....., destitute condition of, 239, 245.
....., ....., a strong garrison should be kept in, 253.
....., ....., corn to be sent to, 357, 367, 436.
Gansworth, letter from, 323.
Gardener, Gilbert, petition of, 198.
....., ....., letter of, 205.
....., Sir Robert, Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, 63, 78, 136, 194, 216, 237, 245, 293, 322.
... ....., ....., letters of, 76, 341, 455, 458–460, 462, 471, 472.
....., ....., letters to, 472, 479.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Fitz-Edmonds, 91.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Sir Richard Bingham, 112, 128, 131–133.
....., ....., excepted against, 139, 184.
....., ....., sent to report to Privy Council, 186, 219, 220, 234.
....., ....., reluctance of, to go, 186.
..... ....., memorial on Ireland delivered to, 186.
....., ....., opinions of the Privy Council on the memorials brought over by, 189, 193, 218.
....., ....., conferences of the Queen with, 196.
....., ....., Sir G. Fenton's treatment as regards the mission of, 187, 188, 219, 220, 227.
....., ....., the despatch about the plot of, 243.
....., ....., allowance to, during his mission to England, 257.
....., ....., mission of, might be dissolved, 257.
....., ....., Lord Burgh to take advice of, 293.
....., ....., the question between Sir Robert Napper and, 317.

Gardener, Sir Robert—*cont.*
....., ....., to go to the north with Lord Burgh, 334.
....., ....., appointed a Lord Justice of Ireland, 449, 450, 460.
....., ....., established in the government, 459.
....., ....., age and infirmities of, 460.
....., ....., desires to retire, 460.
....., ....., wardship granted to, 460.
....., ....., recommends Mr. Garratt for the Queen's Bench, 460.
....., ....., entertainment of, 462.
....., ....., on Sir John Chichester's office, 462.
....., ....., and the defeat near Carrickfergus, 464.
....., ....., on the defeat at Leix, 471.
....., ....., has stayed divers general commissions, 473.
Garland, Ralph, servant of Sir Ralph Lane, 337.
Garlon, —, the Earl of Tyrone's man, 429.
Garratt, Mr., recommended for the Queen's Bench, 460.
Garrett, Captain, letter in favour of, 24.
....., Lady, 134.
Gelle, William. *See* Weston, Richard.
Genison, Jenyson, or Jenison, the Auditor, 13, 296, 341.
*George*, the, a ship of Waterford, 432.
Gerald, Thomas, letter in favour of, 277.
Geraldines, two bastard, 159, 180.
....., the, 346.
Geraldine *alias* M'Thomas, Gerrott Fitz-Richard, 277.
German, Sir Thomas, 282.
Germon, Patrick, letter of, 96.
....., Thomas, of Killincool, wounded, 127.
Gifford, Captain, letter of, 279, 282.
....., ....., foot band of, 432.
Glasgow, 362.
Glastrom, co. Monaghan, letter from, 279, 282.
Glen Arm Castle, co. Antrim, broken down, 397.
Gloucester, Bishop of, horsemen furnished by, 146, 147, 149.
....., ....., ....., condition of, 149.
Glynns or Glinns, the, co. Antrim, 30, 44, 69, 71, 434, 436, 448.
....., ....., co. Wicklow, 117, 119, 158, 166, 173, 237, 243, 249, 258, 288, 388, 414, 423.
....., ..... distress in, 156.
....., ....., sufferings of the English army in, 173.
....., ....., killing of Feagh M'Hugh in, 287–289.
Gomorrah, 435.
Goodman, George, killing of tenants of, 79.
....., ....., letter of, 79.
....., ....., complaint by, 79.
....., ....., petition of, 198.
Goodwyn, Captain, 5.
Goold, James, second Justice of Munster, accused of treason, should be tried in England, 224.
Gorges, Ferdinando, 321.
Gormanston, Viscount, speech of, in the Council of Ireland, 187.
Gosnould, Lieutenant Ro., 166.
....., ....., letters of, 129, 135, 144, 165, 193.
....., ....., letter of Earl of Tyrone to, 166.
....., ....., sends the Earl's letter to Captain Baker, 165.
....., ....., warning to, 166.
Gowran, co. Kilkenny, letter from, 447.
Grages, village of, 81.
Grain, prices of, 62, 99, 121, 148, 188, 213, 216, 227, 237, 242, 277, 283, 326, 333, 341, 343, 363.
....., export of, to be restrained, 171, 194.
....., necessity for obtaining, from beyond the seas, 194.
....., offers to supply, 196.
Grandgohort, letter from, 119.
Grange, the, castle of, co. Sligo, 91.
....., letter from, 205.
Gravesend, co. Kent, 300.
Gray's Inn, London, 351, 498.
Greame, Lieutenant Richard, advertisements from, 70.
....., ....., letter of, 72.
....., ....., illness of, 73.
Green, Captain, letter to, 81.
Greenwich, 24, 28, 88, 99, 101, 110, 115, 117, 119, 125.
....., letters from, 293, 295, 300, 305, 317, 318, 320, 324, 328, 330, 387.
Greive, Captain, 91.
Grey, Lord, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, 249, 328, 478, 497.
Groyne or Groin, the, [Corunna], in Spain, 175, 235.
Guest, Captain, made prisoner, 205.
....., ....., order for release of, 205.
Gunpowder, 21, 29, 34, 45, 129, 155, 156, 165, 182, 243, 249, 284, 302, 374, 383, 393, 429, 435.
....., explosion of, at Dublin. *See* Dublin.
Gybbon, Edward, called the White Knight [of Munster], letters of, 350.
....., ....., services of, 350.
....., ....., desires to be continued as Sheriff, 350.
....., ....., son of, 350, 386.
....., ....., charges against, 386.

## H.

Hackett, Piers, letters to, 381.
Hæmorrhoids, prescription for, 300.
Hagans, the, 166.
Hall, —, 149.
Hally, Edmund, sailor, examination of, 268.
Hamburg, city of, 236.
Hamling, Thomas, mayor of Drogheda, letter of, 428.
Hanlons, the, 141.
Hanmer, [Dr.] Meredith, 499.
....., ....., letter in favour of, 427.
Harcles, Nicholas, 323.
Harman, Nicholas, letter of, 207.
Harreston, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
Harrington, Sir Henry, letters of, 47, 48, 67.
....., ....., enterprise by lieutenant of, 53.
....., ....., asks pardon for some of the O'Tooles, 67.
....., ....., articles of treason preferred against, 304.
Hart, Lieutenant, 195.
....., ....., account by, of the defeat near Carrickfergus, 441–443.
....., ....., wounded, 443.
Harvey, Captain George, letter of, 454.
....., ....., arrears of pay of, 454.
Haverfordwest, co. Pembroke, wheat at, spoiled, 1.
Hawkins, a muster-master, 146.
Hely, Captain, 295.
Henry Oge. *See* O'Neill.
Henry VIII., King of England, 204.
Henshaw, Mr., daughters of, 206.
Herbert, Sir Edward, 58.
....., ....., complaints against, 181.
....., Lady Florence, widow of Sir William, grant to, 194.
....., Mary, daughter of Sir William, grant to, 194.
....., Sir William, 194.
Herrings, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Heyeston, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
Hide, Arthur. *See* Hyde.
High Commission, Court of, 193.
Highgate. *See* London.
Hilbree, or Hilbery, co. Chester, 211.
....., ....., letter from, 194.
Hill, Mr., gone to the Court of Spain, 175.
....., Lieutenant Moses, Provost-Marshal of Carrickfergus, at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 442–444, 465, 466.
....., ....., constable of Olderfleet Castle, 492.
Holdenby, co. Northampton, 203.
Holland, 141, 227, 265.
..... cheese, 350, 351, 382, 401.
Holyhead, co. Anglesea, 246, 283.
Hore, Richard, master of the *Dorothy*, 276.
Horses, for Ireland, estimate of, 99, 100.
....., ....., supply of, 229.
Horton [? co. Wexford], letter from, 345.
Hosting, general, 29, 44, 46, 293, 301, 318.
....., ....., time requisite for, 393.
Hovenden, Henry, foster-brother and secretary to the Earl of Tyrone, 35, 43, 56, 60, 70, 75, 86, 87, 92, 447, 449.
....., ....., letter of, torn by the Earl, 41, 60.
....., ....., letters of, to the Earl, 42, 43, 45, 60, 70, 75, 247.
....., ....., presents to, from the Earl and O'Donnell, 75.
....., ....., sent to O'Donnell, 93.
....., ....., advice of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 247.
....., ....., insolent speech of, 484.
....., Captain Walter, 207, 467, 469, 470.
....., ....., slain, 467, 469, 482.
Howard, Lord, Lord High Admiral of England, 495.
....., ....., letter to, 393, 398.
[Howard], Lord Thomas, Vice-Admiral in the expedition to Spain, 321.
Howth, Christopher Lawrence, Lord of, 40.
Huet, Charles, 99, 204.
Hugh, Captain Rice ap, 101.
....., ....., advertisements from, 69.
....., ....., foot company of, 56.
....., ....., on the Irish, 61, 103.
....., ....., letters of, 61, 72, 103, 158, 163, 171.
....., ....., defeats Tirlogh M'Henry, 103.
....., ....., "dares not write what he knows," 164.
....., ....., letter to, 256.
....., ....., raids in the Earl of Tyrone's country, 310.
Hunsdon, Lord, letter to, 13.
Hyde or Hide, Arthur, suit against, 339, 348.

## I.


Ibawne, barony of, co. Cork, 13.

Idiaques, Don Juan de ("Jean Didiaco"), letters to, 353.

Ile, country of, 30.

Imokilly, co. Cork, seneschal of, 312, 317.

"Improvido." *See* Bingham, Sir Richard.

Inch, the, 207.

Inchiquin, Baron of, letters of, 95, 97.

....., ....., at the crossing of the Erne, 373.

....., co. Clare, letters from, 95, 97.

India fleet, the [Spanish], arrival of, at Cadiz, 177.

....., ....., treasure brought home by, 199.

....., ....., to be intercepted, 321, 361.

Indies, the, 254.

Injunctions, Ecclesiastical, 15.

Inshiolegan, co. Clare, letters from, 43, 475.

Innisboffin, island of, co, Galway, 257.

Ipswich, co. Suffolk, fair at, 350.

Ireland, Attorney-General of. *See* Calthorpe, Sir Charles.

....., Auditor of, 497. *See* Genison *and* Peyton.

....., ....., Deputy and Transcriptor of. 497.

....., Solicitor-General of. *See* Wilbraham, Sir Roger.

....., Lord Chancellor of. *See* Loftus, Adam.

....., Master of the Rolls in, 1, 66, 334.

....., Secretary in. *See* Fenton, Sir Geffrey.

....., Treasurer at Wars in. *See* Wallop, Sir Henry.

....., Surveyor of the muster-rolls in, 391.

....., Court of Chancery in, 66, 496.

....., Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in, 363, 367, 368, 370, 387, 424, 433, 460.

....., Court of Exchequer in, 66, 391, 495, 497.

....., Chief Baron of the Exchequer in, 363.

....., Queen's Bench in, 460.

....., Serjeant-at-Laws in. *See* Corry.

..... .., Chief Remembrancer for. *See* Colman, Richard.

....., Lords Justices of, 412, 420, 421, 423–425, 430, 432–434, 438 446–451, 454, 455, 459, 460, 461, 462, 467, 469, 471, 473, 481, 482, 483, 491, 495.

....., the Council of, *passim*.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

....., ....., letters of, 34, 37, 59, 68, 69, 92, 100, 110, 112, 125, 128, 142, 144, 152–154, 174, 182, 186, 188, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216, 221, 228, 230, 234, 239, 242, 250, 252, 256, 261, 264, 269, 270, 272, 277, 282, 284, 286, 289, 290, 292, 301, 312, 315, 333, 342, 349, 377, 378, 386, 387, 396, 411, 419, 430, 444, 446, 455–458.

....., ....., letters to, 28, 42, 44, 94, 102, 133, 141, 144, 145, 152, 163, 164–166, 171, 176, 177, 194, 205, 221, 240, 245, 250, 257, 258, 259, 261, 264, 266, 269–272, 303, 330, 335, 358, 373, 380, 425, 430, 434, 449, 450, 457, 458.

....., ....., certificate by, 33.

....., ....., on the necessity for trained soldiers, 36.

....., ....., on the rebels, 36, 264.

....., ....., cannot borrow money in Ireland, 36, 145, 334, 421.

....., ....., advise employment of shipping against the Spaniards, 37, 100, 250, 257, 277.

....., ....., resolve on war, 38.

....., ....., on the causes of Sir Richard Bingham, 37, 68, 112.

....., ....., warrants to, 327, 328.

....., ....., warrants by, 48, 65, 196, 355, 356.

....., ....., leave Norreys and Fenton to their own discretion, 53.

....., ....., notes of Sir John Norreys on a letter of, 55–59.

....., ....., on Henry Hovenden, 60.

....., ....., Sir William Russell blames, 63, 64.

....., ....., complaints of Sir John Norreys against, 65, 122, 177, 208, 209, 246, 269.

....., ....., complaints of, against Sir John Norreys, 68, 101, 209, 269.

....., ....., against continuation of cessations, 93, 264.

....., ....., cannot relieve the army in Ireland, 100.

....., ....., fear O'Connor Sligo will join the rebels, 101.

....., ....., have small hope of a good conclusion in Connaught, 110.

....., ....., recommend Sir Richard Bingham, 112.

....., ....., command Sir Richard Bingham to repair to Athlone, 112.

....., ....., petitions to, 112, 115, 118, 128, 138, 139, 198, 219, 263, 298, 396, 495.

....., ....., wish to have Sir Richard Bingham tried before them, 122.

....., ....., on the "unsoundness" of the Earl of Tyrone, 126, 218, 334.

....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham disregards order of, 128.

....., ....., delay decision in regard to Sir Richard Bingham's causes, 133.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

....., ....., are not in fault as to the delays in Connaught, 142.

....., ....., on the extent of disaffection in Ireland, 144, 145, 420, 430, 436, 438, 450.

....., ....., transmit intelligence from the Earl of Ormonde, 153.

....., ....., will restrain export of corn from Munster, 154.

....., ....., on the defence of the Irish harbours, especially in Munster, 155.

....., ....., on the divided authority of Russell and Norreys, 174.

....., ....., pray for directions from England, 174.

....., ....., two members of, to be joined in the Commission for trying Sir Richard Bingham, 178.

....., ....., Sir Robert Gardener sent to the Privy Council by, 186, 187, 234.

....., ....., advise the employment of three strong armies against the rebels, 187.

....., ....., speech of Viscount Gormanston in, 187.

....., ....., commission of, to Maurice Kyffin to take the musters, 187.

....., ....., the calling of the nobility in Ireland to give counsel, referred to, 189.

....., ....., the Queen asks the answers of, to a memorial sent by her, 196.

....., ....., answers of the Earl of Tyrone to his instructions from, 206.

....., ....., asked to send commissioners with Sir John Norreys, 208.

....., ....., commission Sir G. Bourchier and Sir G. Fenton, 208, 209, 211.

....., ....., stay Sir C. Clifford until the return of Sir John Norreys, 211, 212.

....., ....., will appoint Commissioners regarding the Connaught composition, 211.

....., ....., ask for three cannon for the city of Dublin, 211, 212.

....., ....., distrust of mayor and sheriffs of Dublin by, 212.

....., ....., say nothing but force will serve, 216.

....., ....., say an honourable peace would be the greatest happiness to Ireland, 216.

....., ....., refer the position of O'Connor Sligo to the Privy Council, 219.

....., ....., find the Earl of Tyrone's doings "treacherous, and full of strange disguisings," 221, 228.

....., ....., "all matters of pacification so odious in the," 228.

....., ....., charges of, against Chief Justice Saxey, 230.

....., ....., decree of, to restrain military extortion, 230.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

....., ....., send a new project for the suppression of the rebellion to the Privy Council, 234, 235.

....., ....., forbid all unjust provocations of the Earl of Tyrone, 235.

....., ....., extend the truce with the Earl of Tyrone, 235.

....., ....., advise war, 235, 269.

....., ....., recommend a special force from England, if the Spaniards come, 235.

....., ....., instructions of, regarding Florence M'Carthy, 235.

....., ....., all matters concerning the meeting with Tyrone remitted to, 238, 239, 240.

....., ....., ask the Lord Deputy to return to Dublin, 129, 238, 239, 240.

....., ....., difficulties to be thought on by, 239.

....., ....., assistance of, asked in the treaty with Tyrone, 242, 246, 248.

....., ....., order some corn to Galway, 242.

....., ....., on the present state of Connaught, 250.

....., ....., will send what reinforcements they can to Connaught, 250.

....., ....., have sent corn and powder to Connaught, 250.

....., ....., have written to the mayor and corporation of Waterford on the defence of that city, 250.

....., ....., beg that more money may be sent, 250, 277, 334, 335, 343, 421, 437, 455, 456.

....., ....., on the delays of the Earl of Tyrone, 256, 261, 277, 456.

....., ....., have great suspicions against the Earl of Tyrone, 257.

....., ....., consider the Earl of Tyrone a "cunning dangerous rebel," 257, 261, 292.

....., ....., will have nothing to do with the matters of the north, 260.

....., ....., urge the speedy chastisement of the Earl of Tyrone, 261, 264, 269, 301.

....., ....., urge preparations against the Spaniards, 261, 264.

....., ....., consider the Irish rebels are bewitched with the love of Spain, 264.

....., ....., instructions to, concerning Lord Burgh, 266.

....., ....., plot of, for the prosecution of Tyrone, rejected by the Queen, 266.

....., ....., the Queen sends a new plot to, for the prosecution of Tyrone, 266.

....., ....., general discretion allowed to, in the execution of this plot, 266.

....., ....., surprised that Sir John Norreys wants further directions about Tyrone, 269.

....., ....., desire opinion of Sir John Norreys as to probable result of meeting, 269.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*
....., ....., are careful to supply Sir Conyers Clifford, 269, 302.
..... .., ....., expect the return of the Commissioners, 270.
....., ....., direct the sending of companies to Dundalk and Ardee, 270.
....., ....., have ordered victualling for Armagh, 270.
....., ....., have written into England concerning the apparent dangers, 270.
....., ....., confer with Captain William Warren, 272.
....., ....., the pledges nominated by, cannot be obtained, 274.
....., .. ..., write on behalf of John Frith, a Dublin merchant, 282.
....., ... . , recommend David Burke, 284.
....., ....., on the importance of using Tibbott Ne Longe against M'William, 284.
....., ....., have withdrawn certain companies from Sligo, 284.
....., ....., on the scarcity of victuals for the troops, 284, 285, 334, 343, 436, 437.
....., ....., urge the sending of a force to the river of Lough Foyle, 285.
....., ....., report the killing of Feagh M'Hugh, "that ancient and cankered traitor," 287.
....., ....., commend Sir William Russell for this service, 287.
....., ....., write on behalf of Dudley Norton, 289.
....., ....., direct all sea-towns in Munster to prepare against the Spaniards, 290.
....., ....., on the fraudulent selling of corn by officers, 290.
....., ....., on the distribution of victuals sent to Ireland, 290.
....., ....., write on behalf of Richard Bellinges, 292.
....., ....., advise Lord Burgh as to the Earl of Tyrone, 292.
....., ....., order a general hosting, 293, 301.
....., ....., why respite of time was yielded to the Earl of Tyrone by, 293.
....., ...., have restrained Viscount Roch in the castle of Dublin, 293.
....., ....., advise Lord Burgh to invade the Earl of Tyrone's country, 301.
....., ....., think the Earl of Tyrone is "fully bent to all villainy," 302.
....., ....., beg for victuals, munition, and money, 302, 334, 436, 437, 455, 456.
....., ....., commend Sir Conyers Clifford, 302, 334.
....., ....., write in favour of Tibbott Ne Longe's demands, 302.
....., ....., on a remnant of the Feagh M'Hugh faction, 302, 334.
....., . ... , commend the Earl of Ormonde, 302.
Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*
....., ....., case of Henry Sheffeld committed to, 303, 304.
....., ....., Richard Butler sent to England by, 312.
....., ....., commend John Allen to the Privy Council, 312.
....., ....., commend the reforms of Maurice Kyffin, 314, 315, 334.
....., ....., write in favour of the town of Drogheda, 315.
....., ....., petition of Maurice Kyffin to, 335.
....., ....., recommend Mr. John Morgan, 340.
....., ....., Lord Burgh leaves a cipher with, 342.
....., ....., receive transcript of the Ordinances for the army, 342.
....., ....., will consider the Ordinances, 343.
....., ....., have sent some supplies to Lough Foyle, 343.
....., ....., have borrowed money to pay for rye, 343.
....., ....., raise beeves for the army in Ulster, 377, 378.
....., ....., ask for victuals from England, 378, 450.
....., ....., on the need of beer for the soldiers, 378.
....., ....., on the scarcity in Ireland, 378.
....., ....., send intelligence from Spain, 386, 411, 446.
... ....., ....., commend Mr. Pilsworth, 390.
....., ....., write in favour of Captain Par Lane, 396.
....., ....., Angus M'Connell referred to, 397.
....., ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 420.
....., ....., on "this broken government," 420.
....., ....., ask for a new Lord Deputy, 420.
....., ....., will choose Lords Justices, 420.
....., ....., will do what they can to strengthen the borders, 420.
....., ....., and the Privy Council's letters, 421, 422.
....., ....., and Lord Burgh's journey to the north, 425.
....., ....., Sir Ralph Lane and the, 428, 429.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys chosen Lord Justice by, 430.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde to confer with, 434.
....., ....., extracts from letter of, 436, 437.
....., ....., could borrow only 1,300*l.*, 436, 437, 450.
....., ....., desire to have the pay of the horsemen increased, 437.

Ireland, the Council of—*cont.*

....., ....., Lord Burgh's instructions never communicated to, 438, 455.

....., ....., on the defeat at Carrickfergus, 444.

....., ....., ask the Earl of Ormonde to repair to Dublin, 446.

....., ....., demands of Phelim M'Hugh on, 447.

....., ....., ask for more men, 450, 456.

....., ....., will perform the Ordinances for the army, 455.

....., ....., send copies of letters from Tyrone, 455.

....., .. ..., send messenger to Leinster, 455.

....., ....., desire to know the Queen's pleasure as to Tyrone, 456.

....., ....., thank the Queen for relief given, 456.

....., ....., distrust the Earl of Tyrone, 457.

....., ....., send a messenger to the Earl of Tyrone, 457.

....., ....., agree to a safe-conduct for Tyrone's friends in Leinster, 459, 462.

....., ....., give instructions to the Earl of Ormonde, 461.

....., ....., some of the, might be appointed to assist the Earl of Ormonde, 463, 473, 474.

....., ....., and protection to the Connors, 470.

....., ....., case of George Castell recommended to, 493, 494.

....., notes on offices in, that are considered needless, 497.

....., dangerous state of, 1, 11, 27, 34, 36–40, 44, 60, 70, 71, 74, 82, 83, 85, 92, 93, 100, 101, 103, 115–120, 129, 135, 145, 151, 157, 164, 167–171, 174, 175, 179, 180, 182, 183, 186, 194, 210, 234, 272, 277, 282, 283, 285, 289, 309, 315, 318, 405, 416–423, 425–427, 429–432, 436, 438, 439, 450, 455, 456, 460–462, 490, 494, 496.

....., scarcity in, 60, 101, 116, 136, 145, 152, 154, 156, 157, 170, 174, 188, 190, 213, 214, 216, 231–234, 242, 248, 250, 253, 262, 263, 265, 273, 274, 277, 282, 283, 285, 286, 291, 296, 299, 302, 305, 307, 309, 315, 334, 335, 349, 357, 363, 367, 370, 371, 378, 379, 381, 405, 423, 436, 455, 456.

....., character of the people of, 47, 61, 68, 90, 91, 103, 107, 118, 135, 150, 223, 224, 238, 243, 262, 265, 286, 306, 349, 394, 476, 484.

....., forces for, or in. *See* Forces *and* Victuals.

....., musters in. *See* Musters, Kyffin, *and* Lane.

Ireland—*cont.*

....., treasure sent to, 22–24, 34, 36, 59, 99, 112, 116, 123, 136, 142, 143, 145, 147, 153, 155, 178, 188, 191, 213. 214, 216, 230, 233, 238, 255, 302, 304, 315, 319, 320, 329, 330, 332, 343, 347, 368, 371, 419, 421, 430, 434, 437, 450, 455, 461, 480, 482.

....., ....., how disbursed, 180, 347, 382, 419, 430, 431, 491, 496.

....., the Queen's debt in, 67, 147, 187, 299.

....., the Queen's monthly charge in, 117, 145, 147, 154, 302, 319, 329, 331, 341, 437, 450, 462.

....., the Queen's yearly charge in, 154.

....., arrears of pay in, 30, 59, 223, 245, 248, 250, 253, 255, 257, 263, 267, 268, 273–275, 283, 298, 302, 304, 305, 312, 315, 325, 326, 327, 330, 347, 354–356, 358, 361, 362, 373, 387, 396, 405, 409, 414, 428, 437, 454, 455, 495.

....., misconduct of sheriffs in, 20, 293.

....., lawyers in, 20.

....., charity lands in, 20.

....., English tenure of land in, 91 *note*, 163, 347.

....., the people of, "had their original beginning from Spain," 50, 353.

....., strictures of the Queen on the government of, 63, 266.

....., critical position of best towns in, 100.

....., the people of, corrupted by the Spaniards, 107, 262.

....., "must not be left without a strong army," 107, 108.

....., little reckoning of pledges (hostages) by the people of, 35, 107, 108, 110, 117, 140, 183, 235, 238.

....., the Prince Cardinal of Spain sought as King of, 111.

....., designs of the Spaniards against. *See* Spaniards.

....., arrival of Spaniards in. *See* Spaniards.

....., objects and claims of the rebels in, 117, 118, 139, 436.

....., success of Spanish corruption of, 125, 126, 264.

....., no likelihood of peace in, by reason of the Catholic combination, 151, 158.

....., Catholic combination in, 158, 159, 353, 354, 436, 487.

....., the people of, acceptable in Spain, and not suspected, 161.

....., note of the numbers of men in pay in, 162, 170, 176, 266, 289, 329, 331, 340, 341, 357, 367.

....., the Lord Chancellor Loftus and the Bishop of Meath on the state of, 167–171.

....., priests and pensioners of, in Spanish fleet, 173–175, 223, 277.

....., the Spaniards expect an easy conquest of, 177.

Ireland—*cont.*
....., names of persons who have, or have had, charge in, 179, 198.
....., memoranda on the state of, 179, 180, 194, 195, 346–348.
....., disagreements amongst those in authority in, 180, 274. *See also* Russell, Sir Wm.
....., corrupt granting of protections in, 180.
....., complaints against deputy-escheators in, 181.
....., allowance to Lord Deputy of, in lieu of cess, 181, 196.
....., revenue of attainted lands in, 181.
....., English undertakers in, to people their lands with Englishmen, not Irishmen, 181, 182, 329–332.
....., divers of the undertakers absent from, 182, 330.
....., great rents taken by the undertakers, 182.
....., notes of matters in, 183.
....., the Privy Council reject the proposal to employ three armies in, 189.
....., general pardon to be offered to such as will return to obedience in, 189.
....., the calling of the nobility in, to give counsel, 189, 234.
....., prerogative of Lord Deputy of, 189.
....., appointments by the Pope to livings in, 191, 353.
....., the rebels in, to be proclaimed, when more forces are arrived, 193.
....., consideration of the causes of, 194.
....., transport of grain into, 194.
....., nothing but a general conquest of, by war can prevail, 194.
....., draft warrant for a new military establishment in, 195.
....., beeves, hawks, horses, &c., due from sundry chiefs in, 196.
....., the King of Spain prepares to feed the rebellion in, 196.
....., offers of merchants to supply wheat for, 196.
....., the state of religion in, 210, 227, 244, 245.
....., chronological list of events in, 1553–1596, 226.
....., state of justice in, 224, 227, 233, 304.
....., pensioners in, 227, 319, 347, 405, 406, 479.
....., concealed lands in, 227, 473.
....., leases in, 227, 265, 293, 460, 472.
....., wards in, 227, 265, 293.
....., arrearages in, 227, 265.
....., concordatums in, 227, 319.
....., knighthood in, 227.
....., brief account of the revenue of, 233.
....., great want of carriage horses in, 229, 233.
Ireland—*cont.*
....., new project for the suppression of the rebellion in, 234, 235, 250, 254, 266, 292.
....., "impoverished even to the bones," 250.
....., all the English in, to have been put to the sword by the Spaniards, 253.
....., forces requisite to be maintained in, 254.
....., growing discontent in, 257.
....., project for the preservation of Records of Survey in, 280, 295, 296.
....., the towns to be better ordered in, and the forces properly distributed for their defence, 281.
....., "a diseased and distempered estate," 283.
....., accounts of the state of, to be got ready for Lord Burgh, 291, 292.
....., [English] judges' resolutions of the doubtful cases arising in, 293, 317.
....., selling of offices in, 293.
....., making of sheriffs in perpetuity in, 293.
....., list of allowances and payments in, 303.
....., import of arms, &c., into, from England, 318, 323.
....., the factions of the people in, should have been fostered, 318.
....., moneys due to suitors in, 318.
....., lack of care of arms of soldiers returning from, 319.
....., payment of messengers from, 320.
....., office of Chief Butler of, 322–325.
....., office of Lord Treasurer of, 323.
....., putrid cheese sent to, 334, 335.
....., forgery in the finding of offices in, 346.
....., frauds on the revenue in, 346, 347.
....., sale of pensions in, 347.
....., sale of imprest bills in, 347.
....., bribes taken by officers and governors in, 348.
....., the King of Spain besought to deliver, 353.
....., English designs against the nobility of, 353.
....., "the slaughterhouse of our," 353.
....., the nobility of, to be stirred up against the English, 354.
....., cost of "roading journeys" in, 357.
....., sale of weapons in, 362.
....., compulsory raising of victuals not advisable in, 378, 379.
....., Lord Burgh on the corruption in, 392.
....., Lord Burgh on "a new stock of English" in, 403.
....., allowances to Lords Justices in, 412, 430, 433, 434, 462, 481.
....., a new Lord Deputy sought for, 420–425, 440.

Ireland—*cont.*
....., abstract of the new establishment for, 433.
....., a "commission to treat with the traitors" of, 434.
....., failure of the herring fishery in, 456.
....., stay of divers general commissions in, 473.
....., excessive official fees in the courts of, 473, 497, 498.
....., action of the State towards the septs and Lords of, 475.
....., "liberty of conscience" in, 476, 487, 488, 490.
....., private instructions for one to be sent into, 493.
....., notes touching the furtherance of Her Majesty's service in, 494, 495.
....., fragment of notes on the state of, 496.
....., the Vicar of Christchurch on the re-settling of, 498, 499.
....., description of (? by Dr. Meredith Hanmer), 499.
Irish, the, proportion of, in the forces in Ireland, 52, 124, 179, 188, 195, 231, 232, 236, 239, 249, 257, 274, 275, 277, 289, 305, 341, 372, 380, 382, 394, 399, 400, 418, 429, 432, 437, 440, 441, 450, 465, 482.
....., ill-horsed and armed, 52, 124, 275.
..... bands, conduct of the, 107, 108, 151, 179, 194, 195, 232, 249, 289, 429, 432, 433, 465.
....., would be assured, if there was regular pay, 263.
....., weakness of, 62, 63, 93, 179.
....., care to be had in discharging, 194, 263, 450, 456.
..... suitors in England, importunity of, 64, 136, 332, 361, 362, 387.
..... reported to have landed with the Spaniards in Ireland, 258.
..... (rebel) forces, discipline and good marksmanship of the, 151.
....., strength of, 192, 207, 210, 432, 439, 440.
....., habits of, 499.
Italian prisoners in Ireland, 428.
Italy, 351, 352, 411.

## J.

"Jacopin, un," letter to, 353.
Jenyson. *See* Genison.
Jesuits, 14, 18, 135, 151, 174, 175.
John, Don, taken prisoner by the French King at Blavet, 321.
Johnson, Geffrey, servant of Sir Henry Wallop, 33, 99, 136.
....., ....., letter to, 260.
*Jonas*, the, of Chester, 152.
Jones, Thomas, Bishop of Meath. *See* Meath.
....., Commissary W., certificate by, 471.
Jonson, an Irish attorney, charges by, against Sir William Fitzwilliam, 225, 226.
....., ....., says he was sent to Ireland as an intelligencer for Spain, 226.
Jordan, Simon, Constable of Ardglass, 103.
Joshua, 499.
Jourdain, L'Isle en, in Armagnac, 351, 354.
Joyeuse, Cardinal de, 352.

## K.

Kavanagh, Edmund Gerald, 489.
....., Garret, 247.
....., Miles, letter of, 211.
....., Morgan, made chief commander of the Earl of Tyrone's army, 248.
....., ....., "an arrant villain," 258.
....., ....., letter of, 103.
....., ....., in charge of the Blackwater Fort, 345.
....., ....., lately come from Spain, 345.
....., ....., to go to Leinster, 407.
....., Mortagh, 247.
....., Murrogh, 295.
....., Thomas, servant of Sir Edmund Butler, examination of, 112.
Kavanaghs, the, 29, 36, 47, 53, 70, 101, 103, 112, 117, 135, 139, 140, 170, 390, 414.
....., ....., go to Feagh M'Hugh, 80, 92, 169.
....., ....., Donnell Spainagh, a chief man among, joins Feagh M'Hugh, 139.
Kellies, or Kellys, the. *See* O'Kellys.
Kells, barony of, co. Meath, 168.
....., co. Meath, 8, 31, 56, 167, 256, 293, 367.
....., ....., burnt, 218.
....., ....., letter from, 222.
....., ....., defeat of rebels at, 222.
....., ....., the garrison at, 495.
Kentier or Kentree. *See* Cantire.
Kern, 24, 57, 73, 79, 82, 91, 93, 164, 177, 293, 479.
Kerry, county of, 58.
....., ....., sheriff of, 347.
....., island of, seignory of, 194.
Kettleweil, —, clerk of the works, 350.
Kilconnell, co. Galway, garrison of, 174.

Kildare, county of, 32, 350.
....., ....., oppressed by thoroughfare of soldiers, 169, 355.
....., ....., complaints by the inhabitants of, 182, 355, 356, 481.
....., ....., warrants to sheriff of, 126, 355, 425.
....., .. ..., petition of the distressed inhabitants of, 354–356.
....., ....., burnings in, 414.
....., Earl of, reported death of, 74.
....., ....., petitions of, 133, 134, 148.
....., ....., losses sustained by, 134, 148.
....., ....., and the Earl of Tyrone, 134.
....., ....., debts of, and to, 134.
....., ....., mother and brother of, 134.
....., ....., kept from benefit of his father's restitution, 134.
....., ....., horsemen of, 146–149, 152, 172.
....., ....., letter of, 147.
....., ....., sends a token to Sir Robert Cecil, 148.
....., ....., Udall, servant of, 148.
....., ....., letter to, 148.
....., ....., less forward in religion, 148.
....., ..... bastard Geraldines, brothers of, 159, 160.
....., ....., must be recalled, and kept in England, 194.
....., ....., the Queen inclined to grant the petitions of, 225.
....., ....., moneys due to, 275.
....., ... .., warrant for payment to the Countess of Kildare, wife of, 275.
....., ....., eulogised by Lord Burgh, 344.
....., ....., fraud in connexion with the lands of, 346, 377.
....., ....., dies at Drogheda, 364, 365, 368, 370, 493.
....., ....., the lands of, 497.
....., ....., brief pedigree of, by Burghley, 497.
Kilheele [Kilhill], co. Kildare, 32.
Kilkenny, city of, 58, 311, 323.
....., ....., letters from, 120, 156, 192, 207, 223, 277, 406.
....., ....., prior of, 212.
....., county of, 2, 215, 312.
....., ....., spoils in, 169.
....., ....., like to be lost, 180.
Killaloe, Bishop of, 175, 277, 356.
Killibeggs, co. Donegal, arrival of Spanish ships at, 98, 129, 131, 137, 141, 248, 250, 251, 253, 254, 256–258, 262, 273.
....., ....., expected arrival of Spaniards at, 198.
Killincool [co. Louth], 127.
Killmayhamkeals, letter from, 256.
Killultagh, district of, co. Antrim, 347, 348, 467.
Kilmacduagh, Bishop of, summoned to Dublin, 48.
Kilmacthomas, co. Waterford, letters from, 199.
Kilmainham, co. Dublin, letters from, 33, 37, 38, 43, 46, 62–64, 76, 80, 84–86, 96, 103, 104, 112.
Kilmallock, co. Limerick, 14.
....., ....., letter from, 212.
Kilnemodagh, wood of, 193.
Kilrout, co. Antrim, 445.
Kilwarlie, 192.
Kilwarden, or Kilwarlin, co. Down, 347, 467.
King, John, servant of Sir Richard Bingham, 128.
Kingeston, co. Meath, burnt, 176.
King's County, wasting of, expected, 70, 175.
....., ....., still in safety, 169.
Kingsmill, Captain, company of, 472.
Kinlagh, co. Mayo, letters from, 8, 11.
Kinsale, co. Cork, 14, 161, 268, 335.
....., ....., to be strengthened, 189.
....., ....., captured prize brought to, 242.
Knockfergus. *See* Carrickfergus.
Knockloagh, town of, preyed, 73.
Knocknenary, hill of, 192.
Knough, preyed, 176.
Knowlis, Henry, letters of, 199–204.
....., ....., on the rebels, 202.
....., ....., gives intelligence of the Earl of Tyrone, 200–204.
....., ....., offers to go to the Earl, 200–204.
....., ....., other intelligence by, 201–203.
Knowlis, Richard, letter to, 199.
Knyvett, Sir Henry, brother-in-law of Lord Burgh, letter of, 262.
....., ....., offers of service in Ulster, 262.
....., ....., craves help of men, &c., 262.
Kyffin, Maurice, 172, 213–215, 337, 344, 414, 421.
....., ....., letters of, 108, 146, 147, 149, 152–155, 157, 177, 190, 191, 196, 231, 232, 236, 245, 249, 252, 253, 255, 265, 291, 304, 305, 318, 391, 392, 429, 431.
....., ....., letters to, 154, 155.
....., ....., memorial for, 133.
....., ....., instructions for, 133.
....., ....., on corruptions in the musters [*see also* Musters], 147, 149, 152, 172, 190, 191, 196, 231, 232, 236, 245, 249, 265, 291, 292, 305, 314, 315, 318, 392, 431.
....., ....., disbursements by, 152, 155, 156, 177.
....., ....., unable to embark for Ireland, 152.
....., ....., efforts of, to take up money, 154.
....., ....., Lord Burghley and the payments by, 155, 156.
....., ....., on the lamentable state of Ireland, 157, 177, 231–233, 265.
....., ....., on the cause of the "rebellions and combustions" in Ireland, 157.

Kyffin, Maurice—*cont.*
....., ....., determination of, to suppress the frauds in musters, 172.
....., ....., journeyings of, in Ireland, 177, 190, 231, 253, 292, 305, 314, 315, 391.
....., ....., commission from the Council to, to take the musters, 187, 464.
....., ....., differences between Sir Ralph Lane and, 190, 214, 215, 252, 263, 304, 337, 391, 464.
....., ....., opposition to, 190, 231, 249, 253, 265, 292, 391.
....., ....., threats against, 190, 231, 236, 237, 255, 265, 335, 391.
....., ....., allowance to, 190, 232, 233, 249, 253, 255, 265, 273, 274, 334, 335.
....., ....., bribes offered to, 190, 232, 233, 253, 265, 391.
....., ....., charges against Sir Ralph Lane by, 190, 196, 236, 292, 305, 314, 318, 391, 392.
....., ....., oversight of, in the musters, 215.
....., ....., certificates of musters by, 226, 265, 314, 315, 337.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish in the forces in Ireland, 231, 232, 236, 249, 429.
....., ....., project by, for the due execution of musters, 232, 245.
....., ....., that the Lord Deputy may be specially commanded to assist, 236, 237.
....., ....., has sent packets of letters to Lord Burghley, 249.
....., ....., is shortly to start for the north, 249, 315.
....., ....., on the conduct of the Irish soldiers, 249.
....., ....., declines Sir Ralph Lane's assistance in mustering, 252.
....., ....., on the intercepting of letters, 253, 292.
....., ....., states appearance of good reformation in musters, 253, 314, 315.
....., ....., delay of letters of, to Burghley, 255, 265.
....., ....., estimate of checks by, 255, 263, 304, 314, 315, 331, 337.
....., ....., on the sufferings of the soldiers in Ireland, 255, 265, 291.
....., ....., on the explosion in Dublin, 255.
....., ....., has taken up money to supply his need, 265.
....., ....., prays for his revocation, 265.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys writes on behalf of, 273, 274.
....., ....., has the charge of five foot companies, 291.
....., ....., renders great assistance to Sir Conyers Clifford, 291.
....., ....., eulogises Sir Conyers Clifford, 291.
....., ....., on the importance of commissaries, 305, 337, 391.
Kyffin, Maurice—*cont.*
....., ....., bad health of, 305.
....., ....., character of, by Lord Burgh, 309.
....., ....., the Privy Council and, 319.
....., ....., commended by the Council of Ireland, 334.
....., ....., petition of, to the Council of Ireland, 335.
....., ....., delays of, 337, 445.
....., ....., "but a wandering commissary," 338.
....., ....., difference between Lord Burgh and, 344.
....., ....., with the forces in Connaught, 391.
....., ....., with Lord Burgh in Ulster, 391.
....., ....., on the office of Surveyor of the Muster Rolls, 391.
....., ....., on the fraudulent claims of the captains, 392.
....., ....., on the changes in the companies effected by Lord Burgh, 421.
....., ....., as to the levies sent from England, 429.
....., ....., notes of, as to the training of bands, 429, 430.
....., ....., asks for a foot company, 431.
....., ....., and untrained captains, 431.
....., ....., to muster the companies in Leinster, 456.
Kyming, Thomas, a Scottish merchant, letter of, 235.
Kynagad, castle of, co. Westmeath, 299.

## L.

Lacy, Robert, titular Chancellor of Limerick from the Pope, drowned, 223, 368.
Ladirath, co. Meath, preyed, 176.
Lagan Innly, letter from, 8.
Laghlen. *See* Laughlen.
Lally, Thomas, 10.
Lancashire, dearth in, 136, 148.
Lancaster, 323.
Land's End, Cornwall, the Spaniards have their scouts at, 276.
....., ....., corn might be transported from, to Galway, 367.
Lane, John, 215.
....., Captain Par, 108.
....., ....., muster-roll of company of, 146.
....., ....., letter in favour of, 396.
....., ....., petition of, 396.
....., Sir Ralph, Muster-master in Ireland, 67, 136, 213, 229, 309, 329, 393, 413, 414, 428, 429, 443.

Lane, Sir Ralph—*cont.*
....., ....., letters of, 13, 99, 113, 114, 148, 151, 154, 214, 215, 252, 263, 311, 312, 337, 340, 368, 392, 428, 445, 464, 467.
....., ....., letters to, 252, 344.
....., ....., certificates by, 236, 252, 263, 264, 331, 337, 341, 344, 362, 462.
....., ....., illness of, 99, 114, 142, 148, 154, 214, 305, 309, 318, 370.
....., ....., Burghley's honourable remembrance of, 252, 312, 337, 369, 370.
....., ....., begs for some post in England, 114.
....., ....., on the necessity for commissaries, 113, 214, 215, 252, 263, 337, 338, 369.
....., ....., accounts of, 214, 263, 319, 329, 331, 337, 340, 341, 369, 445.
....., ....., on the state of the troops, 113, 151, 263, 465.
....., ....., satisfies Burghley and Cecil as to complaints against him, 148, 214, 215, 340, 369.
....., ....., recommends Sir Henry Warren as muster-master, 148, 154.
....., ....., on the rebellious state of Ireland, 151.
....., ....., replies to complaints against him, 154, 214, 215, 263, 337, 340, 341, 360, 369, 370, 392, 428, 429.
....., ....., defence of, 180, 214, 311, 312, 392, 428, 429, 465.
....., ....., differences between Maurice Kyffin and, 190, 214, 215, 252, 263, 292, 305, 314, 337, 391, 464, 465.
....., ....., charges by Maurice Kyffin against, 190, 196, 236, 292, 305, 314, 318, 391, 392.
....., ....., writes to the Queen, 214.
....., ....., charges of Lord Burgh against, 297.
....., ....., note of absentee captains and others by, 297.
....., ....., prays for restoration to the Queen's favour, 312, 337, 345, 369.
....., ....., the Privy Council blame, 319, 331, 368.
....., ....., to forbear the execution of the office of muster-master, 324, 368, 469.
....., ....., to seek relief otherwise in England, 324, 428.
....., ....., the Queen's displeasure against, 329, 340, 345, 368, 369, 392.
....., ....., the "lewd deputies" of, 329.
....., ....., servant of, 337.
....., ....., sends a collection of his checks, 337, 341.
....., ....., on the action of the captains, 337.
Lane, Sir Ralph—*cont.*
....., ....., justification by, of the state of Her Majesty's forces in Ireland, 337, 341.
....., ....., on the government of Ireland, 340.
....., ....., prohibited from the Council Board, 345, 428.
....., ....., desires other employment in Her Majesty's service, 345.
....., ....., charges against, by Sir William Russell, 368, 369.
....., ....., sends sketch of fort to Burghley, 368.
....., ....., receives copy of Ordinances for the army, 368.
....., ....., on the determination of his patent, 369.
....., ....., rewards to the predecessor of, 369.
....., ....., prays for a fuller inquiry into the charges against him, 369.
....., ..... the "extreme pinches at heart" of, 369.
....., ....., on the character of Burghley 369.
....., ....., opposes the Ordinances for the army, 391.
....., ....., Lord Burgh's offer to, 428, 429.
....., ....., answer of, to Lord Burgh, 428, 429.
....., ....., Lord Burgh's promise to, 428.
....., ....., craves redress, 428, 429.
....., ....., to muster the companies in Leinster, 456.
....., ....., Burghley's mediation for, 464.
....., ....., entertainment of, 465.
....., ....., asks for the Colonelcy of Carrickfergus, 465, 467.
....., William, nephew of Sir Ralph, 114, 214, 337.
....., ....., letter of, 345.
L'Aquila. *See* Avala.
Laraske, co. Sligo, castle of, 91.
Laughlen [Leighlin, co. Carlow], letters from, 103, 207.
....., ....., castle of, 462.
....., ....., Bishop of, case of Henry Sheffeld against, 303, 304, 328.
....., ..... *See* Leighlin.
Lawrence, Roger, murder of, 84.
Lea, Sir Henry, draft warrant to, 493.
Leame, castle of, King's co., 30.
Lecale, co. Down, 74, 76, 93, 192, 370.
....., ....., wasted, 95, 101, 103, 134, 140, 143, 370.
Lee, Mr. Richard, 362.
Lee, Captain Thomas, 64, 81, 125.
....., ....., enterprise by, 53.
....., ....., attacks Feagh M'Hugh, 82.

Lee, Captain Thomas—*cont.*
....., ....., sent to the Earl of Tyrone, 80, 86, 96, 98.
....., ....., conference of, with the Earl, 86, 87.
....., ....., on the advisers of the Earl, 86, 87.
....., ....., danger of, 87, 88.
....., ....., loyal offers of, 88, 263.
....., ....., letters of, 86, 98, 125, 262, 362, 363, 381, 388.
....., ....., complaint against, 60, 61.
....., ....., hopes to bring the Earl of Tyrone to Dublin, 98.
....., ....., desires Burghley to encourage Tyrone's coming in, 98.
....., ....., report by, of the taking of Ballinacor, 104.
....., ....., undertakes to keep Fort Russell, 117, 125.
....., ....., the Butlers cry out against, 117.
....., ....., on "the notorious traitor" Feagh M'Hugh, 125.
....., ....., the Butlers burn the property of, 125.
....., ....., kills 30 or 40 rebels in Feagh M'Hugh's country, 191.
....., ....., slanderous reports against, 262.
....., ....., advises the utmost prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh and his partakers, 262, 263.
....., ....., desire of, to leave "the miserable service of Ireland," 263.
... ....., ....., killing of Feagh M'Hugh by, 288, 289, 362.
....., ....., letters in commendation of, 289.
....., ....., prefers articles of treason against Sir Henry Harrington, 304.
....., ....., arrears due to, 362.
....., ....., asks for the liberation of Feagh M'Hugh's wife, 388.
....., ....., at the passage of the Blackwater, 388.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's message to, 388.
....., ....., warrant to, 396.
....., ....., orders to, concerning the Leinster rebels, 469, 470.
Le Hinche, co. Galway, 303.
Leigh, Captain Sir Urian, muster roll of company of, 146.
Leighlin, Bishop of (*see also* Laughlen), Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, illness of, 363.
....., ....., fine imposed on, 363, 366, 370.
....., ....., death of, 366, 368, 370, 371.
....., Bishopric of, Mr. Pilsworth recommended for the, 390.
Leinster, province of, *passim*.
....., ....., rebellion in, 11, 12, 22, 36, 43, 45, 74, 96, 110, 139, 140, 287, 289, 292, 302, 404, 406–408, 414, 420, 427, 448, 455, 487.
....., ....., "the heart of the Kingdom," 124.
....., ....., kings of, 105.
....., ....., combination of, with Ulster, 144, 145, 244.
....., ....., forces to be left in, 170.
....., ....., spoilings in, 175, 292, 406–408, 447.
....., ....., successes in, 193.
....., ....., note of garrisons for, 198.
....., ....., a main ground to bring in Spaniards, 244.
....., ....., the "principal part" of Ireland, 244.
....., ....., "the heart and seat of the Government," 244.
....., ....., hopes of soon clearing all rebellion from, 257, 287.
....., ....., importance of the death of Feagh M'Hugh on the rebellion in, 287, 289.
....., ....., likelihood of peace in, 294, 310.
....., ....., remnant of the Feagh M'Hugh faction in, to be prosecuted, 302, 334.
....., ....., heads of rebels of, daily brought to Dublin, 315.
....., ....., in worse case than Ulster or Connaught, 318.
....., ....., defence of, 334.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde again appointed general of, 339, 406, 407.
....., ....., martial law in, 396.
....., ....., claims of septs in, 436.
....., ....., the mustering of the companies in, 456.
....., ....., Tyrone asks for a safe conduct for his friends in, 458, 459.
....., ....., Tyrone will withdraw his friends from, 469, 485.
.. ....., ....., the Privy Council on the rebels of, 480, 481.
Leitrim, the late Baron of, 485.
....., ....., young Burke, son of, 485.
....., ....., wife of, 485.
....., county of, 145.
....., ....., joins O'Donnell, 212.
....., ....., O'Rourke chiefest in, 452.
Leix, Queen's County, 8, 31, 32, 36, 159, 207, 345, 407, 423, 425, 469.
....., ....., letters from, 289, 472.
....., ....., encounter with rebels at, 432, 467, 469–472, 480, 482.
....., ....., Sir Warham Sentleger, Governor of, 467, 469–472.
....., ....., forces sent to, 472.

Leix—*cont.*
....., country of, Queen's County, laid waste, 175.
....., ....., like to be lost, 180.
....., ....., claim of the O'Mores to the, 436.
Leman. *See* Lonnan.
Lennan, Richard, petition of, 198.
Leslie, Martin, petition of, 198.
Lester, Captain, 341.
Lestrange, Thomas, information of, 182.
....., ....., declaration by, 182.
Liffer, or Lifford, co. Donegal, the Earl of Tyrone goes to, 247, 254.
....., ....., Sir H. Knyvett offers to march to, 262.
....., ....., Lord Burgh purposes to pass to, 342.
Limehouse, London. *See* London.
Limerick, city of, 7, 8, 14, 21, 29, 44, 51, 141, 221–223, 268, 302, 303.
....., ....., prison of, 57.
....., ....., munition sent to, 143.
....., ....., citizens of, rescue a priest, 186.
....., ....., advertisements from, 199, 268.
....., ....., report by merchants of, 204.
....., ....., Spaniards expected to land in the river of, 204, 276, 277.
....., ....., castle of, 229.
....., ....., defences of, 250, 266, 302, 303, 313, 349.
....., ....., intention of the Spaniards to land at, 252.
....., ....., the *Sunday*, a ship of, 268.
....., ....., importance of, 290.
....., ....., five companies sent to, 290.
....., ....., constableship of castle of, 419.
....., ....., corn to be sent to, 436.
....., county of, 77, 94, 198, 278, 354.
..... ... .., sheriff of, 347.
....., Dean of. *See* Campbell.
Lincol, William, letter to, 356.
Lincolnshire, 364.
Lindsay, Sir James, brother of the Earl of Crawford, pensioner of the Pope, 204.
....., ....., departs from Cadiz for Scotland, 204.
....., ....., presents to, 204.
Lisbon, 120, 126, 141, 142, 173, 175, 177, 199, 204, 215, 223, 236, 253, 268, 276, 356, 406, 411, 446, 472.
....., Irish college at, 192.
....., the Spaniards fortify, 276.
....., the English fleet in the river of, 406.
....., pressing of men at, 472.
....., release of English prisoners at, 472.
Liscallon, 80.
Lissimon, near Newry, 205.
Lister, Captain Edmund, report by, 476, 477.
Liston, Gerald, report by, 94.
Liverpool, 323.
....., the ferry at, 152.
....., the mayor of, 153.
....., ....., letter of, 154.
....., ....., complaints against, 153, 189.
....., staying of ships at, 153, 154, 189.
....., bark at, with provisions for Ireland, 160.
....., lingering of Sir Richard Bingham at, 228.
....., conveniency of shipping at, 312, 323.
....., search for arms at, 323.
Lloyd, Mr. David, ex-mayor of Chester, 146.
Loben, Richard, examination of, 245.
Loftus, Adam, Archbishop of Dublin, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, letters of, 38, 116, 125, 128, 152, 153, 167, 174, 193, 229, 233, 239, 242, 254, 261, 284, 286–288, 342, 345, 349, 366, 377, 378, 386, 387, 390, 406, 411, 419, 423, 427, 455, 458, 459, 462, 471, 492.
....., ....., letters to, 98, 127, 135, 153, 176, 225, 240, 344, 345, 358, 386, 425, 472, 479.
....., ....., seeks advancement for his eldest son, 38, 39.
....., ....., minute of Privy Council to, 40.
....., ....., money lent by the Earl of Tyrone to, 151.
....., ....., touchstone quarried by, for Sir Robert Cecil, 153.
....., ....., and the differences between Sir Wm. Russell and Sir John Norreys, 153.
....., ....., on the state of Ireland, 167–171, 423.
....., ....., complains of Sir John Norreys, 168.
....., ....., charge by, against the Earl of Ormonde, 169.
....., ....., recommends war by three several armies, 170.
....., ....., on the rebels in Ireland, 170, 345, 423.
....., ....., recommends Sir Richard Bingham for the command of an army, 170.
....., ....., writes on behalf of the college at Dublin, 193.
....., ....., is to inform the Queen as to the claims of the Earl of Kildare, 225.
....., ....., recommends his son-in-law, Sir Henry Warren, as joint muster-master in Ireland, 229.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Lord Delvin, 233.
....., ....., on the treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, 239, 492.
....., ....., sends twenty-four tons of touchstones to Sir Robert Cecil, 254.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Alderman Bellew, 261.
....., ....., writes on behalf of the citizens of Dublin, 287.

Loftus, Adam—*cont.*
....., ....., has lived more than thirty-six years in Dublin, 287.
....., ....., on the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 286, 288, 289.
....., ....., left out of certain commissions, 293, 294.
....., ....., warrants to, 303, 305.
....., ....., hostility of, to Henry Sheffeld, 304.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Richard Belling, 306.
....., ....., commission to, 334.
....., ....., on the Ordinances for the army, 342, 423.
....., ....., three sons of, with the Lord Deputy Burgh, 345.
....., ....., sends part of a letter from his son Edward, 345.
....., ....., charges of fraud against, 346.
....., ....., on the Deanery of St. Patrick's, 363, 366, 411, 412.
....., ....., on Lord Burgh, 366, 367.
....., ....., on the death of Sir Robert Dillon, 367.
....., ....., recommends Mr. Justice Walsh, 367.
....., ....., writes in favour of Mr. Pilsworth, 390.
....., ....., sends a present of a deer's head to Sir Robert Cecil, 406.
....., ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 420.
....., ....., urges the appointment of a new Lord Deputy, 420, 423.
....., ....., urges a pacification for the time being, 423.
....., ....., copy of news from Spain signed by, 427.
....., ....., writes in favour of [Dr.] Meredith Hanmer, 427.
....., ....., late a Lord Justice of Ireland, 433.
....., ....., appointed a Lord Justice of Ireland, 449, 450, 460.
....., ....., established in the government, 459.
....., ....., gratitude of, to the Queen and to Burghley, 459.
....., ....., entertainment of, 482.
....., ....., on Sir John Chichester's office, 462.
....., ....., on the defeat at Leix, 471.
....., ....., has stayed divers general commissions, 473.
....., Sir Dudley, son of the Archbishop of Dublin, services of, 38.
....., Edward, son of the Archbishop of Dublin, letter of, 345.
London, 143, 154, 201, 224, 242, 280, 297, 300, 310, 323, 325, 333, 341, 355, 358, 361, 364, 382, 434, 492.
....., letters from, 147, 225, 229, 252, 262, 317, 350, 351, 395.
London—*cont.*
....., Tower of, 17, 199, 243, 252, 493.
....., Cheshire cheese bought for, 62, 317.
....., the Inns of Court at, 155.
....., the Strand, 203, 208, 209, 210, 222, 223, 279, 366.
....., Holborn, 203.
....., grain wanted from, 213.
....., butter and cheese from, 216, 241, 382, 389, 395.
....., Aldersgate, 226.
....., arrival of victualling ships from, 242.
....., St. James's Park, 262.
....., Whitehall. *See* Whitehall.
....., Westminster. *See* Westminster.
....., the Fleet prison in. *See* Fleet prison.
....., "casa del Coronel" in, 300.
....., St. Martin's, 300.
....., concerning great trials at, 311.
....., Middle Temple, letters from, 317.
....., the Guildhall, 317.
....., Little Wood Street, 317.
....., York House, 327.
....., Charing Cross, 327.
....., Limehouse, letter from, 338.
....., Gray's Inn, 351, 498.
....., the Marshalsea, 358.
....., Lord Mayor of. *See* Billingsley.
....., Highgate, letter from, 398.
....., Tower Hill, letter from, 401.
....., loan from, 436, 450.
Long, —, 323.
Longford, county of, 58, 165, 168, 245, 279, 302, 328.
....., ....., sheriff of, 31.
....., ....., the "most pestiferous" rebels in, 208.
....., ....., the "wild Irish," 328.
Lonnan or Leman, frames the complaints against Sir Richard Bingham, 37, 68.
Lords Justices. *See* Ireland.
Lot, 435.
Loughsewdye. *See* Clery.
Louth, county of, 127, 164, 176, 488.
....., ....., spoilings in, 143, 150, 168, 174, 186.
....., ....., forces preparing to invade, 255.
....., ....., sheriff of, 255.
....., ....., garrisons of, 255, 310.
....., town of, burnt, 271.
....., Oliver Plunket, fourth Baron of, a commissioner to treat with the woodmen, 34.
....., ....., a commissioner to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, letters of, 42, 44, 60, 127, 164, 205.
....., ....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl, 42, 44, 205, 206, 208.
....., ....., ....., letters to, 45, 205.
....., ....., tenants of, preyed, 127.

Louth, Baron of—*cont.*
....., ....., mother of, 127.
....., ....., appointed to confer with the Earl of Tyrone, 191.
....., ....., obliged to remain at Newry, 205.
....., ....., cook of, 215.
....., Thomas, report of, 126.
Low Countries, the, 248, 258, 381, 413, 459, 460.
....., ....., help given by Elizabeth to, 308.
Low Country ships, 193.
Luker, Nicholas, agent of the Corporation of Waterford, 432.
Lynyall, Thomas, letter of, 171.
Lyon, William, Bishop of Cork and Ross. *See* Cork.

## M.

"M. L.," Captain, 471.
M'Adwalto, or M'Dwaltagh, Con, slain, 372, 380.
M'Angholy, Glenseny, 103.
M'Art, Brian, nephew of the Earl of Tyrone, 295, 326.
....., ....., defeat of 397.
....., Harie, 226.
....., ..... Oge, 226.
M'Baron [O'Neill], Art, 33, 144, 218, 267.
....., Cormack, 30, 118, 200, 219, 244, 258, 315, 483, 487.
....., ....., wife of, 258.
....., ....., spoils by, 301, 302, 334.
....., ....., assists O'Donnell, 374.
....., ....., asked as a pledge, 384.
....., ....., son of, a pledge at Dublin, 401.
....., Brian M'Art, 30, 93, 103, 141.
....., ....., raids Lecale, 103.
....., ....., threatening letter from, 141.
M'Brian [O'Neill], Collo, 72.
....., Ferto, Neill, 30.
....., ....., ....., submission of, 397.
....., Gerald, 29.
..... [O'Neill], Shane, 30, 69, 71, 72, 268, 295, 326, 357.
....., ....., favours to, 72.
....., ....., preys taken from, 268.
....., ....., takes Belfast Castle, 326.
....., ....., atrocities by, at Belfast Castle, 326.
....., ....., Edeirdocarrig Castle taken from, 357, 397.
....., ....., defeat of, 397.
....., ....., submission of, 397, 444, 449.
....., ....., sons of, 397.
M'Caier, Mortagh, 192.
M'Cartan, 103, 133, 134.
M'Cartan's country, co. Down, 192, 467.
M'Cartanes, the, 74.
M'Carthy, Donnell, letter on behalf of, 211.
....., ....., lands for, 212.
....., Donogh, lands for, 212.
M'Carthy, Florence, worthy of favour, 212.
....., ....., lands to be granted to, 212.
....., ....., not to have title of M'Carthy More, 212.
....., not to have signory over the Clancarties, 212.
....., ....., representation against, 230.
....., ....., suits of, for Clancarty lands, 230, 480.
....., ....., memoranda by, 230.
....., ....., note of kinsmen of, 230.
....., ....., "begins already to stir coals," 232.
....., ....., more Spanish than English, 232.
....., ....., should be secured, 232.
....., ....., instructions to secure, 235.
....., ....., instructions as to case of, 250.
....., ....., wife of, 331.
....., ....., charges against, by Lord Barry, 497.
M'Carthys, the, 331.
M'Coll, Con, son of the Earl of Tyrone, 176.
....., ....., leaves the Earl of Tyrone, 298, 310, 313, 338.
M'Collo or M'Coolye, Ever, 102, 176.
M'Conn, 30.
M'Connell, Angus, Lord of Cantire, 9, 10, 30, 46, 72, 362, 448.
....., ....., holds the Glynns of the Queen, 69, 71.
....., ....., rent beeves of, unpaid, 30.
....., ....., promises to assist the Earl of Tyrone, 46.
....., ....., son of, 69.
....., ....., alleged to have taken the Earl of Tyrone's eldest son to foster, 249.
....., ....., with the Earl of Tyrone, 249.
....., ....., offers of service by, 397.
....., ....., referred to the Council, 397.
M'Connell, James. *See* M'Donnell, James, *also* Argyle, Earl of.
M'Costollo or MacCostilloe, country of, co. Mayo, 211, 239. *See* Costillo.
M'Davies, country of, 211.
M'Dermott, Connor Oge, chief of the M'Dermotts, letter of, 81.
....., ....., fears O'Donnell, 91.
....., ....., submission of, 104, 106, 197.
....., ....., and Sir Richard Bingham, 104.
....., ....., of mean account in Connaught, 169.
....., ....., petition of, 197.
....., ....., must take with O'Donnell, 215.
....., ....., said to be fallen away, 215, 228.

McDermott, Connor Oge—*cont.*
....., ....., taken prisoner by O'Donnell, 452, 453, 482.
....., ....., released by O'Donnell, 452, 453.
....., ....., to be favoured by Sir Conyers Clifford, 482.
M'Dermott, O'Connor Roe, 68, 452.
....., ....., must take with O'Donnell, 215.
....., ....., submission of, 219, 239.
M'Dermotts, the, 91, 380.
M'Donnell, Angus M'James, leader of Scots, 9, 33.
....., ....., Gilleisboigg or Gillaspeck, son of, 9, 30.
....., *alias* M'Connell, James Oge M'Sorley Boy, of Dunluce, Lord of the Route, afterwards knighted by James VI., 23, 30, 33, 69, 71, 72, 103, 397, 448, 480.
....., ....., takes the Earl of Tyrone's son to foster, 33.
....., ....., agrees with the Earl of Tyrone, 33, 46, 69, 465–467.
....., ....., takes possession of the Glynns, 69, 71.
....., ....., raids by, 95, 441, 444–446, 465.
....., ....., agreement with, advised, 362.
....., ....., would do good service for the State, 362.
....., ....., suspicious actions of, 397.
....., ....., letters of, 444, 445.
....., ....., letters to, 443, 445.
....., ....., defeats Sir John Chichester, 441–446, 465–467.
....., ....., defence of, 444–446, 467.
....., ....., marries the daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, 448, 449, 465.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone assists, 467.
....., ....., can be easily banished from the Route, 494.
M'Donnell, Ever Boy, overthrows a convoy from Armagh, 141.
....., ....., Kedogh, son of, apprehended, 197.
....., Nyce Oultagh, or Nice Ultagh, M'Sorley, 103, 465.
....., Randal M'Sorley, 397, 465.
....., Sorley Boy, 103, 448.
..... Waghery, James, 31.
....., 45.
M'Donogh, Mahon, confession of, 83.
M'Feagh [O'Byrne], Phelim, son of Feagh M'Hugh, 159, 345, 406, 447, 458, 461.
....., Tirlogh, son of Feagh M'Hugh, 388.
M'Fertagh [O'Neill], Brian, 295.
M'Haghe, Neale, 357.
M'Henry [O'Neill], Tirlogh, of the Fews, brother of the Earl of Tyrone, 102, 146, 258.
....., ....., defeat of, 103.
....., ....., takes Captains Baker and Guest prisoners, 205.
....., sent for to Strabane, 258.
....., ....., conference of Brian Ne Sawgh with, 270.
M'Henry [O'Neill], Tirlogh—*cont.*
....., ....., leaves the Earl of Tyrone, 298, 309, 310, 313.
....., ....., lately come in, 309, 310, 313, 338, 362.
....., ....., good service of, 316, 481.
....., ....., son of, a pledge in Dublin Castle, 362.
....., ....., recommended by Lord Burgh, 401.
....., ....., petition of, 401.
....., ....., rewards by Lord Burgh to, 471.
....., ....., goes back to the Earl of Tyrone, 471, 481.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde on, 471.
....., ....., the Privy Council on, 481, 482.
M'Hugh, Feagh. *See* O'Byrne.
....., Feriagh, leader of the Kellys, 380, 475.
....., Neale or Neill, prisoner in Carrickfergus Castle, information by, 254.
....., ....., submission of, 397, 444.
....., Phelim, 159, 345, 406, 447, 458.
M'James, Nice, a Scot, sends to O'Donnell, 448.
M'Jonyn, Richard Oge, sheriff of Sligo, 10.
....., ....., complaint of, 8.
....., ....., report by, 8.
M'Keogh, a messenger, friend of Feagh M'Hugh, 32.
M'Lane or M'Lanna, 30, 189.
M'Mahon, the, 166, 301, 447.
....., ....., pledge of, 10, 34, 42, 159, 164.
....., ....., sends a letter to Feagh M'Hugh, 32.
....., ....., assists Lord Delvin, 146.
....., ....., is to spoil Westmeath, &c., 164.
....., ....., spoils by, 176, 205, 301, 302.
....., ....., of the faction of O'Neill, 353.
....., ....., country of, 494.
....., Brian Ne Sawgh, conference of, with Tirlogh M'Henry 270.
....., Brian M'Hugh Oge, 424.
....., Owen M'Collo, cut off, 205, 206.
....., of Monaghan, Patrick M'Art Moile, has received the Earl of Tyrone's eldest son to foster, 159.
....., ....., spoils by, 176.
....., ....., joins the Earl of Tyrone, 192.
....., Ross Bane, 424.
....., Teig Keogh, 43, 84.
McMahons, the 34, 35, 56, 72, 164, 168, 293.
....., ....., pledges of, 34, 55, 164.
....., ....., forbear to take their pardons, 34.
....., ....., ravage the English Pale, 35, 167, 173, 206, 367.
....., ....., spoil in Louth and Meath, 168.
....., ....., spoilings by, 191, 205.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone undertakes that the Pale shall not be ravaged by, 217.
....., ....., messages of the Earl of Tyrone to, 236.

McMahons, the—*cont.*
....., ....., some septs of, should be encouraged, 293.
....., ....., offers of, 494.
M'Morris, John, a confederate with M'William, taken, 239.
McMorrises, the, pledges of, 280.
M'Morrogh, Rory, 58. *See* M'Shee.
....., ....., killed, 313.
M'Neill Oge, Owen McHugh, 103.
M'Oliverus. *See* Burke.
M'Phellony, or M'Phelim, or M'Phelemy [O'Neill], Neill M'Hugh, 30, 45, 46, 69, 71.
....., ....., letter of, 72.
M'Philip, Shane, 72.
M'Ricard, John, slain, 372.
M'Quylyne, 494.
M'Rory [O'Moore], Onie, or Owen, son of Rory Oge O'Moore, a chief of the Moores, 70, 206, 207, 290, 423, 447, 458.
....., ....., negotiations with, 73.
....., ....., truces with, 74, 447.
....., ....., advice of, to the Butlers, 102.
....., ....., demands of, 447.
....., ....., letter of, 472.
....., ....., defeats the companies at Leix, 467, 469, 471, 472.
....., ....., protection granted to, 472.
M'Rory, William, weary of rebellion, 74.
....., ....., *alias* Stokes, killed, 192.
M'Shane, Harry, 424.
....., Henry Oge M'Harry, son-in-law of the Earl of Tyrone, burnings by, 186.
M'Shea, or M'Shihie, Rory, letter of, 160, 161.
....., ....., English gentlemen taken prisoners by, 186.
M'Shee, Morrogh Backlawe, 77.
....., Morrogh Oge, revolts of, 57, 58.
....., ....., Rory M'Morrogh, brother of, condemned for high treason, 58, 313.
....., ....., slain by the Earl of Ormonde, 311.
M'Shees or McSheehys, the, 22, 57, 350.
....., ....., raid into Munster, 92, 93, 161.
....., ....., more than ninety of, hanged within ten days, 161.
....., ..... nearly all cut off, 415.
M'Sorley [Boy], James Oge. *See* M'Donnell.
....., Nice Ultagh. *See* M'Donnell.
....., Raudal. *See* M'Donnell.
M'Swine, Bayne, 141.
M'Thomas. *See* Geraldine.
M'Thomas's lands, 415.
M'Tibbot Boy, Moyler, 257.
McWilliam, Tibbott [Theobald] Burke M'Walter Kittagh, styled the, 3, 6, 7, 8, 10, 12, 21, 22, 40, 44, 45, 50, 61, 83, 104, 105, 144, 155, 185, 218, 284, 297, 324, 380 452 453
M'William—*cont.*
....., claims of, 3, 8, 10.
....., tyranny of, 3, 186.
....., attainder of, 6.
....., arrest and imprisonment of, 11.
....., pledges of, 9, 164, 280.
....., letters of, 10, 11.
....., made captain of a county by O'Donnell, 40.
....., head of, promised to Sir Richard Bingham, 40.
....., the Earl of Tyrone writes to, 42.
....., seignory of certain boroughs sought for, 53.
....., treatment of, by Sir Richard Bingham, 78, 79.
....., sends beeves to Spanish ships, 83.
....., the Commissioners write to, 92, 94.
....., coming in of, hoped for, 104, 108.
....., asks for a truce, 105.
....., Tyrone and O'Donnell offer to serve against, 105.
....., endeavours to stir up rebellion in Munster, 110.
....., "full of delays," 123.
....., a respite granted to, 132.
....., still stands out in Connaught, 145, 184.
....., will grow more inflated and insolent, 155.
....., usurps the name of M'William Eughter, 155.
....., messengers return from, without interview or answer, 158.
....., appointed to lay waste Connaught and Thomond, 164.
....., in great towardness to come in, 185.
....., Sir John Norreys on the character of, 185.
....., Sir John Norreys hopes to catch, by fair means or foul, 185.
....., the bad weather prevents operations against, 186.
....., burning and spoiling by, 205, 211, 221, 222.
....., dealings of Sir John Norreys with, 208.
....., joins O'Donnell, 211, 212, 215, 221, 222.
....., country of, 212, 239.
....., made M'William by O'Donnell, 222.
....., a confederate of, taken, 239.
....., Sir Conyers Clifford in the country of, 239.
....., Sir Conyers Clifford retires from country of, 239.
....., garrisons left in country of, 239.
....., stopped from doing harm, 250, 251.
....., not suffered to join O'Donnell, 251.
....., the Earl of Tyrone asks that there may be no attack on, 258.
....., O'Donnell will write to, 258.

M'William—*cont.*
....., "the arch-traitor of the Province [Connaught] both in power and malice," 280.
....., offensive war of Sir Conyers Clifford against, 280.
....., Tibbott Ne Longe has undertaken to do great service upon, 280.
....., uncle of. *See* Burke, David.
....., Tibbott Ne Longe may be very useful against, 284, 294.
....., driven to a great "strait and exigent," 285.
....., intended operations of, 285.
....., O'Donnell ready with 2,000 men to aid, 285.
....., confederates of, 285.
....., time for "extirping," 286.
....., suggested operations against, 286.
....., success of Sir Conyers Clifford against, 291, 294, 302, 305.
....., constrained to fly to the north, 291, 294, 302, 338.
....., still banished, 314.
....., O'Donnell's purpose to re-settle, 315.
....., brought into Mayo by O'Donnell and O'Rourke, 322.
....., again driven out of Connaught by Sir Conyers Clifford, 322, 334, 338, 372, 401, 432.
....., Lord Burgh thinks that no return will be attempted by, 322.
....., seeks means to flee into Spain, 338.
....., O'Donnell may again put up, 376, 379.
....., has undertaken to disturb Connaught, 399.
....., O'Donnell wishes again to set up, 404, 452, 453.
....., has again entered Mayo, 407, 409.
....., Sir Conyers Clifford will be unable to follow, 407.
....., Thomas Burke, brother of, slain, 409.
....., despised for his ill-success, 422.
....., still in action, 475.
....., must be upon Tyrone's peace, 485, 489.
....., will break the peace, 487.
Maccoghlan, Sir John, lands of, 348.
MacDermond joins O'Donnell, 211.
Macgwillen, Rory Oge, takes a fort, 33.
Macgwillens, the, 33.
MacSweeny Ne Doe, 25.
Madeira Islands, the, 46.
Madrid, 353, 386, 411.
Magarotts, the, 380.
Magennis, Arthur, 45, 76, 143, 353, 487.
....., ....., joins the Earl of Tyrone, 192, 363.
....., ....., letter of the Earl of Tyrone to, 192.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone marries the daughter of, 384.
Magennis, Arthur—*cont.*
....., ....., defeat of 397.
....., ....., killing of men of, 485.
....., country of, 33, 384.
Magennises, the, 191.
Magheraskiagh, co. Meath, 176.
Maghericork or Dillon's country, co. Westmeath, 212.
Maghery or Macherye, the district of, co. Roscommon, 9, 227, 251, 273.
Maguire, Sir Hugh, 9, 45, 166, 291, 301, 374, 379, 380, 463.
....., ....., pledges of, 9, 10, 34, 42, 55, 72, 164.
....., ....., brother of, 31.
....., ....., forbears to take his pardon, 34.
....., ....., house of, in Enniskillen, 102.
.... ...., ....., assists Lord Delvin, 146.
....., ....., is to take Westmeath, &c. in hand, 163, 164, 168.
....., ....., forces from, to assist the Earl of Tyrone, 164.
....., ....., capture of Enniskillen Castle by, 212.
....., ....., coming of, expected by O'Donnell, 244.
....., ..... conference of, with the Spaniards, 271.
....., ....., spoils by, 301, 302.
....., ....., desires a new Sovereign, 352.
....., ....., of the faction of O'Neill, 353.
....., ....., forces of, 372.
....., ....., assists O'Donnell, 374, 409, 452.
....., ....., passes over the Erne, 374.
....., ....., said to have come in, 423.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford hopes to gain, 453, 482.
Maguy's Island or the Island of Magee, co. Antrim, 295, 441, 443, 445, 446.
Magyes or Maguys, the, 30, 295.
Maherloghcowe, letters from, 159, 165, 166.
Mahown, Thomas, merchant of Limerick, advertisements by, 199.
Mainwaring, Mr., 149, 172.
Malbie, Captain Henry, 24.
....., ....., letters of, 24, 189.
....., ....., petition of, 24.
....., ....., a return of Irish forces by, 25.
....., ....., departure of, into England, 33, 39.
..... ....., accuses Sir Richard Bingham, 39.
....., ....., quarrel of Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe O'Connor with, 90.
....., ....., horse of, 146, 147, 149, 172.
....., ....., condition of horsemen of, 171, 172.
....., ....., takes a house at Wrexham, 171, 188.
....., ....., charges against, 171, 188.

Malbie, Captain Henry—*cont.*
....., ....., complains of the mayor of Liverpool, 189.
Malleys, the. *See* O'Malleys.
Mallow or Moyallo, co. Cork, letters from, 93, 94, 204, 211, 236, 349, 350, 479.
Manchester, 323.
....., letter from, 323.
....., sale of arms in, for Irish rebels, 323.
Mannering, John, petition of, 198.
Mansell, Captain Charles, at Carrickfergus, 443, 445, 446.
....., Captain Rice, 268, 446.
....., ....., letters of, 30, 72.
....., ....., Captain Eggerton fights with, 326.
....., ....., charges of, against Captain Eggerton, 268.
....., ....., suit of 325.
....., ....., slain near Carrickfergus, 441–443, 446, 465, 466.
....., ....., head of, sent to the Earl of Tyrone, 445, 446.
Manwaring, John, money due to, 325.
Mapowther, Richard, petition of, 198.
Marshall, Captain, foot-company of, 73, 169, 425.
Marshalsea, the. *See* London.
Martin, John, 33.
....., Lieutenant William, letter of, 91.
Mary (Tudor), Queen of England, 226, 322, 405.
*Mary Katherine*, the, 401, 402.
Maryborough, Queen's County, burning of, 467, 470.
Mask, Lough, cos. Galway and Mayo, 28.
Masterson, John, 29.
....., Sir Richard, seneschal of county of Wexford, charges against, 498.
"Mawchell a Cove," 435.
Maynard, Henry, letter of, 238.
....., Mr., letter to, 317.
Mayo, county of, 5, 6, 21, 78, 83, 84, 102, 145, 155, 286, 303, 322, 324, 372, 380, 401, 407, 409, 422, 452.
....., ....., desolate state of, 239.
....., ....., pledges for the preservation of the peace in, 303, 314, 324, 422.
....., ....., beeves taken up in, 376.
....., ....., sheriff placed in, 451, 481, 482.
Meath, Thomas Jones, Bishop of, 236, 494.
....., ....., letters of, 31, 81, 98, 135, 145, 167, 258, 483.
....., ....., reports at the Council Board, 70.
....., ....., on the rebels in Meath, 81.
....., ....., complains of Sir John Norreys, 167, 168.
....., ....., on the state of Ireland, 167–171.
Meath, Bishop of—*cont.*
....., ....., charge by, against the Earl of Ormonde, 169.
....., ....., recommends war by three several armies, 170.
....., ....., on the rebels in Ireland, 170.
....., ....., recommends Sir Richard Bingham for the command of an army, 170.
....., ....., intelligence delivered to, 258, 271.
....., ....., has suspicions of the Earl of Tyrone's meaning, 258.
....., ....., appointed to assist the Earl of Ormonde, 475, 476, 478, 483.
....., ....., report by, of the parleywith the Earl of Tyrone, 483–490, 492.
....., ....., remonstrates with the Earl of Tyrone, 487, 488.
....., ....., denounces the Earl of Tyrone, 488–490.
....., county of, 58, 145, 176, 212, 315, 488.
....., ....., spoils committed in, 81, 143, 150, 168, 174, 186, 315, 364.
....., ....., forces purposing to invade, 255.
....., ....., oppressed by thoroughfare of soldiers, 169.
....., ....., kings of, 57.
....., ....., Thomas Wackes, sheriff of, letter of, 176.
....., ....., ....., ....., letter to, 255.
....., ....., ....., ....., forces with, 367.
....., ....., petition of the inhabitants of, 495.
Medina [? Cœli], in Spain, 352–354.
Meelick, co. Roscommon, 8.
Mellifont, co. Louth, 255.
....., ....., letters from, 31, 34, 45, 85, 102, 164, 171, 176, 178, 236, 248, 251, 270, 402.
"Menelaus." *See* Russell, Sir William.
Merriman, Captain Nicholas, 30, 326, 446, 465.
....., ....., sent to Carrickfergus, 326.
....., ....., in the defeat at Carrickfergus, 442–446, 465, 466.
Might, Thomas, 350.
Milford, co. Pembroke, 1, 2.
Mills, Fraunces, 220.
Milltown, co. Westmeath, letter from, 211.
Moghelly, co. Cork, 300.
Moile, Patrick M'Art, of Monaghan. *See* M'Mahon.
Moine. *See* Moyne.
Molineux. *See* Mollenex.
Mollaghae, co. Meath, preyed, 176.
Mollenex, Molyneux, or Molineux, Samuel, victualler's agent, 213, 454, 479.
....., ....., letter of, 475.
Molloghade, letters from, 151, 159.
Mollough More, co. Roscommon, 8.

Molyneux, Sir Richard, 323.
..... *See* Mollenex.
Monaghan, county of, 72, 159, 168, 358.
....., ....., revolt of, 168.
....., ....., Lord Burgh hopes to reduce the, 365, 366, 370, 383.
....., ....., patents granted of lands in, 484, 485, 498.
....., town of, 236, 494.
Monaster Evan, co. Roscommon, letters from, 207, 470.
Monji, Count, 300.
Montague, Captain Charles, 127.
....., ....., letters of, 79, 111, 156.
....., ....., sent to Feagh M'Hugh, 127.
Montpensier, Duke of, 218.
Moore, Sir Edward, a commissioner to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, 8, 43, 44, 46, 48, 60, 84, 92, 100, 168.
....., ... .., letters of, 31, 34, 42, 44, 45, 60, 85, 101, 164, 171, 176, 236, 248, 251.
....., ....., letters to, 44, 45.
....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 34, 42–45.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's pardon sent by, 34.
....., ....., a commissioner to treat with the woodmen, 34.
....., ....., expected in Dublin, 41.
....., ....., warnings of the Earl of Tyrone to, 45.
....., ....., doubtful of the Earl, 46.
....., ....., how Hovenden's letter was obtained by, 60.
....., ....., on the state of the country, 85.
....., ....., wishes certain shipping stayed, 85.
....., ....., losses sustained by, 176, 236.
....., ....., suggests the sending of his own son Warren to the Earl, 236.
....., ....., petition of, 492.
....., ....., services of, in Ireland for twenty-eight years, 492.
....., Garrett, 42, 176.
....., ....., letters of, 178.
....., John, who married Lady Mary Burke, 239.
....., Sir Thomas, 425.
....., Walter, Constable of Ballinacor, report by, 103.
....., Warren, son of Sir Edward, 236.
Moores, O'Moores, or O'Mores, the, 22, 36, 53, 70, 73, 112, 117, 170, 345, 414, 423, 476, 484, 485, 489.
....., ....., in rebellion, 56, 70, 101.
....., ....., Rory Oge, chief of the, 56, 70, 73, 80, 322.
....., ....., continued protection refused to, 73.
....., ....., how to settle, 73, 74.
Moores, the—*cont.*
....., ....., go to Feagh M'Hugh, 80, 169.
....., ....., and the Butlers, 101–103.
....., ....., ravage the Queen's County, 169.
....., ....., pretend title to Leix, 436.
More, Sir Edward, 473.
Morgallion, barony of, co. Meath, 168.
Morgan, John, 235.
....., ....., declaration before, 74–76.
....., ....., repairs to Dublin, 95.
....., ....., letters of, 33, 126, 141, 144.
....., ....., the brother of, 95.
....., ....., Lord Burgh writes in favour of, 340.
....., ....., recommended by Sir William Russell and the Council, 340.
Morihoe, Patrick, examination of, 245.
Morrogh Oge. *See* M'Shee.
Mostin, William, money due to, 325.
Mostyn, Captain, 251.
....., ....., services of, against Omalaughlin, 57.
Mount Russell, fort, co. Wicklow, 53, 72, 140, 142.
Mountford or Mumford, a priest, seeks to seduce many in the Pale, 36–38.
....., ....., pardon of, 142.
....., ....., has been so long with the Earl of Tyrone, 200.
Mountgarrett, Edmund Butler, Viscount, the sons of, 103.
....., ....., arrest of, 138, 140, 142.
.. ....., ....., arrest of son of, who married the Earl of Tyrone's daughter, 138, 140, 142.
....., ....., son of, pretends title to Desmond and Ormonde, 138.
....., ....., proffers of service by, 156.
....., ....., son-in-law of, 156.
....., ....., Walter, bastard of, 156.
....., ....., taken by the Earl of Ormonde, 294, 295.
....., ....., nephews of, 156.
....., ....., and the Earl of Tyrone, 160.
....., ....., letter of, 312.
....., ....., complaints of, 312.
Mountjoy, Lord, 321, 361.
Mowbray, Philip, letter of, 198.
Moy, the river, 51.
Moyallo. *See* Mallow.
Moycullin, co. Galway, letter from, 257.
Moyerie, the, 325.
Moyle, Captain Henry, petition of, 312.
....., ....., grant to, 313, 317.
Moymet, co. Meath, letter from, 212.
Moyne, the river, 83.
Moyry, the, between Dundalk and Newry, 342.
Mullingar, co. Westmeath, 72, 131.
....., ....., letters from, 229.
....., ....., burning of, 299, 301, 334.

Mumford. *See* Mountford.

Munster, province of, *passim*.

....., ....., rebellion in, 11, 12, 22, 36, 43, 57, 58, 83, 84, 92, 93, 139, 140, 145, 161.

....., ....., state of religion in, 13–20.

....., ....., schools in, 17.

....., ....., charters of towns in, 18.

....., ....., beeves in, 33, 225.

....., ....., Spaniards expected to land in, 52, 155.

....., ....., the "diseases" of, 148, 224, 229, 403.

....., ....., "strange matters practised in," 55.

....., ....., President of. *See* Norreys, Sir John, and Norreys, Sir Thomas.

....., ....., Vice-President of. *See* Norreys, Sir Thomas, and Thornton, George.

....., ....., Chief Justice of. *See* Saxey.

....., ....., second Justice of. *See* Goold.

....., ....., defeat of a rising in, 105.

....., ....., endeavours to stir up rebellion in, 110.

....., ....., corn in, 33, 36, 145, 147, 149, 154, 155, 277.

....., ....., stir for a war of religion in, 143.

....., ....., house and lands of Sir Thomas Norreys in, 148.

....., ....., supplying corn to the rest of Ireland, 155, 277.

....., ....., the M'Shees raid into, 92, 93, 161.

....., ....., weakness of forces in, 161, 290.

....., ....., increase of pay asked for horsemen of President of, 161, 204, 290.

....., ....., composition rent of, 181, 332, 414.

....., ....., tokens of alteration in the temper of, 185.

....., ....., the state of, grows very ticklish, 186.

....., ....., has yielded both obedience and profit, 189.

....., ....., names of the chief rebels in, 196.

....., ....., land in, for building purposes, 197.

....., ....., George Thornton, Provost-Marshal of, 198, 432.

....., ....., the Chief Justice of, on the "diseases" of, 148, 224, 229, 403.

....., ....., charges against the Irish in, 224, 332.

....., ....., lies open to the Spanish revenge, 227.

....., ....., dearness of corn in, 242.

....., ....., the bulk of the Spaniards to be turned into, 258.

....., ....., no more corn to be expected from, 277.

Munster, province of—*cont.*

....., ....., very necessary to send some companies into, 279, 281.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys to repair to, 281.

....., ....., all sea-towns in, ordered to prepare against the Spaniards, 290.

....., ....., charges against Viscount Roch by the Vice-President and Council of, 293.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys will hasten to, 298, 300.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys will advertise Sir Robert Cecil of the state of, 298.

....., murrain of cattle in, 302.

....., ....., Nicholas Browne on the treatment of, 318.

....., ....., details of the families in, 318.

....., ....., the Queen on the peopling of, with English, 329, 330.

....., ....., defaults of the patentees or undertakers in, 329–331, 480.

....., ....., frauds in connexion with the Queen's lands in, 347.

....., ....., the White Knight of. *See* Gybbon.

....., ....., new governor wanted for, 395.

....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys continued as Chief Commissioner or President of, 395, 401, 448.

....., ....., in reasonable good quiet, 415.

....., ....., grievances of the poor inhabitants of, 415.

....., ....., Clerk of the Council of, 415.

....., ....., Council of, 427.

....., ....., good service of [Dr.] Meredith Hanmer in, 427.

....., ....., George Thornton appointed Vice-President of, 432.

....., ....., priests in, 438.

....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys returned to his Presidency of, 449, 450.

....., ....., martial law in, 494.

Murragh, co. Kildare, 350.

Muskerry, co. Cork, 212.

Musters, corruptions in the, 147, 149, 172, 190, 195, 213, 214, 227, 231, 232, 236, 245, 249, 253, 255, 263, 265, 292, 305, 309, 311, 312, 314, 315, 318, 319, 328, 329, 347, 392, 431, 450, 461, 480, 491.

....., "justification" of the, 180.

....., project or Ordinance for the due execution of, 232, 245, 328, 330, 331, 342, 343, 358, 359, 368, 381, 382, 391, 392, 412, 413, 423, 428, 432, 434, 440, 441, 451, 455, 456.

Mychell, Mr., 417.

Myntes, Thomas, of London, 317.

## N.


Naas, co. Kildare, in danger, 150.

....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde at, 311.

....., ....., rent of parsonage at, 346.

Nangles, Peter, 346.

Nantes, in France, 387.

Nantwich, or Namptwich, co. Chester, 368.

....., letters from, 351, 371.

Napper, Mr., suits of, 66, 293.

....., Sir Robert, Chief Baron in Ireland, 368, 370.

....., ....., letters of, 293, 317.

....., ....., question between Sir Robert Gardener and, 317.

....., ....., promise of lands to, 363.

....., ....., recommended as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 371.

Narrowwater, village of, co. Down, killing of some of the ward at, 140, 141.

Navan, barony of, 168.

Navan, co. Meath, 81, 176, 256.

....., ....., letter from, 176.

....., ....., the garrison at, 495.

Navarre, province of, 130.

Neagh, Lough. *See* Eaugh.

Neanagh, Earl of Ormonde's manor of, co. Tipperary, 30.

Ne Longe, Tibbott. *See* Tibbott Ne Longe.

Ne Sawgh, Brian. *See* M'Mahon.

Nessone [Neston], co. Chester, 194.

Neutterfield or Netterfield, Richard, 346, 377.

Newcastle, co. Donegal, 262.

Newcastle, co. Dublin, 175.

....., ....., letters from, 104, 111, 156.

....., ....., threatened by the rebels, 111.

Newcomen, Robert, victualler in Ireland, 143, 213, 413, 414, 436, 454, 475.

....., ....., letters of, 148, 216, 433, 454, 467.

....., ....., declarations of receipts and issues by, 226, 255, 410, 433, 454, 455, 461.

....., ....., estimates by, 233, 436, 472.

....., ....., saves some victuals, 335.

....., ....., certificates of, 467.

....., ....., on the prices of victuals, 467.

....., ....., unreasonable profit of, 495.

Newes, Thomas, a merchant of Poole, 156.

Newhaven [Havre], 432.

Newman, James, clerk to the Master of the Rolls, 1.

....., —, servant of Sir Anthony Sentleger, 312, 313.

Newport, Mr. John, 200.

Newry, co. Down, 33, 44, 74, 84, 95, 125, 126, 142, 159, 174, 189, 193, 194, 205, 217, 240, 316, 325, 333, 341, 342, 357, 358, 360, 366, 377, 414, 421, 424, 431, 433, 471.

....., ....., letters from, 33, 93, 95, 126, 129, 141, 144, 159, 165, 166, 192, 205, 206, 235, 240, 241, 260, 265, 269, 271, 283, 285, 294, 339, 340, 345, 366, 415–417, 428.

....., ....., the garrison of, 141, 217, 241, 440, 480, 492.

....., ....., raid into, 144.

....., ....., complaints of abuses from those in, 151.

....., ....., critical position of, 152, 159, 165, 166, 241.

....., ....., to be better fortified and provisioned, 152.

....., ....., Earl of Tyrone approaches, 191, 192.

....., ....., Earl of Tyrone means to make the seat of war near, 192.

....., ....., two practices to surprise, 235.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's designs on, 240, 241, 294, 295, 297, 301, 319, 334.

....., ....., scarcity at, 241.

....., ....., illness of Lord Burgh at, 414, 415.

Newstone [? co. Carlow,] ward placed in, 158.

Newton, John, merchant, 196.

....., co. Mayo, letters from, 211, 240.

Nicolson, G., opinion of, as to employment of Scots in Ireland, 225.

Nolan, Thady, warrant in behalf of, 62.

Nonsuch, palace of, 98, 123, 124, 126, 128, 129, 134, 135.

Norfolk, county of, 333.

....., Duke of, 346.

Norreys, Captain John, words spoken by, against the Queen, 182.

....., ....., imprisonment of, 182.

....., ....., evidence as to the words spoken by, 182.

....., Sir Henry, brother of Sir John, instructions for, 49–54.

....., ....., expected return of, 53.

....., ....., protects Morrogh Oge, 57.

....., ....., letters of, 64, 147.

....., ....., horse company of, 64.

....., ....., certain pay refused to, 64.

....., ....., sends letters to Sir Robert Cecil, 147.

Norreys, Sir John, President of Munster, Lord General of Her Majesty's Forces in Ireland, and one of the Commissioners for the affairs of Ulster and Connaught, *passim*.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., letters of, 1, 2, 21, 22, 24, 28, 31, 48, 54, 64, 94, 104, 108, 109, 113, 121, 123, 128, 130, 133, 152, 153, 154, 156, 158, 177, 183–185, 188, 207–210, 212, 217, 218, 221, 228, 229, 233, 237, 241–243, 246–248, 252, 258–261, 264, 267, 269–271, 273, 274, 278, 280, 283, 295, 297, 313, 349, 350.
... ....., ....., letters to, 8–11, 28, 79, 95, 106, 134, 141, 144, 218, 226, 228, 235, 236, 238, 239, 241, 246, 247, 251, 254, 258, 259, 261, 265, 267, 269, 270, 272, 279, 281, 282, 291, 314.
....., ....., desires to return to England, 22, 51, 54, 109, 110, 123, 185, 189, 193, 208, 218, 228, 234, 266, 267, 279, 281, 298, 313, 314, 320, 349, 350.
....., ....., differences between, and Sir William Russell. *See* Russell, Sir William.
....., ....., moneys due to, 22–24, 177, 184, 197, 225, 242, 248, 267, 298, 310.
....., ....., illness of, 154, 172, 184, 185, 187, 188, 207, 208, 298, 313, 314, 349, 350.
....., ....., "contemptuous usage" of, 48, 53, 54, 185, 188.
....., ....., on the rebels, 22, 23, 48, 59, 108, 109, 208, 228, 267, 313.
....., ....., companies of, 24, 52, 197, 266.
....., ....., report to, 8.
....., ....., on the bad recruits sent to Ireland, 21, 59, 274, 275.
....., ....., petition of, 298.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 31, 48, 49, 50, 55, 106, 109, 152, 183–185, 207–209, 217, 218, 228, 237, 238, 242, 258–260, 267, 269–271, 273, 274, 278, 280, 283, 297, 298, 313.
....., ....., intention of, to take the field, 37, 40.
....., ....., on the Scots, 52, 55.
....., ....., expects the Spaniards to land at Galway or Limerick, 44.
....., ....., instructions of, to his brother, Sir Henry, 49–54.
....., ....., on the state of Ireland, 49–54.
....., ....., advises continuance in the course of pacification, 51.
....., ....., thinks a good force of "mere English" should be kept in garrison in Ireland, 52.
....., ....., advises fortification of some of the chief towns in Ireland against the Spaniards, 53, 185.
....., ....., on the English and others in some of the chief towns, 53.
....., ....., complains of the delays in answering his letters, 54, 123.
....., ....., on the detention of the King of Spain's letter to the Earl of Tyrone, 55.
....., ....., notes of, on a letter of the Lord Deputy and Council, 55–59.
....., ....., on the state of religion in Ireland, 58.
Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., on the people of Connaught, 58, 59.
....., ....., on the forces asked for Ireland, 51, 52, 59, 64, 218.
....., ....., as to the choosing of captains, 59, 218.
....., ....., advises protection of Irish merchant vessels, 59.
....., ....., on the causes of Sir Richard Bingham, 64, 65, 104, 112, 113, 122, 123, 130–133, 184, 209, 228.
....., ....., opinion in Ireland on, 65.
....., ....., complains of not receiving advice from the Lord Deputy and Council, 65, 123, 177, 208–210, 246, 269.
....., ....., complains of not hearing from the Privy Council, 65.
....., ....., complaints of the Irish Council against, 68, 101, 209, 269.
....., ....., complaints of Sir Richard Bingham against, 68, 77, 78, 89, 91, 112, 113, 122, 128, 131–133.
....., ....., returns the Dublin messenger regarding Sir Richard Bingham's causes, 77.
....., ....., prepares to succour the abbey of Boyle, 93, 94, 97.
....., ....., sends the great ordnance to Ballinasloe, 95.
....., ....., weakness of forces of, 96.
....., ....., purposes to re-build Sligo, 100.
....., ....., letters to the Earl of Tyrone from, 101.
....., ....., discontented at the failure to relieve the Boyle, 102.
....., ....., hopes for the coming in of M'William, 104, 123.
....., ....., on Philip O'Reilly, 105.
....., ....., on the Spanish designs, 109, 123, 124, 218, 234, 350.
....., ....., on the pacification in Connaught, 108–110, 113, 153, 208, 242.
....., ....., and his past services, 109, 110, 123, 218, 242.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Sir Richard Bingham, 112, 128, 130–133, 178.
....., ....., on the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, 123, 234.
....., ....., on Irish and Spaniards, 123, 275.
....., ....., on the horsemen in the Irish service, 124, 275.
....., ....., objects to Sir Robert Gardener trying Sir Richard Bingham, 128, 132, 184.
....., ....., asked to return to Dublin, 129, 162.
....., ....., on the government of Ireland, 23, 49, 51, 54, 59, 123, 131, 178, 188, 228, 233, 274, 496.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., advises that the Council should write to the chief gentlemen of Connaught, 130, 131.
....., ....., advises the prosecution of the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell, 131.
....., ....., sequesters the property of Sir Richard Bingham at Athlone, 132.
....., ....., to meet with the Earl of Tyrone, 132, 133, 154, 165.
....., ....., grants a respite to M'William, 132.
....., ....., must leave Connaught for Dublin, 133.
....., ....., exceptions of, to the petition of Sir Richard Bingham, 138.
....., ....., payments to the forces under, 147.
....., ....., detained at Athlone through expected arrival of Spaniards, 152.
....., ....., advertisements to, from O'Flannagan, 152.
....., ....., has received license to return [to England], 153.
....., ....., believes Tyrone will seek assistance from Spain, 152, 153.
....., ....., desires Fenton's attendance, 154.
....., ....., asks for the opinions of the Irish Council, 154.
....., ....., advertised by the Earl of Tyrone that Spaniards will land, 160.
....., ....., the Lord Deputy has turned over all matters to, 163.
....., ....., the "cross and contemptuous proceedings" of, 164.
....., ....., the matters of Ulster left to, 165.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone refuses to meet, 165.
....., ....., said to have promised the pardon of Feagh M'Hugh, 166.
....., ....., troop of horse of, 167, 169.
....., ....., complaint of the Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Meath against, 168.
....., ....., meeting of, with the Earl of Tyrone deferred, 172, 178.
....., ....., absence of, from Dublin inconvenient, 173.
....., ....., and the guarding of the Pale, 177, 209, 218.
....., ....., sends three companies to Trim, 177.
....., ....., refers his cause to the Privy Council, 178.
....., ....., former employment of, in the causes of the north, 178.
....., ....., kept in Connaught, 178.
....., ....., on the forces in Connaught, 178.
....., ....., wishes the Lord Deputy success against Feagh M'Hugh, 178.
....., ....., on Piers Butler, 178.
....., ....., advice of, as to the Brenny, delayed, 181.
Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., varying action of, in Connaught, 181.
....., ....., declaration of Lestrange against, 182.
....., ....., charge against, as to the pledges of the Earl of Tyrone and others, 183.
....., ....., as to the cessations in Connaught, 184.
....., ....., has reduced the greatest part of Connaught by a sharp war, 184.
....., ....., and the musters, 184.
....., ....., on the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, 184, 209, 243.
....., ....., ordered to Dublin with all forces, 184.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone seems desirous to meet, 185.
....., ....., is loath to meet the Earl, 185.
....., ....., purposes a speedy repair to Dublin, 185.
....., ....., assists O'Connor Sligo, 185.
....., ....., on the character of M'William, 185.
....., ....., hopes to "fatch" in M'William by fair means or foul, 185.
....., ....., puts O'Kelly in charge of Captain Brett, 185.
....., ....., fears the result of his leaving Connaught, 185.
....., ....., and Ferdorogh O'Kelly, 184–186.
....., ....., been ready for a fortnight to go to Dublin, 186.
....., ....., encourages the prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, 186.
....., ....., is required to leave Armagh, 187, 191, 199, 207.
....., ....., on the numbers of Irish in the Queen's forces in Ireland, 188, 274, 275.
....., ....., would like to see Burghley, 188.
....., ....., payments to, 188.
....., ....., to be allowed to go to England, 189, 193.
....., ....., ordered to Dublin, 193.
....., ....., opinions of, to be had concerning the armies proposed against the rebels, 194.
....., ....., petitions to, 197.
....., ....., desires the government of Connaught provisionally, 197.
....., ....., envious writing against, 199.
....., ....., asks for fellow Commissioners in the journey to Armagh, 208.
....., ....., the blame for peace or war intended to be thrown on, 208, 210.
....., ....., complains of the Irish Council, 208.
....., ....., believes Sir Conyers Clifford will reduce Connaught, 208.
....., ....., asks Burghley to suspend his judgment, 208.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., dealings of, with M'William, 208.
....., ....., activity of, against the Connaught rebels, 208.
....., ....., on the "most pestiferous" rebels in co. Longford, 208.
....., ....., defends his government of Connaught, 208, 209.
....., ....., on the treatment of his men, 209.
....., ....., entertained the Earl of Tyrone with good letters, 209.
....., ....., how the borders were protected by, 209.
....., ....., strong feelings of, against Lord Burgh, 209, 218, 228, 267.
....., ....., on the assurance of war, 210.
....., ....., writes on behalf of O'Connor Sligo, 210.
....., ....., account of the state of Connaught by, 210, 211, 216.
....., ....., Sir C. Clifford stayed until the return of, 211, 212.
....., ....., sends a letter omitted from last packet, 212.
....., ....., doubts not to succeed in relieving Armagh, 212.
....., ....., relieves Armagh, 217, 219.
....., ....., conference of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 217, 221, 241.
....., ....., appoints a meeting with the Earl of Tyrone, 217.
....., ....., advises war, 218, 234, 267, 274.
....., ....., thinks the Spaniards will not come in the summer, 218.
....., ....., has served in Ireland under three Deputies, 218.
....., ....., the despatch of Sir Robert Gardener kept from, 219.
....., ....., forces of, at the relief of Armagh, 219.
....., ....., return of, to Dublin, awaited, 222.
....., ....., should be Lord Deputy for a time, 222.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone has concluded peace with, 226.
....., ....., "a sport for such as hate him," 228.
....., ....., advises a conciliatory policy towards the Earl of Tyrone, 228.
....., ....., has assisted Sir Conyers Clifford, 228.
....., ....., complains that few of his promises to the Irish rebels are kept, 228.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Mr. Danett, 229.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Lord Delvin, 229.
....., ....., thinks the provocation to the Irishry will draw on a general war, 233.
Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., recommends the strengthening of Waterford and Duncannon, 234, 313.
....., ....., and the Spanish friars, 234.
....., ....., says Feagh M'Hugh would be glad of any conditions, 234.
....., ....., has court and country combined against him, 234.
....., ....., is not able almost to buy himself bread, 234.
....., ....., on the employment of Scots, 236.
....., ....., directed to extend the cessation with the Earl of Tyrone, 238.
....., ....., to treat with the Earl of Tyrone, 239.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Sir Geffrey Fenton, 241.
....., ....., "trodden to the ground with bitter disgrace," 242.
....., ....., "set to an impossible task," 242.
....., ....., begs assistance in the matter of the treaty, 242, 246, 248.
....., ....., says the Lord Deputy will not repair to Dublin, 242.
....., ....., says Tyrone's warnings are not acted upon, 242.
....., ....., never looked to the Lord Deputy, 242, 246, 247.
....., ....., desires further instructions, 242, 246, 247, 248.
....., ....., instructions given by, to Captain Warren, 242, 243, 264.
....., ....., on the gunpowder explosion at Dublin, 243.
....., ....., on the despatch as to Sir Robert Gardener's plot, 243.
....., ....., will stay a boat at Holyhead to bring instructions, 246.
....., ....., desired by the Irish as Lord Deputy, 247.
....., ....., draws to the north, 248.
....., ....., mercantile venture of, 248.
....., ....., thinks the certainty of the Spanish shipping should be discovered, 252.
....., ....., asked by the Earl of Tyrone for an extension of the truce, 256, 258, 259.
....., ....., desires further instructions regarding the Earl of Tyrone, 259, 264, 269–271.
....., ....., refuses to extend the truce with the Earl of Tyrone, 259.
....., ....., expects Captain Warren back with all expedition, 259.
....., ....., will not write to the Earl until he hears from Fenton, 260.
....., ....., return of, to Dublin moved in Council, 262.
....., ....., causes Captain Warren to write to the Earl of Tyrone, 262.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*

....., ... .., has small hope of any conclusion with the Earl of Tyrone, 264, 267.

....., ....., urges the relief of Armagh, 264.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone will tell of his meeting with the Spaniards, 265, 272.

....., ....., on the importance of settling the succession to the Government [in Ireland], 267, 274, 279.

....., ....., complaint made to, as to beeves taken by Captain Baker, 267.

....., ..... , recommends the sending out of a fleet against the Spaniards, 267.

....., ....., asks for provisions, &c. for Athlone, 269.

....., ....., believes the Earl of Tyrone will not come into Dundalk, 270.

....., ....., on the state of the companies in Connaught, 270.

....., ....., will return to Dublin when Captain Warren comes back, 270.

....., ....., on leaving the making of a war to Lord Burgh, 270.

....., ....., has sent companies to Ardee and Dundalk, 270.

....., ....., asks the Earl of Tyrone to Dundalk on April 16, 271.

....., ....., recommends a company for Ardee, 271.

....., ....., supports Sir Conyers Clifford, 271.

....., ....., the promises made by, continually overruled by Sir William Russell, 272.

....., ....., meeting appointed between the Earl of Tyrone and, 272.

....., ....., the Earl's messenger to have a safe conduct from, 273.

....., ....., writes on behalf of Maurice Kyffin, 273, 274.

....., ....., could not avoid delays, 274.

....., ..... desires precise directions as to exchange of pledges, 274.

....., ....., defends himself against the charge of taking for pledges "riffraffs and children of little worth," 274.

....., ....., taxed with wooing and flattering the rebels, 274.

....., ....., on the difficulty of victualling in Ireland, 274.

....., ....., thinks the new Deputy must look for nothing but war, 274.

....., ..... on the forces requisite for a war, 274.

....., ....., on the cows taken from the rebels, 274.

....., ....., does not expect the Spaniards during 1597, 275.

....., ....., Sir Geffrey Fenton is ready to join, at Dundalk, 275.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*

....., ....., is drawn nearer the borders, 276.

....., ....., desirous of the Earl of Tyrone's coming in, 276.

....., ....., goes to Dundalk, 278.

....., refuses to enter into any treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, 278.

....., ....., sends Captain Warren to the Earl, 278.

....., ....., wishes war to be made with the Earl, 278.

....., ....., condemns the staying of the Earl of Tyrone's pledges, 278, 279.

....., ....., on the slander of a bishop against the Queen, 279.

....., ....., requests Sir W. Russell to furnish the borders with munition and victuals, 279.

....., ....., forwards a letter of the Earl of Tyrone, 279.

....., ....., thinks it very necessary to send some companies into Munster, 279.

....., ....., has written to Marshal Bagenall, 279.

....., ....., entertains the Earl of Tyrone with delaying messages, 280, 297.

....., ....., to assist for some few days in Council at Dublin, 281.

....., ....., to repair to Munster, 281.

....., ....., requires forces for the borders, 283, 284.

....., ....., sends five Breton foot companies to Limerick, 290.

....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone wants a reasonable time for meeting fixed by, 291.

....., ....., appoints June 20 for the meeting, 295.

....., ....., ultimatum of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 295.

....., ....., agrees well with Lord Burgh, 297, 298, 300.

....., ....., writes on behalf of James Bedlow, 297.

....., ....., on the exposed state of the Pale, 298.

....., ....., thinks the danger in Leinster nothing lessened by the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 298.

....., ....., will hasten to Munster, 298, 300.

....., ....., anxious to meet any charges against him, 298.

....., ....., will advertise Sir Robert Cecil of the state of Munster, 298.

....., ....., the entertainment of, 298.

....., ....., should remain yet awhile in Dublin, 300.

....., ....., urges the fortification of the island of Foynes, 302, 303, 313.

....., ....., the agreements of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 307.

Norreys, Sir John—*cont.*
....., ....., regard of the Earl of Tyrone for, 307, 314.
....., ....., intended journey of, to Limerick, 313.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford writes to, 314.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes to, 314.
....., ....., forces sent to Sir Conyers Clifford by, 314.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone says promises are not kept by, 316.
....., ....., "unjust" certificate by, 344.
....., ....., on the defences of Limerick, 349.
....., ....., on the "general ill-disposition in the Irish," 349.
....., ....., the "unnecessary and healthless exile" of, in Ireland, 349.
....., ....., the proceedings of, 379.
....., ....., death of, 401, 415.
....., ... .., and the county of Roscommon, 452.
....., Sir Thomas, brother of Sir John, Vice-President (afterwards President) of Munster, 13, 92, 293, 403.
....., ....., letters of, 93, 94, 161, 204, 211, 212, 229, 236, 290, 415, 432, 439, 440, 444–446, 448, 456, 457, 479.
....., ....., defeats a rising in Munster, 105.
....., ....., recommended as governor of Connaught *pro tem.*, 105, 109, 110, 115, 131, 133, 148.
....., ....., house and lands of, in Munster, 148.
....., ....., letters to, 160, 161, 444–446, 449, 450, 456–458.
....., ....., on the "cursed crew" of the M'Shees, 161.
....., ....., asks increase of pay for the horsemen in Munster, 161, 204, 290.
....., ....., on Chief Justice Saxey, 161.
....., ....., on the Irish, 161.
....., ....., to have charge of Waterford and Cork, 198.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Clonmel, 204.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Donnell M'Carthy, 211.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Mr. Danett, 229.
....., ....., should be instructed to secure Florence M'Carthy, 232.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Florence M'Carthy, 236.
....., ....., examination of Ro. Corneish before, 236.
....., ....., to receive his brother's company of horse, 266.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Richard Bartelett, 290.
Norreys, Sir Thomas—*cont.*
....., ....., on the lack of soldiers, ordnance, and victuals in Munster, 290.
....., ....., advertises the Council from time to time, 290.
....., ....., on the importance of Limerick, 290.
....., ....., success of, against the Munster rebels, 313.
....., ....., continued as Chief Commissioner of Munster, 395, 401, 430, 432, 439.
....., ....., chosen as Lord Justice, 430, 432, 439.
....., ....., will send a report on the state of Ireland, 432.
....., ....., asks for men and money, 432.
....., ....., recommends the Ordinances for the army, 432.
....., ....., purposes a journey against the Earl of Tyrone, 432.
....., ....., modest demeanour of, 433, 439.
....., ....., extracts from letter of, 436, 437.
....., ....., recommends increase of pay of the horsemen, 437, 440.
....., ....., on "this unruly Government," 439.
....., ....., advises a sharp war, 439.
....., ....., on the abandonment of Armagh by Lord Burgh, 439.
....., ....., on the garrison necessary for Lough Foyle, 439.
....., ....., desires English soldiers, 440.
....., ....., on the maintenance of divers garrisons, 440.
....., ....., on the state of the horse bands in Ireland, 440, 445.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish in the forces, 440.
....., ....., prays for a Lord Deputy to be sent from England, 440.
....., ....., begs to be reasonably supplied, 440.
....., ....., on the defeat at Carrickfergus, 444, 445.
....., ....., is glad at the appointment of the Earl of Ormonde, 448.
....., ....., desires to be returned to his Presidency of Munster, 448.
....., ....., returned to his Presidency of Munster, 449, 450, 455.
....., ....., writes in favour of Captain William Warren, 479.
North, Captain Edward, 441–443, 446, 465, 466.
....., ....., letter of, 445.
....., ....., narrow escape of, at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 443, 445, 466.
....., Captain Sir Thomas, 108, 140, 142, 195.
....., ....., muster roll of company of, 146.

North, Captain, Sir Thomas—*cont.*
....., ....., disgraceful state of band of, 195.
....., ....., sold his band to his son, 195.
North, Lord, 333.
Northamptonshire, 200.
Northern Seas, the, 37.
Norton, Dudley, letter in favour of, 289.
Norton, John, grant of wardship of heir of, 460.
Nott, James, secretary to the Earl of Tyrone, 75, 111.
....., ....., won over to the Government, 112.
....., ....., confessions of, 112.
....., ....., letters of, 229, 252, 429.
....., ....., could not safely stay with the Earl, 229.
....., ....., petition of, to the Queen, 230.
....., ....., services of, 230.
....., ....., desires to be recommended to Lord Burgh, 252.
....., ....., can do good service against the Earl, 252.
....., ....., grant by the Queen to, 301.
....., ....., memorandum by, 362.
....., ....., interview of, with Lord Burgh, 429.
....., ....., intended mission of, to Scotland, 429.
....., ....., plot for the getting of Calais revealed to, 429.
Nugent, Edmund, of Carrollanston, 72.
....., Sir Thomas, of Carrollanston, 72.
....., Captain, 467, 494.
Nugents, the, 56, 58, 72, 298, 315.
....., ....., escape of some of, from prison, 298.
....., ....., burn Mullingar, 299.

## O.

O'Boyle, 25.
O'Brian, Connor, of Ballicorigg, 43, 95.
O'Brien, Coll Oge M'Collogh, taken, 251.
....., Teig M'Tirlough, 77, 83, 84.
....., Connor M'Teig, 84.
... ....., ....., 160.
O'Briens, the, 93.
O'Byrne, submission of, 239.
....., Feagh M'Hugh, 47, 74, 95, 126, 129, 135, 140, 142, 218, 268, 306, 318.
....., ....., letters of, 29, 30, 60, 81, 95, 97, 159, 228, 235.
....., ....., letters to, 118, 127, 226, 272.
....., ....., quarrel of, with Sir Thomas Colclogh, 29.
O'Byrne, Feagh M'Hugh—*cont.*
....., ....., disloyalty of, 29, 41, 56, 57, 60, 82, 92, 215, 221.
....., ....., attack on, 53, 82.
....., ....., influence of, 42, 53, 56, 110, 124, 125, 130, 219.
....., ....., complaints of, 29, 30, 60.
....., ....., negotiation with, 53.
....., ....., mother of, 29, 30.
....., ....., pledges of 30, 41, 56, 110, 206.
....., ....., receives a letter from the Earl of Tyrone, 32.
....., ....., intelligences between the Earl of Tyrone and, 36, 37, 45, 56, 57, 60, 62, 81, 82, 92, 101, 106, 110, 144, 221, 272.
....., ....., works to set up a strong party in the Pale, 36.
....., ....., conditions for, 41.
....., ....., prosecution of, 62, 109, 110, 112, 115–119, 123, 125, 128, 130, 137, 138, 140, 142, 143, 150, 152–154, 158, 159, 162, 164–167, 169, 173, 178, 180, 181, 184, 186, 209, 219, 234, 235, 237, 243, 249, 262, 263, 272, 274, 284, 287.
....., ....., offers to surrender his country conditionally, 47, 48, 56, 62.
....., ....., Rory Oge, a son of, 56, 70, 73, 80, 322.
....., ....., imprisonment of a son of, 56.
....., ....., plot against, 56.
....., ....., a "cunning old traitor," 60.
....., ....., agreement of, with various septs, 70.
....., ....., agrees with James Butler, 72.
....., ....., James Butler with all his force goes to, 80.
....., ....., reinforcements for, 80, 92.
....., ....., quarrel of, with Captain Lee, 82.
....., ....., "of far greater ability than the Earl" of Tyrone, 101, 219.
....., ....., takes the fort of Ballinacor, 103, 104, 109, 110, 112.
....., ....., threatens to besiege Castle Kevin, 111.
....., ....., instructions touching, 112.
....., ....., the receiving to pardon of, urged, 115, 124, 130, 150, 159, 219.
....., ....., treachery and duplicity of, 117, 139, 186.
....., ....., the Ranelagh, country of, 118, 119, 140, 191, 207, 284, 436.
....., ....., Captain Lee on the knaveries of, 125.
....., ....., strength of, increased, 125.
....., ....., Donnell Spainagh joins, 139.
....., ....., sending of forces to, 140.
....., ....., outrages by, 143, 221, 228.
....., ....., nearly captured with his wife, 156, 159.
....., ....., reported to be helped by the Butlers and Eustaces, 158, 159.

O'Byrne, Feagh M'Hugh—*cont.*
....., ....., dispersal of "rabble" of, 165.
....., ....., name of, not mentioned in all the Connaught treaties, 165.
....., ....., not named in the treaty with the Earl of Tyrone, 167.
....., ....., told by the Earl of Tyrone to make his own peace, 186.
....., ....., insolent answer of, concerning his pardon, 186.
..... ....., Sir John Norreys encourages the prosecution of, 186.
....., ....., sends a letter to the Lord Chancellor and Council, 186.
....., ....., Captain Lee kills several rebels in the country of, 191, 193.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes on behalf of, 159, 165, 184, 191, 193, 217, 259, 272, 273, 278.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone on the course to be followed by, 206, 226.
....., ....., heads of followers of, brought to Dublin, 214.
....., ....., advised by the Earl of Tyrone to make his submission, 226.
....., ....., no one does any hurt to, although he spoils continually, 228.
....., ....., desires to know if he and his supporters in Leinster are included in the peace with Tyrone, 228, 235.
....., ....., policy of, in calling the Earl of Tyrone his "Lord O'Neill," 235.
....., ....., Rose Toole or O'Toole, wife of, 236, 259, 272, 304, 338.
....., ....., ....., brought prisoner to Dublin, 328, 388.
....., ....., ....., appointed to be executed, 338.
....., ....., ....., execution of, stayed, 388.
....., ....., ....., offers of service by, 388.
....., ....., ....., sisters of, 388.
....., ....., ....., hated by Feagh's followers, 388.
....., ....., ....., former service by, 388.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone threatens actively to assist, 249.
....., ....., is "out," 251.
....., ....., some of the Kellys with, 251.
....., ....., mischief done by, about Athlone, 251.
....., ....., Captain Lee advises the utmost prosecution of, 262, 263.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone means to continue the dependency of, on him, 272.
....., ....., killed, 287–289, 362.
....., ....., head and four quarters of, brought to Dublin, 287, 310.
....., ....., Sir Geffrey Fenton on the importance of the death of, 287.
....., ....., the "right arm" of the Earl of Tyrone in Leinster, 287.
....., ....., gave a notable encouragement to the rebellion in Ulster, 287.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys on the death of, 298.
O'Byrne, Feagh M'Hugh—*cont.*
....., ....., head of, sent to England, 300.
....., ....., son of, alleged to be still "out," 300.
....., ....., a remnant of the faction of, to be prosecuted, 302.
....., ....., Sir Henry Harrington accused of favouring, 304.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone and the sons of, 314, 322, 447.
....., ....., Phelim M'Feagh, son of, 159, 345, 406, 447.
....., ....., sons of, 381, 388, 404, 408, 414, 423, 436, 447, 469, 471, 481, 485, 489, 491.
....., ....., confederacy of the seneschal of the county of Wexford with, 498.
....., Walter, 73.
O'Byrnes, the, 36, 70, 80, 101, 112, 117, 135, 140, 142, 170.
....., ....., country of, laid waste, 175.
O'Cahan, 463.
....., presents from the Spaniards to, 271.
O'Carroll's country, King's County, 46, 175.
....., letter from, 388.
O'Carroll, Sir Charles, letter of, 2.
....., ....., prey on possessions of, 2.
....., ....., to be written to, 207.
....., ....., lands of, 348.
....., ....., daughter of, 485.
O'Carroll, Mulroney, 2.
....., ....., M'Teig, slain, 30.
O'Connor, 25.
..... and his sons, letters to, 25, 216.
....., pledges of, 25, 216.
O'Connor, Cahil, *alias* Don Carolus, 166, 175.
..... ....., drowned, 223, 268.
O'Connor Don, [Hugh], 152, 427.
....., ....., sends news to Sir John Norreys, 131.
....., ....., submission of, 239.
....., ....., message from, 258.
....., ....., the sept of, 380.
....., ....., taken prisoner by O'Donnell, 452, 453, 482.
....., ....., released by O'Donnell, 452, 453.
....., ....., to be favoured by Sir Conyers Clifford, 482.
....., Dualtagh, must take with O'Donnell, 215.
....., Hugh M'Tirlogh Roe, 86, 104.
....., ....., letter of, 81.
....., ....., conditions for, 86.
....., ....., answer of, to articles, 88.
....., ....., submission of, 86, 104.
....., ....., accuses Sir John Bingham, 90.
....., ....., quarrel of, with young Malbie, 90.
....., ....., of mean account in Connaught, 168, 169.
....., ....., petition of, 197.
O'Connor, Phelim Reogh, 207.

O'Connor— *cont.*
....., Roe. *See* M'Dermott.
....., Sligo, Sir Donnell, knight, 8, 496.
....., Donogh, nephew of Sir Donnell, 197, 422.
....., ....., at the English Court, 5.
....., ....., goes to Connaught with Sir G. Fenton, 67.
....., ....., importance of settling, in Sligo, 5, 6, 92, 94.
....., ....., and O'Donnell, 92, 94, 97, 101, 102, 104–106, 109, 146, 219, 244.
....., ....., the rebels desire to gain over, 102.
....., ....., petitions of, 139, 210, 219, 495, 496.
....., ....., letters of, 146, 219, 244, 245, 250.
....., ....., acknowledges his good treatment, 146.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys assists, 185.
....., ....., does not hear of any Spanish shipping arrived in the north, 185.
....., ....., interrogatories touching lands taken from, 197.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys writes on behalf of, 210.
....., ....., with Sir John Norreys in Connaught, 219.
....., ....., has persuaded some of the rebels to submit, 219, 496.
....., ....., petition of, referred to the Privy Council, 219.
....., ....., possessed of the castle and abbey of Sligo, 243.
....., ....., skirmish of, with O'Donnell, 244, 251.
....., ....., sent to Tibbot Ne Longe, 376.
....., ....., sent to O'Rourke, 452.
....., ....., petition of, as to the soldiers' clothing, 495.
....., ....., the lands of, 496.
O'Connors or Connors, the, 70, 101, 105, 112, 117, 180, 206, 414, 476, 484, 485, 489.
....., .....,pretend title to Offalley's country, 436.
....., ....., protection to be given to, 470.
....., ....., lands of, 476, 484, 485, 489.
Ocrean, James, 92.
O'Cullan, Piers, a priest, 62, 63.
O'Dalie, Thomas, spoils by, 475.
O'Dally, Ferdorogh, 256.
O'Dempsy, Terence, 470.
O'Dillon, the name and title of, 212.
O'Dogherty [Sir John], 25, 465.
O'Donnell, Bernard, priest, examination of, 351–354.
....., ....., relatives of, 351, 354.
....., ....., employed between the King of Spain and the Irish leaders, 352–354.
....., ....., commended by the Earl of Tyrone, 353.
....., ....., sufferings of, 352–354.
O'Donnell, Hugh Roe, *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 10, 11, 25, 28, 106, 110, 111, 216, 269.
....., ....., letters to, 9, 225, 228, 269.
....., ....., ascendency of, in Connaught, 2–12, 26, 28, 35, 40, 41, 48, 56, 69, 71, 80, 87, 91, 101, 106, 107, 145, 211–213, 215, 216, 240, 269, 291, 305, 407, 452, 453.
....., ....., the people of Connaught weary of the rule of, 4, 12, 56, 106, 107, 453.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys on, 55.
....., ....., country of, 51, 98, 116, 117, 119, 120, 123–126, 134, 150, 152, 234, 247, 256, 258, 269, 338, 342, 371, 407, 408, 419, 427.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone goes to, 42, 44, 48.
....., ....., pledges of, 9, 10, 42, 72, 104, 117, 118, 164, 183, 215, 216, 251.
....., ....., truce sought by, 11.
....., ....., chiefs sworn to, 25, 215, 216.
....., ....., receives munition, &c., from Spain, 32, 50, 166, 252, 258.
....., ....., disloyalty of, 35, 36, 76, 88, 89, 97, 98, 110, 111, 114, 131, 140, 211, 219, 486, 487.
....., ....., and the Scots, 55, 97.
....., ....., intelligence of, with the Spaniards, 45, 50, 87, 114, 129, 131, 134, 139, 141, 152, 219, 258, 271, 273, 286, 427.
....., ....., letters of, to the King of Spain, 62, 354.
... ....., ..... , threatened coming of, to Delvin, 72.
....., ....., meets with the Earl of Tyrone, 48, 61, 71, 75.
....., ....., present from, to Hovenden, 75.
....., ....., breaks down castles in the county of Sligo, 91.
....., ... .., takes pledges, &c., in the county of Sligo, 91.
....., ....., writes to the Commissioners, 92, 94.
....., ....., delays of, 92, 94, 96, 109, 111.
....., ....., determined to have the Abbey of Boyle, 92, 94, 95.
....., ....., Feagh M'Hugh writes to, 92.
....., ....., Hovenden sent to, 93.
....., ....., charged not to "interrupt" O'Connor, 94.
....., ....., charged to withdraw into his own country, 94.
....., makes offers to O'Connor Sligo, 97.
....., ....., threatens O'Connor Sligo, 97.
....., ....., on the building of Sligo, 97.
....., ....., rumoured slaughter of troops of, 102.
....., ....., at variance with the Burkes, 102.

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*
....., ....., desires to gain over O'Connor Sligo, 102, 146.
....., ....., variances of, with O'Connor Sligo, 104, 106, 109.
....., ....., offers to serve against M'William, 105.
....., ....., promises loyalty, 106.
....., ....., relieves the garrison at Ballymore, 106.
....., ....., "the deceitful Scot," 106.
....., ....., endeavours to stir up rebellion in Munster, 110.
....., ....., craves help from Spain, 110, 111, 153.
....., ....., asks that the Prince Cardinal of Spain may be made King of Ireland, 111.
....., ....., made use of in the Connaught pacification, 113.
....., ....., sends letters into Spain, 114, 143.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone receives a packet of letters from, 126, 129.
....., ....., "underhand dealing" of, 131.
....., ....., joins with the Earl of Tyrone for a war of religion, 143.
....., ....., pulls down nine castles in Connaught, 145.
....., ....., reported death of, 152, 427.
....., ....., the King of Spain writes to, 152, 230.
....., ....., preparations by, to assist the Spaniards, 152, 154, 158, 159, 166, 427.
....., ....., promises to receive the Spaniards, 158, 427.
....., ....., writes to the King of Spain, 158, 166, 352, 427, 448.
....., ....., brother of, helps [Ferdorogh] O'Kelly, 158.
....., ....., Ballyshannon to be recovered from, 162, 163.
....., ....., to take Westmeath, &c. in hand, 163, 168.
....., ....., forces from, to assist the Earl of Tyrone, 164.
....., ....., appointed to lay waste Connaught and Thomond, 164.
....., ....., faithful friend of Spain, 175.
....., ....., to be called to a parliament in Dublin, 201.
....., ....., burning and spoiling by, 205, 211, 219, 221.
....., ....., sent for by the Earl of Tyrone, 211.
....., ....., joined by M'William and McDermond, 211, 212, 215.
....., ....., joined by O'Rourke, and by the counties of Sligo and Leitrim, 212.
....., ....., in Connaught with a strong force, 213, 216.
O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*
....., ....., summons O'Connor and all his people, 216.
....., ....., demands O'Connor's son as a pledge, 216.
....., ....., Teig O'Rourke sworn to, 216.
....., ....., action of, in Connaught, 218, 219, 221, 222, 228.
....., ....., a "malignant adversary to Her Majesty's Government," 219.
....., ....., said to be further gone with the Spaniards than is the Earl of Tyrone, 219.
....., ....., stratagem of the Earl of Tyrone on behalf of, 221.
....., ....., makes Tibbott M'Walter Kittagh Burke, M'William, 222.
....., ....., "that faithless arch-traitor and nurse of all mischief," 223.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone privy to the "gryping in" of Connaught by, 225.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes a reprehensive letter to, 226.
....., ....., arrival of, in Sligo, 243.
....., ....., skirmish with, near Sligo, 244, 245, 250.
....., ....., seeks to intercept convoys and letters, 244.
....., ....., expects the coming of Cormack M'Baron, Maguire, and O'Rourke, 244.
....., ....., is joined with the Earl of Tyrone, 245.
....., ....., will meet the Earl of Tyrone at Strabane, 247.
....., ....., sends to the Earl of Tyrone intelligence of arrival of Spanish ships, 248.
....., ....., former wife of, daughter of the Earl of Tyrone, 249.
....., ....., driven back over the Erne, 250, 251.
....., ....., not to be allowed to enter the Maghery again, 251.
....., ....., expects forces, 251.
....., ....., forces with, near Sligo, 251.
....., ....., and Sir Conyers Clifford, 251, 269, 280, 407, 408.
....., ....., all available forces being sent against, 251.
....., ....., at Liffer with the Earl of Tyrone, 254.
....., ....., asks the Earl of Tyrone to keep Easter with him, 258.
....., ....., intends to turn the greatest bulk of the Spaniards into Munster, 258.
....., ....., will write to McWilliam and O'Rourke, 258.
....., ....., promise of Spanish aid to, 258, 271, 286.
....., ....., thoroughly agreed with the Earl of Tyrone, 260, 427.

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*
....., ....., marries the Earl of Tyrone's base daughter, 260.
....., ....., had sought the Earl of Clanrickarde's daughter, 260.
....., ....., denies that there is peace between the Queen and the Irish chiefs, 264, 271.
....., ....., presents of, to the Spaniards, 265, 271.
....., ....., asks Sir Conyers Clifford not to attack him before the meeting, 269.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford will forbear attacking, 269.
....., ....., the "friends" of, 269.
....., ....., presents of the Spaniards to, 271.
....., ....., conspiracy formed by, 271.
....., ....., answer of Sir Conyers Clifford to, 269, 271.
....., ....., said to be greatly discontented with the Spaniards, 273.
....., ....., inveighs against them, 273.
....., ....., pride and ambition of, "who in truth is the firebrand of all the rebels," 275.
....., ....., defensive war of Sir Conyers Clifford against, 280.
....., ....., will now have an open way of entrance into Sligo, 284.
....., ....., a force at Lough Foyle would be to good purpose against, 285, 419.
....., ....., ready with 2,000 men to aid M'William, 285.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's solemn vow to, regarding peace with the Queen, 286.
....., ....., Queen Elizabeth on the escape of, 293.
....., ....., M'William has to run to, 294, 338.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford to make a strength at Sligo against, 294.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford hopes shortly to give a good account of, 305, 409, 410.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford desires to be enabled to stay, 314, 407–410.
....., ....., purpose of, to re-settle M'William, 315.
....., ....., the Privy Council direct assistance to Sir Conyers Clifford against, 319.
....., ....., M'William brought into Mayo by, 322.
....., ....., Philip O'Reilly the principal factor in joining the Earl of Tyrone and, 328.
....., ....., Lord Burgh thinks it necessary to prosecute, 332.
....., ....., success of Sir Conyers Clifford against, 334, 335, 372, 373, 390, 401, 408, 409.
O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*
....., ....., Ballyshannon in the hands of, 338, 358.
....., ....., to be kept from joining the Earl of Tyrone, 338.
....., ....., promises not to conclude peace with the Queen, 352.
....., ....., writes to the Pope, 352.
....., ....., desires a new Sovereign, 352.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford encounters, 364.
....., ....., undertook to rule Connaught against the Queen, 372.
....., ....., forces of, 372, 407.
....., ....., might have been driven into Scotland, 372.
....., ....., aided by the Earl of Tyrone, 372, 374, 379.
....., ....., the Erne crossed by Sir Conyers Clifford despite, 373.
....., ....., aided by Maguire and O'Rourke, 374, 409.
....., ....., may put up M'William again, 376, 379.
....., ....., the Clandonnells promise to join, 376.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford promises special service on, 377.
....., ....., retreat of Sir Conyers Clifford before, 374, 375, 389.
....., ....., called by the Earl of Tyrone, 399, 400.
....., ....., "kept short" by Sir Conyers Clifford, 401.
....., ....., wishes again to set up M'William, 404, 452, 453.
....., ....., uselessness of Belleek for restraining, 407.
....., ....., fertility of the lands of, 408.
....., ....., promises to keep the passage of Sligo open, 408.
....., ....., called "this prince of beggars," 410.
....., ....., will set Sir Conyers Clifford a work, 422.
....., ....., cannot stand without the Earl of Tyrone, 423.
....., ....., said to have come in, 423.
....., ....., camps with the Earl of Tyrone, 427.
....., ....., lodges near the Blackwater, 427.
....., ....., note of arrival of Spaniards in the country of, 427.
....., ....., Nice M'James sends a messenger to, 448.
....., ....., imprisons and then releases O'Connor Don and M'Dermott, 452, 453.
....., ....., and O'Rourke, 453.
....., ....., sets a new task for Sir Conyers Clifford, 452, 453.
....., ....., all the devices of, broken, 453.

O'Donnell, Hugh Roe—*cont.*
....., ....., drawing of many in Connaught from, 453.
....., ....., the way to break, 454, 482.
....., ....., expected near Dundalk, 473, 488.
....., ....., letter of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 486, 487, 490.
....., ....., dislikes the treaty with Tyrone, 486, 487.
....., ....., will break the peace, 487.
....., ....., will never forego his challenge out of Sligo, 487.
....., ....., promises to go to the Earl of Tyrone, 487.
....., ....., did not come to the parley with Tyrone, 488.
....., Neale Garvey, 25.
....., Rory, 25.
O'Doran, Donnell, mortally wounded, 206.
O'Doughtery [O'Dogherty], Sir John, country of, co. Donegal, 9, 129, 262.
O'Dun, O'Moloy, 207.
O'Farrell, 166.
....., Iriel, letter to, 150.
....., Ross, 31.
O'Farrells, the, 31, 58, 70, 94, 95, 328.
....., burn Mullingar, 299.
O'Fearaill, Fergus, sheriff of Longford, letter of, 31.
Offaly, or Offally, barony of, co. Kildare, 8, 36, 102, 164, 425.
....., ....., sheriff of, 470.
....., ....., like to be lost, 180.
....., ....., treachery of officers in, 425.
....., ....., preying and burning in, 432.
O'Flaherty, Morogh Ne Moyre, 475.
....., Roger, letter of, 257.
O'Flaherties, the, 28, 145, 212.
O'Flannagan, Gyllaboy, letter of, 141.
....., ....., advertisements from, 152.
O'Gallagher, Redmond. *See* Derry, Bishop of.
Ogonan, Cahil, intelligences by, 258.
O'Hagan, —, captain of the Earl of Tyrone's shot, 72.
..... the seneschal, son of, 258.
....., Art, 197, 217.
....., ....., sons of, 72.
....., ....., Bradagh, 217, 221.
....., Teig, 30.
....., Donogh Bradagh, prey taken from, 249.
....., ....., sent to the Brenny, 249.
....., ....., recalled and imprisoned, 249.
....., Phelim, to be delivered to Captain William Warren, 344.
O'Hanley, Fergenanan, submission of, 86, 104.
O'Hanlon, 95, 143, 144, 353..
....., joins the Earl of Tyrone, 192.
....., taking of son of, 206.
O'Higgin, Enys, or Eneas, 10.
....., ....., complaints of, 8, 11.
....., ....., report by, 8.
O'Hogan, Ogan, of Ardcrome, 215.
..... Teig, arrives at Waterford from Spain, 215.
O'Kelly, Donnell Omalaughlin, 79.
....., Dualtagh, of Tolrush, 251.
....., Edmund, son-in-law of Ferdorogh, taken prisoner, 174.
....., ....., execution of, 186.
....., Ferdorogh, 10, 11, 210.
....., ....., letter of, 11.
..... ....., the commissioners write to, 92, 94.
....., ....., submissions of, 104, 105, 184–186, 199, 210, 211.
....., ....., and Sir Richard Bingham, 104.
....., ....., keeps secret the landing of Spaniards, 134.
....., ....., begins to stagger in his duty, 150.
....., ....., pledges of, 168, 211.
....., ....., revolts of, 155, 168, 169, 184.
....., ....., refuses to come in without letter from Earl of Tyrone, 158.
....., ....., defeat of, 173, 174.
....., ....., asks to be received on first conditions, 183.
....., ....., put in charge of Captain Brett, 185.
....., ....., ready to deliver up the Callow, 186.
....., ....., son of, 186.
....., ....., must take with O'Donnell, 215.
....., Feriogh M'Hugh, 408.
....., Hugh, blind, a confederate of, M'William, 285.
....., Teig, slain, 91.
O'Kellys, Kellys, or Kellies, the, 9, 380.
....., ....., letters to, 9.
....., ....., country of, 29, 81, 211.
....., ....., some of, with Feagh M'Hugh, 251.
Olderfleet, co. Antrim, 441.
....., the river, 445.
..... castle, ward of, 492.
..... ....., sold to the Scots, 492.
O'Louman, M'Teig, 174.
O'Mahon, Donnell M'Teig, of Rosbrin, co. Cork, suit of, 325.
Omalaughlin, a chieftain in Westmeath, revolt of, 36, 57, 76, 166.
....., ....., capture of, 57.
....., ....., sons of, 102, 105.
....., ....., a prisoner in Athlone Castle, 105.

Omalaughlins, the, 40.
O'Malleys, the, 58, 84, 223, 257.
....., ....., submission of, 324.
....., ....., still in action, 475.
O'Melan, chief of his name, 218.
O'Molan, Neale, examination of, 245.
O'Mollala, Thomas, report by, 8.
O'Molley, Captain Green, grant of pension to, 301.
O'Moore, Faghnie, wounded, 206.
....., Owen M'Rory. *See* M'Rory.
O'Moores or O'Mores, the. *See* Moores.
O'Moran, Dermot, 223.
O'More, Brian Reogh, letter of, 289, 290.
....., ....., letter to, 159.
....., ....., company of, 290.
....., ....., defeats Captain Butler, 290.
....., ....., offer of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 290.
....., ....., goes to the Earl of Tyrone, 322.
....., ....., in charge of Tyrone's fort at the Blackwater, 345.
....., ....., "a traitor of the Moores in Leix," 345.
....., ....., to be sent to the Glynns, 388.
....., ....., sent to stir rebellion in Leinster, 406, 408, 414, 423, 447, 458.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde confers with, 461.
....., ....., Tyrone will send, to withdraw his forces from Leinster, 485.
O'Mulchonery, Omalaughlin, letter of, 150.
O'Mulrean, Henry, of Ony, drowned, 268.
O'Multully, Matthew Oge, 91, 92.
O'Neill, Sir Arthur, 261, 424.
....., Con, son of the Earl of Tyrone, 30, 33, 144, 267, 295.
....., Bishop Cornelius, 352.
....., Edmund Oge, request for, by the Earl of Tyrone, 192.
....., Henry Oge, sons of, 218.
....., ....., prey by, 256.
....., Hugh, Earl of Tyrone. *See* Tyrone, Earl of.
....., Magnus, son of Sir Hugh, 295.
....., Shane, 146.
....., ....., the sons of, 463.
....., Sir Tirlogh Lynagh, 424, 484, 489.
....., ....., Sir Arthur, son of, 424.
"O'Neill land," 384.
O'Neills, the, 164, 293, 404.
....., ....., old intelligence of the Scots with, 227.
....., ....., falling away of some of the, 269.
....., ....., some septs of, should be encouraged, 293.
Ony, 268.
Ordnance, Master of the. *See* Bourchier, Sir George.
....., Clerk of the. *See* Allen, John.
O'Reilly, Edmund, 31, 70, 72, 134, 166.
....., ....., assumes the name of O'Reilly, 143, 145, 146.
....., ....., captures Cavan Castle, 166.
....., ....., created O'Reilly by the Earl of Tyrone, 166.
....., ....., gift to Mulmorey O'Reilly by, 271.
....., Henry, son of the Earl of Tyrone, 33.
....., Sir John, 23, 105, 143.
....., Mulmorey, 45, 70, 143, 166.
....., ....., gift of Edmund O'Reilly to, 271.
....., Mulmorey M'Shane, 72.
....., Philip, 81.
....., ....., recognizances of, 1, 149, 327.
....., ....., pledges of, 10, 56, 70.
....., ....., difference of, with his kinsmen, 23.
....., ....., design of, against Kells, 31.
....., ....., submission of, 35.
....., ....., takes the name of O'Reilly, 35.
....., ....., grown to prouder terms, 56.
....., ....., desires a respite of hostilities, 56.
....., ....., dispute of, as to the O'Reilly-ship, 72, 105.
....., ....., appointed by the Earl of Tyrone to guard the borders of Ulster, 102.
....., ....., character of, 105.
....., ....., to be reduced, 133.
....., ....., "a most subtle and resolute traitor," slain, 138, 140, 142, 145, 146, 150, 157, 164, 181, 328.
....., ....., the Lord Deputy describes, 140.
....., ....., letter to, 150.
....., ....., the principal factor in joining Tyrone and O'Donnell, 328.
....., —, letters from the Earl of Tyrone to, 256.
....., —, desires a new Sovereign, 352.
....., —, of the faction of O'Neill, 353, 384.
O'Reillys, the, 28, 31, 81, 94, 95, 164, 328, 404.
....., ....., pledges of, 34, 55, 72.
....., ....., forbear to take their pardons, 34.
....., ....., ravage the English Pale, 35, 167.
....., ....., spoil in Louth and Meath, 168.
....., ....., complaints of, 181, 487.
....., ....., petition of, 181.
....., ....., adhere to the Earl of Tyrone, 181.
....., ....., incursions by, 221, 364, 367.
....., ....., messages of the Earl of Tyrone to, 236.
....., ....., solemn oaths taken by, 271.

Ormonde, barony of, 57, 215.
....., earldom of, 138, 310, 311, 322, 324.
....., and Ossory, Thomas Earl of, 2, 23, 83, 96, 192, 334, 477, 482.
... ....., ....., letters of, 29, 111, 118, 120, 156, 192, 207, 223, 277, 295, 339, 406, 446, 458, 461, 467, 470, 472, 473.
....., ....., letters to, 30, 207, 223, 430, 434, 457, 469, 472, 473, 475, 481, 490.
....., ....., agrees to capture his nephew Piers Butler, 96.
....., ....., has no care to procure Piers Butler's restitution in blood, 101.
....., ....., nephews of, at the taking of Ballinacor, 103.
....., ....., sends letters of Irish chiefs to the council, 110.
....., ....., prosecutes his nephews, 118, 119.
....., ....., apprehends certain of his kinsmen, 138, 140, 142.
....., ....., gave knowledge of the stirs in Leinster, 138.
....., ....., promises assistance to the Lord Deputy, 138, 140.
....., ....., influence of, 138.
....., ....., intercepts letters, &c., from the Earl of Tyrone and O'Donnell into Spain, 143.
....., ....., good service of, 145, 310, 406, 407, 462.
....., ....., receives commission against his nephews and others, 145, 158.
....., ....., the Lord Deputy meets with, 163.
....., ....., charge of supineness against, 169.
....., ....., must be recalled, and kept in England, 194.
... ....., ....., plays the bugbear among the rebels, 202.
....., ....., nearly captures Piers Butler, 207.
....., ....., wants certain traitors going to the north to be intercepted, 207.
....., ....., supposed base son of, 215.
....., ....., examines two Irishmen arrived from Spain, 215.
....., ....., will do all the service he can to Her Majesty, 223.
....., ....., on the miserable state of Ireland, 223, 406, 461.
....., ....., success of, against the rebels, 224, 339.
....., ....., pursuit of the rebels by, 240.
....., ....., names of traitors executed by, 255.
....., ....., writes on behalf of citizens of Dublin, 277.
....., ....., takes Piers Butler, and a base son of Viscount Mountgarrett, 294–296, 310.
Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., promises their heads to Lord Burgh, 295.
....., ....., the Irish Council commend the services of, 302.
....., ....., to prosecute the remnant of the Feagh M'Hugh faction, 302.
....., ....., takes the head of Piers Butler to Dublin, 309, 311.
....., ....., urges the straight prosecution of the Earl of Tyrone, 309.
....., ....., slays Murree M'Shey, 311.
....., ....., and Theobald Butler, 311.
....., ....., the services of Richard Butler under, 312.
....., ....., the Privy Council commend, 319.
....., ....., extreme illness of, 322, 323, 324, 339.
....., ....., office of Chief Butler of Ireland held by, 322, 324, 325.
....., ....., office of Lord Treasurer of Ireland held by, 323.
....., ....., wardship of the daughter of, 323, 324.
....., ....., possessions of, 323.
....., ....., debts of, to the Queen, 323.
....., ....., recovery of, 325, 339, 385.
....., ....., painful travail and charges of, 339, 407, 462, 481.
....., ....., Bartholomew Daniel, servant of, 339.
....., ....., again appointed general in Leinster, 339, 406, 407.
....., ....., losses of, 339.
....., ....., wife of, 339, 385.
....., ....., called by Lord Burgh to the borders, 403, 407.
....., ....., has to employ Irish rebels, 407.
....., ....., makes head against the Leinster rebels, 420.
....., ....., appointed Lieutenant-General of all the forces in Ireland, 430.
....., ....., commission of, as Lieutenant-General, 430, 434, 446, 448, 449, 457.
....., ....., entertainment of, 430, 434, 481.
....., ....., instructions for, 434, 451, 461, 481, 482, 493, 494.
....., ....., parleys with the Leinster rebels, 446, 447, 461, 462.
....., ....., asked to repair to Dublin, 446.
....., ....., advice of, to the Council, 447.
....., ....., asks for supplies, 447, 461, 469, 470.
....., ....., makes a truce with the Leinster rebels, 447.
....., ....., will be most likely to prevail with the rebels, 448, 449, 453.
....., ....., to make a peace with the Earl of Tyrone, 453.
..... ....., repairs to Dublin, 455, 457, 458.

Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., intended parley of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 455, 458, 459, 463.
....., ....., finds his burden heavy, 456.
....., ....., intends to draw towards the borders of the north, 457, 458.
....., ....., requires Tyrone to keep the peace, 457, 458, 459.
....., ....., Tyrone is glad at the appointment of, 457, 458.
....., ....., urges Tyrone to submission, 458.
....., ....., forbids any spoiling on the part of the garrisons, 458, 459.
....., ....., on the pay and clothing of the soldiers, 461.
....., ....., needs absolute authority to conclude with Tyrone, 461, 463, 473, 474, 486.
....., ....., leaves Dublin for Dundalk, 462.
....., ....., assistance of Sir Geffrey Fenton to, 462.
....., ....., heads of matters to be urged by, on the Earl of Tyrone, 463, 464, 491, 492.
....., ....., on the miserable state of the forces at Dundalk, 467, 468, 470.
....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 467–469, 473, 483–490, 493.
....., ....., on the defeat of the companies at Leix, 469, 472.
....., ....., truce with the Earl of Tyrone by, 471, 478, 479, 486, 493.
....., ....., on Tirlogh M'Henry, 471.
....., ....., grants protection to Onie M'Rory, 472.
....., ....., sends forces to Leix, 472.
....., ....., orders of, as to the soldiers from Picardy, 473.
....., ....., asks for the assistance of Councillors, 473, 483.
....., ....., course held by, towards the rebels, 475.
....., ....., Tyrone's answers to the articles prescribed by, 475, 486–488, 490.
....., ....., requests of, 476.
....., ....., petition of the Earl of Tyrone to, 476, 478, 479, 487, 488, 490.
....., ....., report by Captain Lister to, 476, 477.
....., ....., submission of the Earl of Tyrone to, 478, 479, 486–488.
....., ....., directions to, regarding the Leinster rebels, 480, 481.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford to follow the directions of, 482, 491.
....., ....., on laws regarding religion, 487.
....., ....., refuses the petitions of the Earl of Tyrone, 488.
Ormonde and Ossory, Thomas Earl of—*cont.*
....., appoints commissioners to hear complaints of spoils, 488.
....., commended by the Queen, 490.
....., directions to, by the Queen, as to the Irish rebels, 490, 491.
....., to conclude with the Earl of Tyrone, 493.
....., to use martial law in Munster, 494.
O'Rourke [Sir Brian], the late, executed in England, 105.
....., Brian Oge, son of Sir Brian, 9, 10, 42, 50, 94, 131, 141, 291, 301, 322, 380.
....., ....., letter of, 354.
....., ....., pledges of, 9, 42, 72, 104, 106, 164.
....., ....., the Commissioners write to, 92, 94.
....., ....., endeavours to stir up rebellion in Munster, 110.
....., ....., assists Lord Delvin, 146.
....., ....., reported death of, 152, 427.
....., ....., the King of Spain writes to, 152.
....., ....., is to spoil Westmeath, &c., 164.
....., ....., not expected to recover, 166.
....., ....., kept at bay, 185.
....., ....., joins O'Donnell, 212.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford advised to "begin with," 228.
....., ....., coming of, expected by O'Donnell, 244.
....., ....., forces sent into the country of, 245.
....., ....., Spanish assistance to, 252.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone asks that there may be no attack on, 258.
....., ....., O'Donnell will write to, 258.
....., ....., spoils by, 301, 302.
....., ....., M'William brought into Mayo by, 322.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford forbears to follow O'Donnell, 338.
....., ....., promises not to conclude peace with the Queen, 352.
....., ....., desires a new Sovereign, 352.
....., ....., forces of, 372.
....., ....., assists O'Donnell, 374.
....., ....., passes over the Erne, 374.
....., ....., has undertaken to disturb Connaught, 399.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford's hopes of, 408, 422, 451–453.
....., ....., said to have come in, 423, 453.
....., ....., the lands of, 451.
....., ....., advice of, 453.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford to conclude with, 482, 492.

O'Rourke--*cont.*
....., Teig, son of Sir Brian, 25, 28, 105, 239.
....., ....., burning and spoiling by, 205.
....., ....., offers faithful service, if he may have the seignory of his father's country, 240.
....., ....., letter of, 240.
O'Rourke's country, 81, 105, 245, 338.
Ossory, Bishop of, 356.
....., Upper, barony of, 57, 156, 175, 180.
....., ....., Lord of, 469.
O'Toole, Art, 67.
....., Arthur, suit of, 325.
....., Barnaby, 158.
....., Cahir, 381.
..... Cahir Glass, 159.
....., Dermott McPhelym Reogh, 67.
....., Gerrott, 67.
....., Mortagh, returning from Spain with the King's passport, 236.
....., ....., lies sick at Dungannon, 236.
....., Roan, 67.
....., Rose, 236, 259, 272.
....., Tibbott, 67.
O'Tooles, the, 36, 70, 101, 112, 117, 135, 140.
Ovington, Henry. *See* Hovenden.
....., Captain Walter. *See* Hovenden.
Owles, the, co. Mayo, intended incursion of M'William into, 285.
Oxford, education of David Burke at, 155.
....., Mr. Pilsworth, a graduate of, 390.
....., Whittingham, an alderman of, 437.

## P.

Palace, the, lands of, in Limerick and Waterford, 354.
Pale, the English, 28, 29, 36, 37, 38, 40, 42, 48, 49, 52, 88, 101, 102, 105, 151, 171, 172, 209, 293, 332, 358, 403, 419, 426, 435, 448, 449, 455, 480, 481, 491.
....., ....., ravaged, 35, 69, 101, 129, 137, 150, 164, 167, 173, 175, 183, 205, 232, 301, 404, 432, 433.
..... ....., unsoundness of some in, 36, 38, 137, 138, 144.
....., ....., dislike of people of, to the Spaniards, 58.
....., ....., must be put in defence, 36, 189, 194, 234, 342.
....., ....., excessive charges on, 58.
....., ....., danger to, from Feagh M'Hugh, 53, 57, 115, 117, 124, 129, 130, 162, 219.
Pale, the English—*cont.*
....., ....., proclamation as to armed men in, 55.
....., ....., always ill-affected in religion, 58, 436.
....., ....., small guard for, 86, 175, 177, 205, 207.
....., ....., stands "tickly," 119.
....., ....., will be ready to revolt, 135, 436.
....., ....., continual spoiling on borders of, 140.
....., ....., scarcity in, 145, 171, 232, 262, 277, 285, 301, 334, 357, 377, 378, 404, 424, 431.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone threatens to enter, 167, 209.
....., ....., exposed state of, 175, 180, 218, 298, 425, 440.
....., ....., composition rent of, 181, 214, 332.
....., ....., 500 men to be kept to guard, 187.
....., ....., Lords of, 187, 293, 367.
....., ....., secret visits of the Earl of Tyrone to, 204.
....., ....., overrun by the continual passing of soldiers, 213, 216, 366.
....., ....., supply of beeves by, to the army, 214, 302, 366, 370, 377.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone undertakes that no offence shall be done to the borders of, 217.
....., ....., danger to, from the Earl of Tyrone, 222, 249, 294, 298, 301, 356, 358, 383, 403, 420, 423, 432, 435, 448, 449, 457, 494.
....., ....., Captain Warren sent back to, 256.
....., ....., must be preserved, 266, 434.
....., ....., preparation to invade, 271.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone intends most likely to break with, 282.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone says he has made some restitution to, 291.
....., ....., strength of, 293.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone will take any advantage to distress, 294, 301, 420, 423.
....., ....., Lord Burgh hopes to settle, 296.
....., ....., in good peace for the present, 322.
....., ....., the Queen's manors in, 346, 377.
....., ....., English deserters flee towards, 358.
....., ....., incursion against, by the O'Reillys and M'Mahons, 367.
....., ....., cowardice of those in, 402, 403, 414, 425, 426, 449.
....., ....., forces thrust into, 419.
....., ....., "the heart and seat of Ireland," 420.

Pale, the English—*cont.*
....., ....., complaints of the inhabitants of, 426, 431.
....., ....., the garrison of the borders of, 440.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde to safeguard, 451, 481.
....., ....., the buying of provision in, 479.
....., ....., the composition of, 481.
....., ....., priests of, advise the Earl of Tyrone, 487, 490.
Palles, William, Sheriff of Dublin, examination of, 246.
....., ....., certificate by, 246.
....., ....., suits of, 281.
....., ....., letter of, 335.
....., ....., examinations before, 335.
Palmer, Edmund, of St. Jean-de-Luce, 226.
Palmer, Sir Henry, 194.
Pantynges, Cashull, 323.
Paris, city of, 130.
Parker, William, letter to, 199.
Parkins, Captain Tutcher, in charge of the fort of Ballinacor, 80, 81, 95, 103, 111.
....., letters of, 80, 81, 95.
....., ....., taken prisoner at the capture of the fort, 110.
Parsons, Captain, defeat and death of, 364, 367.
Parsons, *alias* Fysher, 202, 203.
Parsons, Father, Provisor of the English College at Seville, 191.
Partilego, Count, a Portuguese Governor, queries by, 276, 277.
Passports, counterfeit, 143.
Patrick, Tieg Magill, a pensioner, 347.
Paulfreyman, Richard, 454.
Pearce, James, clerk of the store, 141.
Peas and beans, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Pelham, Sir William, late a Lord Justice of Ireland, 433.
Percie, Captain, 341.
Percivall, Christopher, a merchant of Yarmouth, offer by, 333.
Perrot, Sir John, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, 160, 220, 327, 390, 439, 447.
*Peter Bonaventure*, the, a ship, 243, 281.
Pettit, Captain, 251.
....., ....., company of, 31.
Peyton, Christopher, Auditor of Ireland, 415, 455.
....., ....., letters of, 119, 233, 350.
....., ....., the allowances of, 233.
....., ....., property of, pillaged and burnt, 233.
....., ....., desires leave to go to London, 350.
Phyton or Fitton, Captain Edward, 108, 341.
....., ....., muster-roll of company of, 146.
....., ....., Sir Edward, letter of, 323.
Phyton or Fitton, Sir Edward—*cont.*
....., ....., letter to, 323.
....., ....., on the transport of arms from England to the Earl of Tyrone, 323.
Picardy, 449, 450, 456, 471, 473.
Pierce, Zachary, 226.
Piggott, Robin, of Leix, letter of, 32.
....., ....., uncertain declarations of, 471.
Pilsworth, Mr., recommended for the bishopric of Leighlin, 390.
Pine, Henry, 300.
Pitt, William, a merchant of Poole, 156.
Pledges (hostages), little regard of, by the rebels, 35, 107, 108, 110, 117, 140, 235, 238, 483, 484.
Plunkett, Mr., letter in favour of, 325.
Plymouth, co. Devon, 141, 236, 260, 299, 300, 361.
Pont, book on Scotland by, 40.
Poole, co. Dorset, 156.
Pope, the, 59, 83, 191, 204, 268, 352, 436.
....., ....., letters to, 353, 354.
*Popinjay*, the, 37.
Portmuck Castle, Maguy's Island, co. Antrim, 295.
Portsmouth, co. Hants, 241, 338, 492.
Portugal, 215, 276, 277.
Portugalete, in Spain, 141.
Powell, Robert, 31.
Price, Captain [John], company of, 284.
....., ....., letter of, 342.
Price, Lieutenant, slain at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 443.
Priests in Ireland, 13–20, 36, 37, 38, 62, 97, 113, 121, 135, 186, 191, 199, 200, 202–204, 256, 372, 437, 438, 487, 490.
Privy Council of England, the, 52, 54, 55, 70, 71, 87, 100, 108, 113, 119, 133, 136, 138, 155, 166, 178, 180, 202, 209, 222, 246, 263, 297, 309, 337, 342, 354–356, 362, 363, 368, 379, 387, 391, 402, 421, 428, 429, 446, 456, 459, 463, 469, 471, 490.
....., ....., letters of, 40, 281, 318, 324, 330, 387, 434, 450, 479, 481, 482.
....., ....., letters to, 2, 25, 34, 37, 47, 48, 59, 64, 68, 69, 92, 100, 104, 110, 112, 113, 116, 125, 128, 135, 139, 142, 144, 146, 152, 154, 158, 164, 174, 186, 210, 211, 215, 217, 221, 225, 228, 230. 234, 237, 239, 240, 245, 247, 250, 252, 256, 257, 261, 264, 269, 272, 277, 284, 286, 289, 292, 296, 301, 306, 312, 313, 315, 333, 342, 348, 349, 387, 390, 396, 406, 419, 434, 444, 455, 467.
....., ....., charges against Sir Richard Bingham, and answers thereto, sent to, 37, 68.
....., ....., petition of Sir Richard Bingham sent to, 112, 128.
....., ....., minute by, 40.

Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*
....., ....., commission by, for the victualling of soldiers, 286.
....., ....., Sir Henry Norreys sent to report on the state of Ireland to, 49.
....., ....., Sir Richard Bingham appeals to, 133.
....., ....., "justification" to, of the musters in Ireland, 180.
....., ....., petition of Sir William Russell to, 183.
....., ....., Sir Robert Gardener sent to report to, 186, 187.
....., ....., opinions of, on the memorials brought over by Sir Robert Gardener, 189, 193, 218.
....., ....., reject the proposal to employ three armies in Ireland, 189, 193.
....., ....., things agreed on in, 193.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's opinion of, 202.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys's account of Connaught, sent to, 210, 211, 215, 216.
....., ....., petition of O'Connor Sligo referred to, 219.
....., ....., new project for the suppression of the Irish rebellion sent to, 234, 292.
....., ....., the instructions of, to meet Tyrone on 1st March cannot be followed, 237.
....., ....., warrant of, restraining export of certain timber from Waterford, 260.
....., ....., on Sir John Norreys's petition to return to England, 281.
....., ....., have sent over Lord Burgh, 281.
....., ....., Sir Edward Stanley commended to, 289.
....., ....., must send relief for the forces in Ireland, 296.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford and the Earl of Ormonde commended to, 302.
....., ....., urged to grant the demands of Tibbott Ne Longe, 302.
....., ....., Lord Burgh commends Sir Conyers Clifford to, 307.
....., ....., approve of Lord Burgh's replies to the Earl of Tyrone, 319.
....., ....., censure the Earl of Tyrone, 319.
....., ....., on the charge in Ireland, 319, 330–332, 450.
....., ....., on the corruptions in the musters, 319, 331, 450, 480.
....., ....., promise supplies, 319, 451, 481, 483.
....., ....., commend Sir Conyers Clifford, 319, 324.
....., ....., commend the Earl of Ormonde, 319.
....., ....., on the demands of Tibbott Ne Longe, 319, 324.
Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*
....., ....., blame Lord Burgh, 319, 320.
....., ....., on the state of affairs in Connaught, 324, 480, 481.
....., ....., on the patentees in Munster, 331, 480.
....., ....., on the importunity of suitors from Ireland, 332, 387.
....., ....., asked for money and victuals, 343, 450.
....., ....., and Feagh M'Hugh's wife, 388.
....., ....., Captain Par Lane recommended to, 396.
....., ....., petition of corporation of Waterford to, 431.
....., ....., on the Earl of Ormonde as Lieutenant-General, 434.
....., ....., want an account of the state of the army in Ireland, 434, 482.
....., ....., on the large sum spent by them in victuals for Ireland, 434, 450.
....., ....., desire to know about the garrisons of Armagh and the Blackwater, 434.
....., ....., inquire as to the parts around Carrickfergus, 434, 480.
....., ....., on Sir Thomas Norreys as President of Munster, 450.
....., ....., will repay the 1,300*l.* borrowed, 450.
....., ....., on the clothing of the soldiers, 450, 480, 481.
....., ....., on the Irish among the forces, 450, 482.
....., ....., increase the pay of the horsemen, 450.
....., ....., on the defalcation for munition, 450, 480.
....., ....., on the designs of Spain, 450.
....., ....., wish all success to the Earl of Ormonde, 451.
....., ....., instructions of, to the Earl of Ormonde, 451, 481.
....., ....., on the loss incurred in the issuing of victuals, 479, 481.
....., ....., on an error in the Connaught accounts, 479, 480, 482, 483.
....., ....., direct the due punishment of fraudulent commissaries, 480.
....., ....., on the defeat at Leix, 480, 482.
....., ....., directions of, regarding the Leinster rebels, 480.
....., ....., inquire as to the Clancarty lands, 480.
....., ....., as to the composition in the English Pale, 481.
....., ....., respecting the entertainment of the Earl of Ormonde and the Lords Justices, 481.
....., ....., and the Scots, 481.
....., ....., regarding the revolt of Tirlogh M'Henry, 481, 482.

Privy Council of England, the—*cont.*
....., ....., directions of, to Sir Conyers Clifford, 482.
....., ....., will not send more levies at the winter season, 482.
....., ....., are not advertised of the numbers of men in pay in Ireland, 482.
....., ....., recommend the case of George Castell, 493, 494.
....., ....., petition to, about the soldiers' clothing, 495.
Proudfoot, Richard, intelligence brought by, 175.
Pullen, Ensign, charges against, 326.
Pursell, —, treachery of people of, 198.
Pye, William, examination of, 189.
Pyne, Henry, timber trade of, 46, 47.
Pynnock, Alice, widow, money due to, 325.
Pytt or Pitt, Thomas, of Bristol, letter of, 361.

## Q.

Quarles, Mr. [James], 351.
....., ....., letter from, 401.
....., ....., declaration by, 402.
Queen's County, 102, 390.
....., wasting of, expected, 70.
....., ravaged, 169, 175, 414, 469.
....., sheriff of, 470.

## R

Rabranne, co. Mayo, 285.
....., ....., bay of, 286.
Racroghan [? co. Limerick], letter from, 81.
Rafcillan, castle of, 192.
Ralegh or Raleigh, Sir Walter, Captain of the Guard, 312, 313, 348, 361, 403.
....., ....., Rear-Admiral in the expedition to Spain, 321.
Ranelagh, the, Feagh M'Hugh's country, co. Wicklow, 118, 119, 140, 436.
....., ....., letters from, 82, 95, 97, 118, 119, 125.
Rathcool, co. Dublin, burned, 150, 233.
Rathdrum, co. Wicklow, 140, 142, 288.
....., ....., letters from the camp at, 117–120, 135, 138, 158, 159.
Rathe, John, a merchant of Drogheda, 336.
Rathfarnan, co. Dublin, letters from, 345, 390, 406.
....., ....., house of the Lord Chancellor Loftus at, 345, 346.
Rathskey [Raskee, co. Antrim], 118.
Ratoath, co. Meath, the garrison at, 495.
Rawley, Richard, a bailiff of Cork, 15.
Rawson, John, case of, 227.
Read, nephew of Lord Burgh, wounded, 343.
Reagh. *See* Reogh.
Records of Survey. *See* Ireland.
Recusants, 13–15, 18, 20.
Redbawn or Redbay, castle of, co. Antrim, broken down, 397.
"Rede Moore," the [? Redemore, co. Louth], 166.
Reibane, co. Kildare, letter from, 381.
Reillys. *See* O'Reillys.
Religion, state of, in Munster, 13–20.
Reogh, Brian. *See* O'More, Brian Reogh.
....., Donogh, servant of Feagh M'Hugh, 29.
....., ....., wife of, 29.
....., Gillie, killed, 174.
....., Walter, 47.
....., ....., capture of, 67.
....., Lough, letter from, 221.
Restitutions, 34, 42, 479.
Rewethstown, burned, 171.
Reynolds, Thomas, Constable of the Boyle, 69.
....., ....., letters from, 71, 95.
Richmond, co. Surrey, 137.
....., ....., letter from, 401.
"Robin Hood," 124, 130, 232, 300, 302, 313, 414, 474.
Robinson, Mr., under-sheriff of Lancaster, letter to, 323.
....., William, letter of, 212.
Roch, Viscount, charges against, 203.
....., ....., restrained in the castle of Dublin, 293.
....., ....., a base son of, executed, 415.
....., co. Louth, burned, 271.
Rochelle, in France, 46, 387.
Rochester, co. Kent, 300.
Rolls, the, Office of, 201.
Rome, 204, 351.
Rory, Oge. *See* O'Byrne, Feagh M'Hugh; *also* Moores.
Rosbrin, co. Cork, 325.
Roscommon, county of, 5, 6, 21, 71, 102, 105, 110, 197, 372, 380, 452.
....., ....., petition of late inhabitants of, 198.
....., ....., danger to towns and castles in, 211.
....., ....., desolate state of, 239.
....., ....., sheriff placed in, 451, 481, 482.

Roscommon, town of, 8, 24, 29, 71, 91, 102.
....., ....., castle and lands of, 90.
....., ....., letters from, 141.
Roscommon House, siege of, 24.
Roscree, co. Tipperary, 2.
Route, the, district of, co. Antrim, 9, 30, 95, 297, 434, 448, 494.
....., ....., possessed by the Scots, 52.
....., ....., easy to banish James M'Sorley Boy from, 494.
Russell, Christopher, letters of, 93, 97, 103.
....., Captain Edward, money due to, 325, 358.
....., ....., letter of, 358.
....., Sir William, Lord Deputy of Ireland, *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 25, 33, 34, 37, 38, 43, 46, 59, 62–64, 68, 69, 76, 80, 84–86, 92, 96, 100, 103, 104, 110, 112, 117, 119, 120, 135, 138, 139, 142, 144, 154, 158, 159, 163, 164, 166, 182, 186, 187, 188, 191, 193, 196, 205, 207, 210, 211, 213, 215, 216, 221, 222, 225, 228, 230, 234, 235, 236, 238–240, 245, 247, 248, 250, 252, 256, 257, 259, 261, 264, 269, 270, 272, 273, 277, 282, 289, 290, 292, 296, 318.
....., ....., letters to, 24, 28–31, 33, 34, 42–45, 60, 61, 71–73, 80, 81, 85, 93–97, 101, 102, 103, 111–113, 118, 120, 128, 133, 139, 141, 142, 144, 145, 150, 152, 156, 158, 159, 163, I64, 165, 166, 171, 192, 194, 196, 197, 198, 205, 206, 207, 211, 215, 221, 222, 225, 235, 236, 239, 244, 245, 248, 250–252, 254, 257–261, 264, 266, 269, 270, 271, 281, 285, 286.
....., ....., and his revocation, 38, 64, 84, 104, 112, 117, 118, 155, 138, 139, 140, 158, 159, 160, 164, 183, 187, 189, 191, 193, 205, 207, 228, 235, 240, 277, 296, 396.
....., ....., differences of, with Sir John Norreys, 21, 49, 51, 54, 86, 112, 116, 118, 123, 131, 138, 139, 153, 158, 159, 164, 178, 181, 182, 188, 189, 194, 207, 208, 209, 242, 248, 298, 304, 496.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 36, 81, 139, 140, 159, 160, 207, 218, 221, 222, 225, 240, 256, 257, 261, 269.
....., ....., certificate by, 33.
....., ....., on the rebels. 38, 43, 44, 62, 70, 71, 84, 117, 118, 139, 140, 165, 235, 264.
....., ....., warrants by, 48, 196.
....., ....., reported to expect nothing but war, 49.
....., ....., thinks Ireland is to be kept in no other way than by force, 62, 63, 85, 93.
....., ....., Marvilliac, servant of, 63, 64.
....., ....., against a temporising policy, 63, 69, 92, 93, 96, 264.
....., ....., charged with wasting treasure, 63.
Russell, Sir William—*cont.*
....., ....., blames the Council of Ireland, 63, 64, 158.
....., ....., sister of, 64.
....., ....., congratulates Sir Robert Cecil, 64.
....., ....., on the causes of Sir Richard Bingham, 37, 64, 65, 68, 112, 139.
....., ....., the Queen's directions to, as to the Earl of Tyrone's pardon, 66.
....., ....., has small hope of peace, 76, 259.
....., ....., deals with Captain Lee, 80.
....., ....., advises employment of shipping against the Spaniards, 37, 84, 86, 100, 103, 119, 247, 250, 257, 277.
....., ....., small guard for, 86.
....., ....., prosecutes Feagh M'Hugh, 62, 109, 110, 112, 116, 117, 119, 125, 128, 135, 137, 138, 140, 142, 154, 158, 159, 162, 164–167, 169, 178, 186, 219, 234, 235, 237, 243, 284, 287–289.
....., ....., wins over Nott, Tyrone's secretary, 112.
....., ....., petitions to, 112, 138, 139, 198, 219, 263, 298.
....., ....., builds a new fort (Fort Russell), 117.
....., ....., on the objects of the Irish rebels, 117, 118, 139.
....., ....., desires a sound pacification, 118.
....., ....., expects the landing of Spaniards in Leinster or Munster, 119.
....., ....., asked to return to Dublin, 129, 238, 239, 240.
....., ....., is forced to keep the field, 135.
....., ....., on the Irish, 135.
....., ....., will do his best against the Spaniards, 135.
....., ....., knows not whom he may trust, 135.
....., ....., "the unfortunate accidents in his time of government," 138.
....., ....., on the government of Ireland, 139.
....., ....., recommends the employment of Scots, 139.
....., ....., on giving the rebels "their Macs and Oes," 140.
....., ....., on Philip O'Reilly, 140.
....., ....., has no hope of a pacification in Connaught, 158, 269.
....., ....., thinks more speedy remedies than treaties and cessations necessary, 158, 165, 235.
....., ....., has finished Fort Russell, 158.
....., ....., hopes to reduce the rebels to great extremity, 158, 159.
....., ....., on the critical state of affairs in Ireland, 159.
....., ....., absence of, from Dublin, inconvenient, 162, 173.
....., ....., has turned over all matters to Sir John Norreys, 163.

Russell, Sir William—*cont.*
....., ....., the forces with, 163.
....., ....., meeting of, with the Earl of Ormonde, 163.
....., ....., fears he will have to leave the field, 165.
....., ....., desires the choice of captains, 165.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone complains of the conduct of, 165, 307, 308, 314, 496.
....., ....., said to have unfurnished the Pale of the troops guarding its borders, 177, 209.
....., ....., "justification" to, of the musters in Ireland, 180.
....., ....., returns to Dublin, 183.
....., ....., petition of, to the Privy Council, 183.
....., ....., orders all forces to Dublin, 184.
....., ....., advises the employment of three strong armies against the rebels, 187.
....., ....., proposed as sole Commander-General, 187.
....., ....., to return to England, 189.
....., ....., to deliver the sword to Lord Burgh, 189, 266.
....., ....., on the "most dangerous pacification" with the Earl of Tyrone, 193.
....., ....., advised to proclaim head-money for Piers Butler, 207.
....., ....., must give his correspondence [co-operation] to Sir Conyers Clifford, 208.
....., ....., unwise delaying by, 208.
....., ....., was made acquainted with all spoken for Feagh M'Hugh, 209.
....., ....., styled "Menelaus," 210.
....., ....., cannot answer Privy Council until return of Sir John Norreys, 222.
....., ....., is to inform the Queen as to the claims of the Earl of Kildare, 225.
....., ....., prays that the coming of Lord Burgh may be hastened, 225, 235, 245, 247, 248, 257, 259, 289.
....., ....., decree by, to restrain military extortion, 230, 318.
....., ....., certificate of imprests advanced to, 230, 236.
....., ....., sends a new project for suppression of the rebellion, 234, 235.
....., ....., commits and discharges some of the captains, 235.
....., ....., intends to lie at Catherlagh, to prevent any rising, 235.
....., ....., all matters concerning the meeting with Tyrone remitted to the Council by, 238, 239.
....., difficulties to be thought on by, 239.

Russell, Sir William—*cont.*
....., ....., will not fail to repair to Dublin, if meeting with Tyrone is fixed, 240.
....., ....., is promised service by some of the rebels, 240.
....., ....., will not, says Sir John Norreys, repair to Dublin, 242.
....., assistance of, asked in the treaty with Tyrone, 242, 245, 246, 248.
....., ....., not yet returned from the Glynns, 243.
....., ....., is returned from the Glynns, 243, 245.
....., ....., has not been a hinderer of the peace, 245.
....., ....., on the gunpowder explosion of Dublin, 245.
....., ....., does not think the Earl of Tyrone will go to Dundalk, 247.
....., ....., knows not how to provide for his household, 248.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's threat against, 249.
....., ....., on the present state of Connaught, 250.
....., ....., on the forces in Ireland, 257, 260, 329, 331.
....., ....., hopes soon to clear all rebellion from Leinster, 257.
....., ....., instructions to, concerning Lord Burgh, 266.
....., ....., payment of stipend and imprest to, 266.
....., ....., the promises of Sir John Norreys continually overruled by, 272.
....., ....., the pledges nominated by, cannot be obtained, 274.
....., ....., ought not to have stayed the Earl of Tyrone's pledges, 278, 279.
....., ....., requested to furnish the borders with munition and victuals, 279.
....., ....., is to make no more knights, 281, 291.
....., ....., on the miserable condition of the soldiers in Ireland, 282.
....., ....., warrant to, concerning Trinity College, Dublin, 283.
....., ....., gone to the Glynns, 284, 287-289.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys asks, for forces for the borders, 283, 284.
....., ....., kills Feagh M'Hugh, 287-289.
....., ....., commended by the Irish Council, 287.
....., ....., commended by Sir Geffrey Fenton, 287.
....., ....., commended by Lord Chancellor Loftus, 289.
....., ....., writes in behalf of Dudley Norton, 289.

Russell, Sir William—*cont.*
....., ....., writes in behalf of Captain Thomas Lee, 289.
....., ....., writes in behalf of Sir John Chichester, 289.
....., ....., Sir Edward Stanley commended to the Privy Council by, 289.
..... ....., writes in behalf of Richard Bellinges, 292.
....., ....., is thrusting up forces to the borders, 294.
....., ....., has delivered the sword to Lord Burgh, 296.
....., ....., hopes for the Queen's "gracious conceit" of his services, 296.
....., ....., Sir Charles Carroll commends, 298.
....., ....., the project of, for recovering Connaught, 305.
....., ....., barred the Queen's presence, 321.
....., ....., censured for not staying Tyrone at the beginning, 321.
....., ....., charges against, by Captain Eggerton, 326.
....., ....., charge against, by Sir Geffrey Fenton, 327.
....., ....., on the numbers of men serving in Ireland, 329, 331, 337, 347.
....., ....., Kildare petition referred to, 354–356.
....., ....., charges of, against Sir Ralph Lane, 368, 369.
....., ....., and Feagh M'Hugh's wife, 388.
....., ....., chaplain to, 390.
Rycot, Oxfordshire, letter from, 147.
Ryogh, William, letter of, 8.

## S.

Sackford, Mr., 441.
Sacks, price of, in Ireland, 227.
St. Alban's, co. Herts, 117.
St. James's day, 350.
St. Jean-de-Luce, in France, 226.
St. Luc, Monsieur de, 218.
St. Lucar, in Spain, 254.
....., ....., sacked by the English, 67.
St. Malo, in France, 254.
St Omer, in France, abbot of, 204.
St. Patrick's, deanery of. *See* Dublin.
*San Phillippo*, the, burned, 67.
St. Sebastian, in Spain, 129, 130, 411.
St. Sepulchre's, by Dublin, letter from, 167.
St. Valery, in Picardy, 449, 450.
Salamanca, in Spain, Irish college at, 192, 356.
....., letter from, 356.
....., three Irishmen arrive at, 356.
Salt, price of, in Ireland, 227.
Sandwich, co. Kent, 300.
Santander, in Spain, 141, 142, 235, 254.
Sasfield, John, sheriff of Kildare, warrants to, 196.
Savage, Serjeant Richard, examination of, 182.
Saxey, William, late of Bristol, Chief Justice of Munster, obtains a commission to try John Fitz Edmonds, 99.
....., ....., letters of, 148, 224, 403.
....., ....., petition of, 228, 229.
....., ..... on the "diseases" of Munster, 148, 224, 229, 403.
....., ....., serious charges against, 161, 230, 260, 403.
....., ....., goes suddenly into England. 204, 230.
....., ....., considers that John Fitz-Edmonds and James Goold should be tried in England, 224.
..... ....., commissioners appointed to inquire into the conduct of, 230.
....., ....., should be stayed in England, 230.
....., ....., charges of, against John Fitz-Edmonds, 403.
..... ....., thirty-seven years' service of, 403.
Scotland, 10, 71, 98, 236, 247, 248, 405.
....., Pont's description of, 40.
....., King of (James VI.), 97, 390, 393, 435, 446.
....., ....., and the Earl of Tyrone, 494.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone writes to, 435, 447.
....., ....., writes to the Earl of Tyrone, 447, 448, 449.
....., Sir James Lindsay goes from Cadiz to, 204.
....., herring from, 214.
....., the Islands of, 232, 338.
....., ships of, 271.
....., Spaniards to land in, 278, 283, 285.
....., intended flight of the Earl of Tyrone to, 362.
....., arms and munition from, for the Earl of Tyrone, 362, 383, 390, 393, 429.
....., the Earl of Tyrone's messengers go into Spain by, 362, 448.
....., O'Donnell might have been driven into, 372.
....., intended mission of James Nott to, 429.
....., failure of the herring fishery in, 456.

Scots, the, in Ireland, 9, 29, 30, 35, 37, 40, 46, 49, 52, 55, 69, 75, 84, 97, 350.
....., ....., Sir William Russell recommends the employment of, 139.
....., ....., proposal to employ, for invading Ulster, 189, 232, 234, 236.
....., ....., opinion of G. Nicolson as to employment of, 225.
....., ....., cannot be expelled by England, 227, 232.
....., ....., have "wild pretences" to Ulster, 227.
....., ....., the old intelligence of, with the O'Neills, 227, 232, 249.
....., ....., "a needy and beggarly people," 232.
....., ....., capitulation of the Earl of Tyrone with, 431, 435, 446.
....., ....., offer to come to Carrickfergus, 435.
....., ....., the defeat of Sir John Chichester by, 441–446, 465–467, 480, 481.
....., ....., ask the Earl of Tyrone for forces, 441, 444, 446.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone to dismiss, 463, 481.
....., ....., the Privy Council and, 481.
....., ....., Olderfleet Castle sold to, 492.
Scurlocke, Thomas, declaration by, 126, 127.
Sebeor, Captain, Spanish officer, 173, 175.
Sentleger, Sir Anthony, 212, 356, 368.
....., ....., letters of, 116, 348, 363, 370, 381.
....., ....., letters to, 31, 178.
....., ... .., on the arrival of Spaniards, 116.
....., ....., house of, at Dublin, 32.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Fitz-Edmonds, 99.
....., ....., Newman, servant of, 312, 318.
....., ....., entertainment and charges of, 363, 370, 371.
....., ....., promise of lands to, 363.
....., Captain Warham, 54, 56, 425, 447, 471.
....., ....., employed in Ulster and Connaught, 3, 21, 27, 32, 87.
....., ....., sent to Earl of Tyrone, 8, 32, 44.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 31.
....., ....., importunate with O'Donnell, 10.
....., ....., on peace, 31.
....., ....., letters of, 31, 73, 102, 192, 198, 206, 469.
....., ....., danger of, in conference with O'Donnell, 32.
....., ....., sister of, 32.
....., ....., advertisements from, 70.
....., ....., does not continue protection to the Moores, 73.
Sentleger, Captain Warham—*cont.*
....., ....., dealings of, with Onie M'Rory, 73.
....., ....., as to how to settle the Moores, 73, 74.
....., ....., foot company of, 73, 169, 207, 425, 432.
....., ....., on the rebels in Leinster, 74, 206, 207.
....., ....., stays William M'Rory, 74.
....., ....., sent to defend Queen's County, 169.
....., ....., remissness of, in Queen's County, 169.
....., ....., kills Stokes, *alias* William M'Rorie, 192.
....., ....., governor of Leix, 467, 469–472.
....., ....., defeat of band of, at Leix, 467, 469.
..... ....., forces left with, 469.
....., ....., on the defeat at Leix, 469, 470, 482.
Seville, in Spain, 126, 199.
....., ....., English college at, 191.
....., ....., ....., Father Parsons, provisor of, 191.
....., ....., fleet preparing at, 254, 276.
Shanagh, co. Westmeath, 396.
Shandon, co. Cork, letters from, 161, 290.
Shane, or Shaen, or Sheane, Francis, 91, 346.
....., ....., letters in favour of, 67, 76.
....., ....., letter of, 237.
....., ....., breviate of proceedings of, 237.
....., ....., petition of, 237.
....., ....., losses of, 237.
....., ....., brief discourse by, 277.
Shannon, the river, 84, 93, 124, 296, 302.
Shaw, Francis, certificate of, 396.
Sheffeld, Henry, case of, against the Bishop of Laughlin, 303, 304, 328.
Sheffield, Captain, 495.
Shelton, John, sheriff of Dublin, examination of, 246.
....., ....., certificate by, 246.
....., ....., suits of, 281.
....., ....., letter of, 335.
....., ....., examinations before, 335.
Sherley, Anthony, 361.
Sherloke, James, letter of, 415.
....., ....., charges by, against Thomas Fitzgerald, 415.
....., ....., lands of, 415.
Shrewsbury, Earl of, 346.
Shropshire, 358.
Shrowle or Shrule, co. Mayo, 380, 452.
Sidney, Sir Henry, late Lord Deputy of Ireland, 484.
"Sine Nomine," letter of, 449.
Sittingbourne, co. Kent, 300.

Skardan, co. Sligo, castle of, 91.
Skyrrye [Skerries], co. Dublin, church of, 30.
Slane, barony of, co. Meath, 168, 176, 364.
....., co. Meath, letter from, 255.
....., Thomas Fleming, Baron of, letter of, 255.
....., ....., letter to, 96.
....., ....., prey in country of, 256.
Sleynattin, letter from, 29.
Sligo, county of, 71, 78, 91, 94, 102, 105, 145, 146, 244, 285, 380.
....., ....., joins O'Donnell, 212.
....., ....., garrisons in, 239, 243, 286.
....., ....., arrival of O'Donnell in, 243.
....., ....., sheriff of. *See* M'Jonyn.
....., ....., sheriff placed in, 451, 481, 482.
....., town of, 51, 67, 71, 101, 102, 134, 141, 219, 372, 487.
....., ....., importance of rebuilding castle of, 5, 40, 92, 95, 96, 97, 100, 139, 219, 229, 334, 335, 401, 407, 408, 410.
....., ....., interrogatories touching the castle of, 197.
....., ....., must be garrisoned, 40, 162.
....., ....., might have been recovered, 168.
....., ....., port of, 216.
....., ....., O'Connor Sligo possessed of the castle and abbey of, 243.
....., ....., skirmish with O'Donnell near, 244, 245, 250, 251.
....., ....., letters from, 244, 245, 250.
....., ....., forces with O'Donnell near, 251.
....., ....., withdrawal of companies from, 284, 285.
....., ....., way of entrance into, now open to O'Donnell, 284.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford to "make a strength" at, against O'Donnell, 294, 302, 319.
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford nearing, 357.
....., ....., O'Donnell promises to keep open the passage of, 408.
....., ....., monastery of, 496.
Slyemarge, Queen's County, 469.
Smerwick, co. Kerry, Spanish ships seen near 92, 94.
....., ....., arrival of Spanish ship at, 94.
Smith, Thomas, mayor of Chester, letters of, 284, 323.
....., ....., on the transport of soldiers to Ireland, 284.
....., ....., on a search for arms, 323.
Smithe, Giles, money due to, 325.
Smyth, Mr., Clerk of the Council, 230, 248.
....., Captain Nathanael, 100 foot asked for, 229, 239.
Soare, William, letter of, 344.
Sodom, 435.
Solomon, King of Israel, 499.
Sorley Boy. *See* M'Donnell.
Southampton, Lord, 361.
Spain, 32, 50, 62, 75, 80, 83, 86, 92, 100, 114, 125, 126, 131, 136, 150, 172–175, 186, 191, 199, 200, 215, 217, 226, 236, 247, 256, 258, 259, 264, 265, 267, 268, 278, 290, 328, 334, 338, 345, 351–354, 371, 380, 386, 387, 390, 395, 399, 406, 409, 411, 418, 427, 435, 448, 450, 464, 472.
....., timber sent from Ireland to, 46.
....., the English navy on the coasts of, 59, 62, 127, 276.
....., the English army in, 63, 123.
....., English victory on the coast of, 67, 80, 177, 308.
....., Don Carolo, Prince of, 86.
....., ....., letters to, 111, 353.
....., ....., swears to avenge Cadiz, 177.
....., ....., conduct of, at the Council, 177.
....., ....., asked to persuade his father to deliver Ireland, 353.
....., Prince Cardinal of, letter to, 111.
....., ....., Tyron's "surrender" of Ireland to, 286.
....., staying of Irish vessels in, 120, 129, 141, 152, 155, 161, 324.
....., detention of foreigners in, 120, 141, 254, 276.
....., Irish practices with, 140.
....., the marksmen of, 151.
....., employment of spies in, 151, 161, 204, 238, 253, 300.
....., treaties with, 153.
....., all shipping stayed in, 154.
....., strangers ordered away from, 154.
....., all shipping, except Irish, released in, 155.
....., the Irish acceptable in, 161.
....., Mr. Hill gone to the Court of, 175.
....., priests from, 186, 191.
....., the Irish in, 191, 199, 252, 277.
....., all corn intended for, to be seized, 194.
....., stay of traffic into, 201.
....., capture of a vessel off the coast of, 236, 242, 432.
....., treasure from, for the Earl of Tyrone, 248.
....., reported pressing of men over all, 252.
....., no stay of shipping in, 252.
....., fears that the fleet of, will be fired by the English fleet, 254, 257.
....., the Earl of Tyrone "inwardly distasted against," 275.
....., the Queen's success against, 308.
....., English expedition against, 318, 319, 321, 328, 361, 406, 411.
....., measures against French, Flemings, and English in, 406, 411.
....., likelihood of a peace between England and, 493.

Spain, Philip II., King of, 36, 44, 46, 50, 56, 59, 67, 83–85, 97, 109, 120, 126, 127, 141, 173, 199, 236, 257, 268, 271, 277, 352, 406, 411, 436, 479.

....., ....., letter of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 9, 10, 32, 35, 55, 150, 159, 166.

....., ....., supposed letter of, to the Earl of Tyrone, 150.

....., ....., devotion to, in Ireland, 36, 44, 354.

....., ....., offers of, to the Irish leaders, 50.

....., ....., written to by Irish leaders, 50, 62, 63, 110–112, 143, 352–354, 389, 427, 448, 492, 493.

....., ....., assured of the Earl of Tyrone, 120, 436.

....., ....., league between the French King and, 127, 130, 150.

....., ....., reported match between the King of France and the daughter of, 130.

....., ....., "stung at the heart" by the attempts at Cadiz, 153, 155.

....., ....., Queen Elizabeth writes to, 150, 166.

....., ....., letter of, to the Earl of Tyrone, as to alleged peace with England, 150, 166.

....., ....., Tyrone sworn not to conclude any truce without consent of, 158, 493.

....., ....., anger of, at his letters being presented to Queen Elizabeth, 159, 166.

....., ....., "the Cardinal" to marry the daughter of, 175.

....., ....., has two pledges of the Earl of Tyrone, 175.

....., ....., designs of, against England, 141, 173–175, 177, 191, 254, 275, 276, 278.

....., ....., swears to revenge Cadiz, 177.

....., ....., to be "offended" upon his own coast, 189.

....., ....., and the Crown of England, 203.

....., ....., the Infanta, daughter of, and the Crown of England, 203.

....., ....., retains a Scottish ship to bring news from the Earl of Tyrone, 252.

....., ....., told that the Earl of Tyrone has been received into favour, 256.

....., ....., answer of the Earl of Tyrone to, regarding pledges, 260, 261.

....., ....., hears that there is peace between Queen Elizabeth and the Irish chiefs, 264, 493.

....., ....., presents from Tyrone and O'Donnell to, 271.

....., ....., anger of O'Donnell against, 273.

....., ....., promises aid to the Irish, 286, 493.

Spain, Philip II., King of—*cont.*

....., ....., styled, "Mercury," 322.

....., ....., exhorts the Irish not to conclude peace with the Queen of England, 352.

....., ....., besought to deliver Ireland, 353, 354.

....., ....., messengers of the Earl of Tyrone to, 362, 401, 448.

....., ....., writes to encourage the Irish leaders, 492, 493.

Spainagh, Donnell. *See* Kavanaghs, the.

Spaniards, expectation of coming of, to Ireland, *passim*.

....., designs of the, against Ireland, 21, 27, 30, 32, 35, 36, 44, 50, 52, 53, 59, 63, 80, 83, 85, 92, 97, 98, 100, 107, 109, 119, 120, 124–130, 140–142, 150, 152, 155, 166, 173–177, 179, 191, 198, 199, 204, 215, 219, 222, 223, 235, 236, 248, 249, 252–254, 268, 271, 273, 275–277, 278, 283, 285–287, 290, 294–296, 300, 301, 313, 334, 352–354, 386, 387, 398, 405, 406, 411, 427, 446, 450, 472.

....., landing of, in Ireland, 98, 116, 117, 119, 120, 124–126, 129, 130, 134, 135, 139, 150, 166, 184, 256, 258.

....., the Earl of Tyrone on the, 164, 218, 258, 259, 314, 316.

....., account to win Ireland easily, 177.

....., the Almighty has prevented the voyage of the, 215.

....., have their scouts at Land's End, 276.

....., fortify Lisbon, 276.

....., fear the coming of the English Army, 276.

....., will land soon, the Earl of Tyrone says, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, 278.

....., companies to be sent into Munster, in view of landing of, 279.

....., defeat of, at Blavet, 321.

Spanish prisoner, notes from journal of, 299, 300.

Spanish prisoners in Ireland, 389, 428.

Spanish ships, arrival of, in Ireland (*see* also Killibeggs), 83, 94, 123–126, 135, 141, 144, 150, 152, 223, 234, 247, 251, 258, 270, 271, 286, 352.

....., ....., seen near Smerwick, 92, 94.

....., ....., great loss of, off the coast of Spain, 173–175, 179, 199, 204, 215, 223, 235, 253, 254, 257, 268.

....., ....., on the north of Ireland, 178, 300, 301.

....., ....., great sickness amongst, 191, 254, 257, 276, 406, 411.

....., ....., seen off the coast of Connaught, 256, 296.

Spring, Thomas, letter to, 94.

....., ....., letter of, 94.

Stafford, Captain Francis, letters of, 33, 95, 126, 141, 144, 158, 165, 206, 345.

Stafford, Captain Francis—*cont.*
....., ....., declaration before, 74–76.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 95, 206.
....., ....., letters to, 165.
....., ....., has a controversy with a bishop, 279.
....., ....., advertisement from, at Newry, 357.
....., ....., grant to, of constableship of Limerick Castle, 419.
Stanley, Captain Sir Edward, 108.
....., ....., muster-roll of company of, 146.
....., ....., letter of, 289.
....., ....., on the proportion of Irish in the forces in Ireland, 289.
....., ....., on the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 289.
....., ....., asks for the command of Knockfergus, 289.
....., Sir William, 164, 429.
....., John, brother of Sir William, 429.
....., —, 324.
Star Chamber, the, in England, 363, 366, 370.
....., ....., usher of, 497.
Staunter, Charles, examination of, 182.
Staunton, Captain, foot company of, 56.
Stavarton, Mr. Par., 2.
Stevenson, Thomas, mayor of Carrickfergus, letters of, 30.
Steward, Alexander, of Glasgow, sells gunpowder to the Earl of Tyrone, 362, 429.
....., John, master of the *Flying Hart*, 338.
Stokes. *See* M'Rory, William.
Stone, George, 347.
Story, Geffrey, letter of, 405.
....., ....., petition of, 405.
....., ....., services of, 405, 406.
Stoughton, A., letter of, 335.
....., ....., examinations before, 335.
Strabane, co. Tyrone, 247, 248, 253, 258, 424.
Strabridge, Robert, 492.
Strand, the. *See* London.
Strange, Paul, mayor of Waterford. *See* Waterford.
Strangford, co. Down, river of, 75.
....., ....., castle of, 75.
....., ....., harbour of, could hold both English and Spanish navies, 76.
....., ....., Lough, formerly called Lough Cuan or Coane, importance of, 97, 98.
Street, Captain Henry, in command at Kells, 31, 56, 256.
....., ....., sent for, to apprehend Shane M'Philip, 72.
....., ....., letter of, 222.
Stroud, Mr., a prisoner of Rory M'Shihie, 160.
Suck, the river, 211.
Suffolk cheese, 350, 401.
*Sunday*, the, a ship of Limerick, stayed by the Spaniards, 268.
Sutton, Garrett, suit of, 325.
Sydney, Lough. *See* Eaugh, Lough.
Symes, Captain E. P., letter of, 310.
....., ....., desires leave to go to England, 311.
Synnott, Stephen, letter of, 103.

## T.

T—— M——, letter of, 72.
Taaff, William, gent., declaration by, 8.
....., ....., sent to O'Donnell, 94.
Taafe, Mr., of Cookstown, 72.
Tacitus, 320.
"Taff," letter of, 256.
Talbotston, co. Wicklow, letter from, 381.
Tanist law, 35, 163, 347, 436.
Tara, co. Meath, 164, 176.
Tarapha, Franciscus, book by, "De Regibus Hispaniarum," 499.
Tebordo (?), in Spain, 299.
Temple, David Burke M'Ulick e, 475.
....., the, at Jerusalem, 499.
Tenecylleg, village of, letter from, 61.
Tennelit [Tenelick, co. Longford], letter from, 31.
Terceira, the Earl of Essex to take, 321.
Thames, the river, 387, 449.
Thomond, district of, co. Clare, 8, 43, 62, 76, 84, 91, 92, 164, 214, 222, 223, 251, 409.
....., ....., to be laid waste, 164.
....., ....., reduced to obedience, 338.
....., ....., revenue of, 376.
....., Earl of, 6, 83, 84, 156, 293, 475, 477, 478, 485.
....., ....., letter of, 176.
....., ....., asks for a charge of horsemen, 176.
....., ....., Brian Teig, brother of, 177.
....., ....., is mortally hated by the rebels, 177.
....., ....., asked to assist the Earl of Clanrickarde, 221, 223.
....., ....., pension to, to be continued, 266.
....., ....., recommended to Sir Conyers Clifford, 266.
....., ....., petition of, 495.
Thornton, George, Provost-Marshal in Munster, 198, 432.
....., ....., appointed Vice-President of Munster, 432.
Thorton, Captain, re-takes Belfast Castle, 326.
Throgmorton, Francis, widow of, 200.

Thurles, co. Tipperary, 311.
Tibbott Ne Longe *alias* Tibbott Burke M'Richard Enyeren, 285.
....., in the hands of the rebels, 102.
....., at liberty, 186.
....., expected to join Sir Conyers Clifford, 251.
....., great hopes of, 251.
....., submission of, 280, 302, 311.
....., offers great service upon M'William, 280.
....., may be very useful against M'William, 284, 294.
....., Sir Conyers Clifford treating with, 284, 409.
....., M'William's hopes of, 285.
....., operations suggested for, against M'William, 286.
....., deserters to, from M'William, 286.
....., better descended than M'William, 294.
....., is the man to reduce the unruly Burkes, 294.
..... , the demands of, 302, 303, 305, 306.
....., the Irish Council write in favour of, 302.
....., the demands of, recommended by Sir Conyers Clifford, 305, 306, 409.
....., the Privy Council on the demands of, 319, 324.
....., orders sent by Sir Conyers Clifford to, 376.
....., gifts of Sir Conyers Clifford to, 376.
....., sends the head of Thomas Burke to Sir Conyers Clifford, 409.
....., services of, recommended by Sir Conyers Clifford, 409, 410.
....., retained, and made a captain, 475.
Timber-trade in Ireland, 46, 47.
Tinte. *See* Tuite.
Tintern, co. Wexford, letter from, 29.
Tipper, Patrick, agent of the people of Kildare, 354, 356.
Tipperary, county of, 2, 295, 323.
Tirawly, barony of, co. Mayo, 51.
Tirlough Lynagh. *See* O'Neill.
Tirrell. *See* Tyrrell.
....., Gerrot, a merchant of Dublin, declaration of, 276.
....., ....., questioned by a Portuguese Governor, 276, 277.
Tirwhitt, cousin of Lord Burgh, 343.
Tolrush, 251.
Tomson, John. *See* Weston, Richard.
Tonemore, 98.
Tooke, Barnaby, 111.
Toole, Rose. *See* O'Byrne, Feagh M'Hugh.
Tooles. *See* O'Tooles.
Toulouse, in France, 352.
Tower Hill. *See* London.
Travers, Mr., suits by, for the Dublin College, 193.
Tredathe. *See* Drogheda.
Tredarth. *See* Drogheda.
Tremyleston. *See* Trimletston.
Trim, co. Meath, 164, 167, 177, 495.
Trimletston or Tremyleston, the Lord of, 364, 367.
....., ....., son of, 364, 367.
Trinity College, Dublin. *See* Dublin.
Truces with the Irish rebels, 26–28, 38, 42, 44, 63, 74, 89, 117, 132, 136, 191, 206, 213, 235, 237, 240, 241, 256, 279, 283, 285, 292, 446, 447, 471, 476, 478, 479, 486, 488.
Tuite, John, late of Shanagh, co. Westmeath, 396.
....., ....., Oliver, son of, wardship of, 396, 436.
Tullagh or Tullow, co. Carlow, letters from, 164, 166, 176, 192.
Tullovellin, castle of, 118.
Tully, 288.
....., letters from, 239, 240.
Tulsk, co. Roscommon, 102.
....., ....., relieved, 239.
Turner, Captain Richard, sent towards the borders, 315, 316.
....., ....., letter of, 317.
....., ....., attack on the Earl of Tyrone by, 317, 322.
....., ....., Serjeant-Major, killed at the Blackwater, 343, 364.
Tyetample, ? co. Sligo, 496.
Tymoghe, Queen's County, letter from, 192.
Typper, Patrick, petition of, 318.
Tyrconnell, country of, or O'Donnell's country, 2, 6, 52, 61, 91, 114, 126, 141, 162, 167, 168, 222, 236, 338, 376.
....., ....., fertility of, 376.
Tyrone, county of, 9, 30, 52, 167, 225, 301, 347, 348, 398, 424.
....., ....., desire for peace by the people of, 262, 275.
....., ....., opinion of the Spaniards in the, 262, 275.
....., ....., a sheriff to be received in, 464.
....., ....., request that, be made a county palatine, 476.
..... ..., ....., that the English garrisons may be withdrawn from, 476.
....., Hugh O'Neill, Earl of, *passim*.
....., ....., letters of, 9, 45, 96, 106, 110, 111, 118, 127, 142, 144, 150, 159, 165, 166, 191, 192, 197, 205, 218, 225, 226, 228, 238, 246, 247, 258, 259, 261, 264, 265, 270, 272, 279, 282, 286, 291, 307, 314, 316, 352–354, 385, 389, 456–458, 469, 494.
..... ....., ....., letters to, 42, 45, 60, 81, 95, 97, 247, 271, 289, 308, 316, 385, 456–458.
....., ....., secretary of. *See* Nott, James.
....., ....., ..... *See* Brimegham, Edmund.
....., ....., Captain Sentleger sent to, 8.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

....., ....., advice of, to M'William, O'Donnell, and O'Kelly, 9.

....., ....., proclamations by, 9, 42, 44, 129, 248, 250, 258.

....., ....., detention of King of Spain's letter to, 9, 10, 49, 55, 150, 159, 166, 230.

....., ....., letter from Queen Elizabeth to, advised, 12, 107, 108, 130, 219.

....., ....., pledges of, 9, 34, 87, 104, 117, 118, 144, 164, 183, 215, 216, 217, 218, 221, 226, 238, 246, 247, 259, 260, 269–272, 274, 278, 282, 362, 384, 385, 464, 468, 476, 479, 483–485, 488, 489, 493, 494.

....., ....., as arbitrator in Connaught causes, 3, 10, 11, 28, 35, 56, 67, 69, 71.

....., ....., agrees with James M'Sorley Boy, 30, 33, 46, 69.

....., ....., pilgrimage of, to church of Skyrrye, 30.

....., ....., Scots come to, 30, 35, 69.

....., ....., Scots leave, 31.

....., ....., on the Scots, 9.

....., ....., advertisements from Spain to, 30.

....., ....., letter of, to the King of Spain, 62.

....., ....., intelligences between, and Feagh M'Hugh, 32, 36, 37, 45, 57, 60, 81, 82, 92, 101, 106, 110, 117, 144, 221, 226, 227.

....., ....., sends a letter to Feagh M'Hugh, 32, 226, 272.

....., ....., Con O'Neill, son of, 30, 33, 144, 267, 295, 298, 310, 313, 338.

....., ....., desires to have the castle of Belfast, 46.

....., ....., disloyalty of, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 37, 43, 45, 48, 50, 56, 60, 69, 74, 75, 80, 81, 82, 86–89, 91, 95, 100, 110, 111, 112, 126, 129–131, 136, 139, 140, 143, 144, 160, 165, 167, 168, 174, 177, 186, 187, 194, 200–204, 207, 215, 217, 221, 252, 256, 260, 261, 269, 275, 286, 295, 301, 308, 310, 334, 385, 389, 394, 432, 464, 478, 493, 496.

....., ....., receives munition, &c. from Spain, 32, 45, 50, 166, 252, 258.

....., ....., meetings of, with Captain Warren, 44, 85, 246, 247, 258, 259, 278.

....., ....., forbears to take his pardon, 33, 34, 35, 435.

....., ....., tho Queen's directions as to the pardon of, 66.

....., ....., intelligences received by, of the Irish Government, 33.

....., ....., men of, gone into Connaught, 33.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

....., ....., delays of, 34, 35, 41, 43, 49, 69, 70, 71, 75, 80, 88, 89, 96, 100, 101, 111, 218, 221, 228, 245, 256, 257, 259, 260, 261, 262, 269–273, 275, 277, 278, 280, 282, 283, 295, 310, 314.

....., ....., conferences of, with the Spaniards, 32, 35, 50, 56, 126, 129, 134, 139–142, 144, 219, 247, 248, 250, 254, 255, 258, 259, 260, 261, 265, 269, 271, 272, 286, 300, 389, 427, 464.

....., ....., makes show to take his pardon, 37, 38, 42.

....., ....., reception of his pardon by, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 60, 69–71, 86, 106, 112, 159, 167, 168.

....., ....., attacks the Scots, 55.

....., ....., tears up Hovenden's letter, 41, 60.

....., ....., approves of the offers to the Connaught rebels, 42.

....., ....., protests his loyalty, 41, 42, 44, 45, 86, 87, 217, 219, 275, 278, 316, 435, 456–458, 468, 483.

....., ....., sends for his allies in Connaught, 42, 96.

....., ....., promises restitution, 42, 150, 151, 205, 206, 279, 282, 314, 316.

....., ....., goes to Connaught, 42, 44, 46, 93, 100.

....., ....., says there are too many castles in Ulster, 46.

....., ....., meets with O'Donnell, 48, 61, 71, 75.

....., ....., differences of, with Sir Henry Bagenall, 49, 240, 272, 291, 307, 314, 456–458, 468, 477, 483, 493.

....., ....., fears of, as to his personal safety, 49, 54, 55, 86, 100, 102, 108, 210, 218, 219, 237, 238, 265, 275, 278, 477, 483, 485.

....., ....., intention of, to repair into England, 55.

....., ....., minded to send his son to the Earl of Essex, 55.

....., ....., writes to the King of Spain, 56, 110, 143, 152, 158, 166, 168, 352–354, 427, 448, 492, 493.

....., ....., goes to the borders of Tyrconnell, 61.

....., ....., journeys against, 62, 325, 332–337.

....., ....., George Cawell, a servant of, 63.

....., ....., takes pledges in the Brenny, 70, 72.

....., ....., dispute before, as to the O'Reillyship, 72.

....., . ...., conference of, with Captain James FitzGarrett, 74–76, 92.

....., ....., thinks it is sought to suppress the nobility and gentlemen of Ireland, 75.

....., ....., consults with the Irish clergy and others, 75.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., store of powder and munition of, 75, 86.
....., ....., Captain Lee sent to, 80, 86, 96.
....., ....., Spanish messengers to, 85, 142, 236, 247, 258, 260, 261.
....., ....., conference of, with Captain Lee, 86, 87.
....., ....., Captain Lee on the "damnable" advisers of, 86, 87.
....., ....., drawing towards Connaught with all his forces, 95, 96, 100–102, 104.
....., ....., repines at the rebuilding of Sligo Castle, 95, 96, 143.
....., ....., and Mr. Morgan's brother, 95.
....., ....., returns from Donegal into Tyrone, 95.
....., ....., and Piers Butler, 96, 101.
....., ....., friends of, hearkened unto by Queen Elizabeth, 96.
....., ....., does not like the course holden in Connaught, 96.
....., ....., Captain Lee's hopes of, 98.
.. ....., ....., would hinder the rebuilding of Sligo, 100.
....., ....., leaves governors during his absence in Connaught, 100, 101.
....., ....., letters from Sir John Norreys to, 101.
....., ....., and Omalaughlin's sons, 102.
....., ....., at Enniskillen, 102.
....., ... .., and O'Connor Sligo, 102.
....., ....., promises to meet the Commissioners, 104, 106, 108.
....., ....., offers to serve against M'William, 105.
....., ... .., endeavours to stir up rebellion in Munster, 110.
....., ....., craves help from Spain, 110–112, 153, 352, 389, 399, 435, 479, 493.
....., ....., asks that the Prince Cardinal of Spain may be made King of Ireland, 111.
....., ....., made use of in the Connaught pacification, 113.
....., ....., dismissal of Spaniards by, 114.
....., ....., occupation of Monaghan by, 117.
....., ....., appoints to meet the Lord Deputy and others, 118.
....., ....., report that the King of Spain is assured of, 120.
....., ....., receives a packet of letters from O'Donnell, 126, 129.
....., ....., "underhand dealing" of, 131.
....., .. ..., prosecution of, advised, 131.
....., ....., meeting of, with Sir John Norreys appointed, 132, 133, 154, 165.
....., ....., and the Earl of Kildare, 134.
....., ....., country of, 134, 342.
....., ....., has gathered his forces, 138.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., untrue statements by, 140.
....., ....., expected near Newry with all his forces, 141.
....., ....., finds fault with prosecution of Feagh M'Hugh, 142, 165–167, 177, 184.
....., ....., has got all the pledges of the north into his hands, 143, 144, 217.
....., ....., spoils Lecale, 143.
....., ....., draws Magennis and O'Hanlon to himself, 143.
....., ....., joins with O'Donnell for a war of religion, 143. *See also* 261.
....., ....., encourages Feagh and others, 143.
....., ....., supports Edmond O'Reilly, 143.
....., ....., ambition of, 143, 144.
....., ....., returns to Dungannon, 144.
....., ... .., goes to Connaught with 2,400 men, 144.
....., ....., will be at wars presently, 144.
....., ....., is ready to meet Sir John Norreys, 144, 151.
....., ....., restores certain property of Captain Baker, 144.
....., ....., Ulster wholly devoted to, 144.
....., ....., intrigues of, with Leinster, 144.
....., ....., practices of Udall, the Earl of Kildare's servant, with, 148.
....., ....., supposed letter from King of Spain to, 150.
....., ....., stands upon his keeping, 150.
....., ....., presses for a meeting with the Commissioners, 150.
....., ....., letter of King of Spain to, as to alleged peace with England, 150.
....., ....., will have the victuals taken going to Armagh restored, 151.
....., ....., complains of abuses by those in Newry, 151.
....., ....., will disprove all the false reports about him, 151.
....., ....., money lent by, to Lord Chancellor Loftus, 151.
....., ....., "belabours" his soldiers with training, 151.
..... , ....., reported death of, 152, 427.
....., ....., the King of Spain writes to, 152, 352–354, 389, 492.
....., ....., assumed the name of O'Reilly, 157.
....., ....., promises to receive the Spaniards, 158.
....., ....., and [Ferdorogh] O'Kelly, 158.
....., ....., sworn not to conclude any truce without the King of Spain's consent, 158.
....., ....., gives his eldest son to foster, 159.
..... ..., ....., provision made for the Spaniards by, 159, 166, 256, 258.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., disturbs the garrison of Armagh, 159.
....., ....., writes on behalf of Feagh M'Hugh and those of Connaught, 159, 165, 184, 191, 193, 217, 259, 272, 278.
....., ....., his "dangerous practise" with Lord Mountgarrett, 160.
....., ....., advertises Sir John Norreys that Spaniards will land, 160.
....., ....., difficulties as to the meeting with, 162.
....., ....., warns the garrison of Armagh not to issue out, 162, 166, 177.
....., ....., alleges no truce is kept with him, 162, 206, 272.
....., ....., says openly that no promise is kept with him, 164, 165, 249.
....., ....., Irish forces for the assistance of, 164.
....., ....., on the Spaniards, 164, 218, 258, 259, 314, 316.
....., ....., is at Dundalk, 164.
....., ....., desires to keep further aid from Newry and Armagh, 164, 166.
....., ....., has gripped fast the Brenny, 164, 181.
....., ....., has refused to meet Sir John Norreys, 165.
....., ....., complains of the conduct of Sir William Russell towards him, 165, 307, 308, 314, 496.
....., ....., complains of stealths on his people, 165, 205, 206, 233, 291, 314, 316.
....., ....., writes to Lieut. Gosnould, 165.
....., ....., is to assist O'Farrell and Omalaughlin, 166.
....., ....., comes with his forces near Dundalk, 167.
....., ....., threatens to enter the English Pale, 167, 435.
....., ....., Feagh M'Hugh not named in the treaty with, 167.
....., ....., continues his combination with Spain, 168.
....., ....., meeting of, with Sir John Norreys deferred, 172.
....., ....., has stopped the passage between Dundalk and Newry, 174, 217.
....., ....., the King of Spain has two pledges of, 175.
....., ....., faithful friend of Spain, 175.
....., ....., called by the Irishry "the Great O'Neill," 177, 219, 235.
....., ....., burning by the troops of, 177.
....., ....., lays an ambush against Armagh, 178, 186, 193, 206.
....., ....., said to have gone back to his borders, 178.
....., ....., treatment of, 183.
....., ....., threats of, 184.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., has drawn all his forces to the borders, 184.
....., ....., general doubt of re-entry into rebellion of, 184.
..... .., ....., and the Lord Deputy, 185.
....., ....., seems desirous to meet Sir John Norreys, 185.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys expects no good from his meeting with, 185.
....., ....., forces of, wasting on borders of Dundalk, 186.
....., ....., threat of, concerning his pardon, 186.
....., ....., tells Feagh M'Hugh to make his own peace, 186, 226.
....., ....., no hope of favour to be offered to, 189.
....., ....., approaches Newry, 191.
....., ....., Lord Louth appointed to confer with, 191, 193.
....., ....., Captain W. Warren appointed to confer with, 191, 193, 242, 243.
....., ....., and the M'Mahons, 191, 205, 206, 217.
....., ....., book-oaths of, before Captain Warren, 191, 278.
....., ....., three weeks' truce granted to, 191.
....., ....., offers a convoy to Captain Baker to Armagh, 191, 193.
....., ....., has undertaken for all the Magennises, 191.
....., ....., correspondence of, with Spain, 192, 492, 493.
....., ....., requests that Edmund Oge be sent over, 192.
....., ....., reported to have made peace with England, 192, 276, 493.
....., ....., Sir Edmund Butler's sons intend to flee to, 192.
....., ....., gathering all available forces, 192, 284, 420, 427, 432.
....., ....., allies of, in Ulster and Connaught, 192.
....., ....., means to make the seat of the war near Newry, 192.
....., ....., is close to Newry, 192.
....., ....., grant by, to Magennis, 192.
....., ....., sends Tyrrell to the Annaly, 192.
....., ....., instructions of, to Magennis, 192.
....., ....., a most dangerous pacification with, 193.
....., ....., and Sir E. Butler's sons, 193.
....., ....., promises of, to Captain Baker, 197, 206.
....., ....., apprehends Kedogh M'Donnell's son, 197.
....., ....., refuses the victualling of Armagh, 199, 205, 206, 207, 211, 225.
....., ....., Ann Wilmar, waiting-woman to the lady of, 200.
....., ....., is to manage war in Ireland and England, 200.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., Henry Knowlis offers to go to, 200–204.
....., ....., shall be a special man to reform religion, 200, 202.
....., ....., the priest Mumford so long with, 200.
....., ....., to be called to a parliament in Dublin, 201.
....., ....., the death of Sir Richard Bingham would not appease, 201.
....., ....., on the way in which he had accepted his pardon, 201, 202.
....., ....., calls the Privy Council "arrant heretics and knaves," 202.
....., ....., and his confederates, 202, 204.
....., ....., much good may be done through Ann Wilmar touching, 203, 204.
....., ....., secret visits to the Pale by, 204.
....., ....., opposes the relief of Armagh, 205–207.
....., ....., messenger sent to, 205.
....., ....., out of hope to recover Armagh, 205.
....., ....., punishes those who abused Lord Louth and Captain W. Warren, 205.
....., ....., meeting of, with Lord Louth and Captain W. Warren, 205, 206, 208.
....., ....., orders the release of Captains Baker and Guest, 205.
....., ....., consents to conveyance of some victual to Armagh, 205, 206.
....., ....., answers of, to instructions from the Irish Council, 206.
....., ....., on the course to be followed by Feagh M'Hugh, 206.
....., ....., and the Butlers, 206.
....., ....., on the taking of Mr. Henshaw's daughters from Carlingford Castle, 206.
....., ....., three weeks' truce with, 206.
....., ....., spoils the borders, 207.
....., ....., decisive action with regard to, advised, 210.
....., ....., not far from Dundalk, 211.
....., ....., has sent for O'Donnell and all his northern confederates to meet him, 211, 225.
....., ....., yields to Sir John Norreys concerning Armagh, 217, 221, 226, 241.
....., ....., sends Art O'Hagan as a pledge, 217, 221.
....., ....., conference of, with the Commissioners, 217, 221, 241.
....., ....., another meeting of, with the Commissioners appointed, 217.
....., ....., promises to deliver up the pledges of Ulster, 217.
....., ....., undertakes that no offence shall be done to the borders of the Pale, 217.
....., ....., undertakes to disperse his forces, 217.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., various opinions on the policy pursued by, 218.
....., ....., forces of, when Armagh was relieved, 219.
....., ....., says O'Donnell is further gone with the Spaniards than himself, 219.
....., ....., reigns over all by his name of O'Neill, 219.
....., ....., will not receive too large a force of Spaniards, 219.
....., ....., stratagem of, on behalf of O'Donnell, 221.
....., ....., continues his practices with the Spaniards, 222.
....., ....., will ravage the Pale, if the three armies are employed, 222.
....., ....., privy to the "gryping in" of Connaught by O'Donnell, 225.
....., ....., has written a reprehensive letter to O'Donnell, 226.
....., ....., advises Feagh M'Hugh to make his submission, 226.
....., ....., has concluded peace with Sir John Norreys, 226, 228, 235.
..... .., ....., complaint by, 228.
....., ....., all unjust provocations of, forbidden, 235.
....., ....., extension of truce with, 235, 237, 238.
....., ....., Spanish vessel sent again to, 235.
....., ....., Warren Moore to be sent to, 236.
....., ....., friar from Spain sent to, 236.
....., ....., preparing for war, 236.
....., ....., messages of, to the O'Reillys and M'Mahons, 236.
....., ....., at Monaghan, 236.
....., ....., instructions asked for the meeting with, 237.
....., ....., the Commissioners cannot meet, on 1st March, 237.
....., ....., the Queen's just conceit of the unsoundness of, 237.
....., ....., will not likely be drawn to Dundalk, 237.
....., ....., safe return had been pledged to, 238.
....., ....., all matters concerning the meeting with, remitted to the Council, 238, 239.
....., ....., Connaught fast tied to, 240.
....., ....., designs of, on Newry, 240, 241.
..... .., ....., touching restitutions to, and to his people, 241, 247, 272, 291, 316.
....., ....., has taken new pledges in Clandeboy, 241.
....., ....., is said to be going to Lough Foyle, 241.
..... .., ....., preys and stealths committed by, and his people, 241.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

....., ....., all that Her Majesty has written will be made known to, 242.

....., ....., warnings of, not acted upon, 242.

....., ....., the meeting with, in April, 242, 245, 247.

....., ....., means not to come near Dundalk at all, 245.

....., ....., is joined to O'Donnell, 245.

....., ....., wishes Sir John Norreys might be Lord Deputy, 246, 247.

....., ....., fears the coming over of Lord Burgh, 246, 247.

....., ....., has not received any messengers from Spain since last meeting with Sir John Norreys, 247.

....., ....., goes to Liffer, 247, 254.

....., ....., will not come to Dundalk, unless his first pledges are released, 247.

....., ....., is most willing to accomplish whatsoever he has promised, 247.

....., ....., O'Donnell will meet, at Strabane, 247.

....., ....., receives treasure from Spain, 248.

....., ....., proclamation by, to receive men into his pay, 248, 250.

....., ....., receives intelligence of arrival of Spanish ships, 248.

....., ....., goes to meet the Spaniards, 248, 250.

....., ....., leaves Captain Warren at Dungannon, 248.

....., ....., Morgan Kavanagh, chief commander of the "beggarly army" of, 248.

....., ....., cannot get restitution for a certain prey, 249.

....., ....., joy of, at expected peace, 249.

....., ....., on the gunpowder explosion at Dublin, 249.

....., ....., conference of, with "A. B.," 249.

....., ....., threatens to graze his creates in the Pale, 249.

....., ....., threatens to assist Feagh M'Hugh against the Lord Deputy, 249.

....., ....., sends Tyrrell and O'Hagan to the Brenny, 249.

....., ....., recalls and imprisons O'Hagan, 249.

....., ....., daughter of, formerly wife of O'Donnell, to marry the Earl of Argyle, 249.

....., ....., Scottish gentlemen with, 249.

....., ....., eldest son of, taken to foster by Angus M'Connell, 249.

....., ....., intends to deal with O'Donnell for his pledges, 251.

....., ....., will write to Sir John Norreys as to meeting at Dundalk, 251.

....., ....., Spanish assistance to, 252.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*

....., ....., Scottish ship retained by Spanish King to carry news to and from, 252.

....., ....., Nott can do good service against, 252.

....., ....., not yet returned from Strabane, 253.

....., ....., tells the Spaniards he has made peace with Her Majesty, 254, 255, 261.

....., ....., sends letters to O'Reilly, 256.

....., ....., threatens a penalty on all who declare anything of the coming of the Spaniards, 256.

....., ....., determination of, to proceed to war, unless he has his will, 256.

....., ....., tells the Spaniards he will continue the truce until they come, 256.

....., ....., reported to have been received into favour by the Queen, 256.

....., ....., desires an extension of the truce with him, 256, 258, 259.

....., ....., no report from, touching the Spanish ships, 256.

....., ....., will not allow Captain Warren to go with him to O'Donnell's country, 256.

....., ....., treatment of messengers to, 256.

....., ....., refuses to keep Easter with O'Donnell, 258.

....., ....., suspicions of meaning of, 258.

....., ....., promise of Spanish aid to, 258–260, 264, 265, 271, 283, 286.

....., ....., intends to turn the greatest bulk of the Spaniards into Munster, 258.

....., ....., cannot meet Sir John Norreys on April 2, 258.

....., ....., asks that M'William and O'Rourke, may not be attacked, 258.

....., ....., repair of, to the Spanish ship, 258, 260.

....., ....., answer of, to Captain Warren, on the Spaniards, 258, 259, 278.

....., ....., if well dealt with, will put one or both of his sons in the Queen's hands, 259, 278, 279.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys desires further instructions regarding, 259, 269.

....., ....., Sir John Norreys refuses to extend the truce with, 259.

....., ....., desires his confederates may be warned, 259, 270.

....., ....., desires a safe conduct for Feagh M'Hugh's wife or agent, 259.

....., ....., has agreed to take payment for the cows taken by Captain Baker, 259.

....., ....., has thoroughly agreed with O'Donnell, 260.

....., ....., O'Donnell marries the base daughter of, 260.

....., ....., treaty of, with the Spaniards, 260.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., answer of, to the King of Spain, 260, 261.
....., ....., presents of the Spaniards to, 261, 269, 271.
....., ....., presents of, to the Spaniards, 261, 265, 269, 271.
....., ....., could not, of himself, withstand the Queen of England's army, 261.
....., ....., scorns any further course of mercy, 261.
..... ....., Captain Warren caused to write to, 262, 278.
....., ....., Sir G. Fenton advises short extension of truce with, 262.
..... ..., ....., the Spaniards leave, not well contented with, 262.
....., ....., little appearance of any conclusion with, 264, 278.
....., ....., does not mean to be drawn into Dundalk, 264.
....., ....., Captain Warren sent again to, 264.
..... ..., ....., answer of, to Captain Warren, 264.
....., ....., Brymycham, the secretary of, almost drawn away by Sir G. Fenton, 264.
....., ....., Sir G. Fenton writes to, about some spoils, 263.
....., ....., denies that there is peace between the Queen and the Irish chiefs, 264, 271, 493.
....., ....., will not fail to meet the Commissioners near Dundalk, 265.
....., ....., asks meantime for cessation, 265.
..... ....., ....., the Queen rejects the Irish Council's plot for the prosecution of, 266.
....., ....., the Queen sends a new plot for the prosecution of, 266.
....., ....., little hope of conformity in, 267, 269.
....., ....., avoids answering directly as to his coming into Dundalk, 267.
....., ....., the "uttermost resolution" of, expected in two or three days, 267.
....., ....., disposition of his forces by, 267.
....., ....., stands upon very great terms, 267.
....., ....., no good hope of the coming of, into Dundalk, 270.
....., ....., a last message sent to, by Captain Warren, 279.
....., ....., asked to repair to Dundalk on April 16, 271.
....., ....., conspiracy formed by, 271.
....., ....., complains of the breach of promise touching his pledges, 271, 272, 278.
....., ....., letter of, to Captain Warren, 270, 271.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., burnings by, 271.
..... ..., ....., warns the garrison of Armagh, 271.
....., ....., offers to meet the Commissioners at Dundalk, on April 26, 272, 273.
....., ....., promises no harm shall be done until the next meeting, 272, 273.
....., ....., desires like order on the side of the Commissioners, 272, 273.
....., ....., causes given by, for not coming into Dundalk, 272, 273, 275.
....., ....., means to continue Feagh M'Hugh's dependency on him, 272.
....., ....., distrusts Lord Burgh, 272–275, 280, 283.
....., ....., meeting appointed between Sir John Norreys and, 272.
....., ....., messenger of, to have a safe conduct, 273.
....., ....., all convenient means used with, 273.
....., ....., must be temporised with, 273.
....., ....., messengers to be employed for "the better fashioning" of, 273.
....., ....., insists that Feagh M'Hugh and others be "compounded like himself," 273.
....., ....., said to be greatly discontented with the Spaniards, 273, 275.
....., ....., Lord Burgh to have definite instructions regarding, 273, 275, 280.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys draws nearer the borders, to observe, 276.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys desirous of the coming in of, 276.
....., ....., Spanish treasure and munition to be sent to, 276.
....., ....., rumoured conclusion of peace with, 276.
....., ....., comes within four miles of Dundalk, ready to treat, 278.
....., Sir John Norreys refuses to enter into any treaty with, 278, 279.
....., ....., parleying of, through Captain Warren, 278.
....., ....., asks for Her Majesty's pardon, 278, 457.
....., ....., offers to repair to England, 278.
....., ....., Sir John Norreys wishes war to be made with, 278.
....., ....., has "taken days with" Captain Warren, till May 31, 279.
....., ....., asks for a general cessation and restitution of spoils, 279.
....., ....., the confederates of, 279, 291, 295, 297, 316, 322, 455, 457–459, 463, 468, 473, 476, 483–490.
..... ..., ....., Sir John Norreys entertains, with delaying messages, 280.
....., ....., hopes of, regarding Spanish aid, 280, 282, 283, 389.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., pride of the people of, in him and in themselves, 280.
....., ....., promise of, about his eldest son, a last shift, 282.
....., . ...., Sir Geffrey Fenton on the "next forgery" of, 282.
....., ....., intends most likely to break with the English Pale, 282.
....., ....., grows desperate of any composition, 283.
....., ....., the last truce with, a mockery, 283, 285.
....., ....., a force at Lough Foyle would be to good purpose against, 285, 419.
....., ....., on the victualling of Armagh, 285, 286.
....., ....., solemn vow of, regarding peace with the Queen, 286.
....., ....., "surrender" of Ireland by, to the Cardinal of Spain, 286.
....., ....., has lost his right arm in Leinster by the death of Feagh M'Hugh, 287.
....., ....., to be worked with on such occasion, 287.
....., ....., may be holden in suspense until the coming of Lord Burgh, 288.
.. ....., ....., those that had sworn to, in Ulster, failed, 289, 290.
....., ....., offer to, by Brian Reogh O'More, 290.
....., ....., desires Sir John Norreys to fix a reasonable time for the meeting, 291, 316.
....., ....., says he has made some restitution to the Pale, 291.
....., ....., "the main root of all the rebellions in Ireland," 292.
....., ....., advice of the Irish Council to Lord Burgh regarding, 292.
....., ....., some O'Neills and M'Mahons fall away from, 293.
....., ....., why the Irish Council yielded a respite of time to, 293.
....., ....., attempts to distress Carrickfergus and Newry, 294.
....., ....., will take any advantage to distress the English Pale, 294, 301, 420, 423, 448, 449, 457.
....., ....., burnings by, in Maguy's Island, 295.
....., ....., lays an ambush for Sir H. Bagenall, 295.
....., ....., goes to various towns, 295, 297.
....., ....., looks for 1,000 Spaniards, 295.
....., ....., said to have ordered all English prisoners to be hanged, 295.
....., ....., June 20 fixed for the meeting with, 295.
....., ....., ultimatum of Sir John Norreys to, 295.
....., ....., "this base beast," 296.
....., ....., Lord Burgh will be glad if peace can be made with, 297, 306.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., Lord Burgh will do all he can against, 297, 322, 336.
....., ....., resolves himself to war, 297.
....., ....., enterprise of, against Carrickfergus and Newry, 295, 297, 301, 319.
....., ....., left by Tirlogh M'Henry, his brother, 298, 309, 310, 313, 338, 362.
....., ....., left by his son, Con M'Coll, 298, 310, 313, 338.
....., ... .., false alarm given by, 301.
....., ....., Lord Burgh advised to invade the country of, with force, 301.
....., ....., Lord Burgh's attitude towards, 306–310, 315, 316, 332–334, 336, 384–386.
.. ....., ....., Lord Burgh on the forces of, 307, 315.
....., ....., Ulster the chief receipt of, 307.
....., ....., complains of the conduct of Sir William Russell, 307, 308, 314.
....., ....., asks Lord Burgh for a written agreement, 307.
....., ....., warnings of Lord Burgh to, 308, 316, 385, 386.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde urges the strait prosecution of, 309.
....., ....., raid into the country of, 310.
....., ....., and his wife, nearly taken, 310, 316, 317, 322, 333, 339.
....., ....., writes to Sir John Norreys and to Lord Burgh, 313, 315.
....., ....., desires that his messengers may have passage to Feagh M'Hugh's sons, 314.
....., ....., complains of the evil treatment he has received from the State, 314.
....., ....., lies about Armagh, 315, 322.
....., ....., complains that Sir John Norreys does not keep his promises, 316.
....., ....., says he does not look for Spaniards, 316, 321.
....., ....., people of, wearied with the wars, 317.
....., ....., replies of Lord Burgh to, approved, 319.
....., ....., the Privy Council censure, 319.
....., ....., Sir Robert Cecil on, 321.
....., ....., Feagh M'Hugh's sons go to, 322.
....., ....., Brian Reogh goes to, 322.
....., ....., transport of arms from England to, 323.
....., ....., expedition against, 325.
....., ....., expected to impeach the passage of the Blackwater, 325.
....., ....., Philip O'Reilly the principal factor in joining O'Donnell and, 328.
....., ....., provocations by, 334, 336.
....., ....., boasteth much of Spanish succours, 334.
....., ....., will have to fly to the Isles of Scotland, 338, 362.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., O'Donnell to be prevented from joining, 338.
....., ....., preparations of, against Lord Burgh, 339, 340, 342.
....., ....., fort on the Blackwater ford built by, 340, 368.
....., ....., has 1,000 more men than Lord Burgh, 340.
....., ....., the Blackwater fort captured from, 341–345.
....., ....., the way free into the other fastnesses of, 342.
....., ....., will make a stand near Dungannon, 342.
....., ....., hangs twenty of his men at the Blackwater, 344.
..... ....., cowardice of his men, 344, 345.
....., ....., swears he will repair his defeat, 345.
....., ....., will not communicate with Lord Burgh, 345.
..... , ....., much grieved at the loss of the Blackwater fort, 345.
....., ....., murdered the Lord of Killultagh, 348.
....., ....., promises not to conclude peace with the Queen, 352.
....., ....., writes to the Pope, 352, 353.
....., ....., desires a new Sovereign, 352.
....., ....., thanks the King of Spain for his letters, 352, 353, 389.
....., ....., will renew the war with the Queen, 352.
....., ....., asks the King of Spain for a new King for Ireland, 352.
....., ....., has been offered advantageous terms for Ulster and Connaught, 352.
....., ....., on the "Satanic wiles and flattery" of the English, 353.
....., ....., commends Bernard O'Donnell, the priest, 353.
....., ....., implores the King of Spain to deliver Ireland, 353.
....., ..... , Richard Weston, servant of, 362.
....., ....., gunpowder bought out of Scotland by, 362, 390, 393, 429, 431.
....., ....., Scottish workmen made weapons for, 362.
....., ....., intended flight of, into Scotland, to be guarded against, 362.
....., ....., messengers of, to Spain, go *viâ* Scotland, 362.
....., ....., Magennis in rebellion with, 363.
....., ....., Lord Burgh inflicts losses on, 364, 394, 395.
....., ....., cowardice of, 364, 384, 394, 395, 399, 400.
....., ....., plans of, 365, 394, 426.
....., ....., Dungannon, the house of, burnt, 365, 366.
....., ....., fertility of the lands of, 365, 408.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., Sir Conyers Clifford on the plans of, 371.
....., ....., aids O'Donnell against Sir Conyers Clifford, 372, 374, 379.
....., ....., sends messenger to Lord Burgh, 384.
....., ....., boasting of, 384, 389.
....., ....., Lord Burgh wastes the territory of, 384.
....., ....., marries the daughter of Magennis, 384.
....., ....., insolent letter of, to Lord Burgh, 385.
....., ....., message of, to Captain Lee, 388.
....., ....., is compassed round by the English, 389, 390, 394, 401, 493.
....., ..., has had store of English coin, 393.
....., ....., Lord Burgh hopes to subdue, 392–395, 399–401.
....., ....., would not be drawn out of the bushes, 393.
....., ....., has sent his vagabonds to spoil in the borders and the Pale, 394, 406, 408, 414, 420, 425.
....., ....., called by Lord Burgh "a running beast," 395.
....., ....., offer to kill, 395.
....., ....., reported betrothal of a daughter of, 397.
....., ....., rashness of Lord Burgh's march against, 398.
....., ....., emboldened by the weakness of the bands, 399, 400.
....., ....., calls O'Donnell to him, 399, 400.
....., ....., sends his secretary to the King of Spain, 401, 435.
....., ....., Tirlogh M'Henry's son a pledge with, 401.
....., ....., thinks the Queen will be weary, 402.
....., ....., the sons of Feagh M'Hugh with, 404, 414.
....., ....., hopes to prevent the relief of the Blackwater fort, 408.
....., ....., repulsed at the Blackwater fort, 414, 422, 435.
....., ....., "large scope of ground," belonging to, 419.
....., ..... , cannot stand without O'Donnell, 423.
....., ....., called "the great divill" by Lord Burgh, 425.
....., ....., has infected the whole realm, 426.
....., ....., O'Donnell camps with, 427.
....., ....., Garlon, the man of, 429.
..... , ....., capitulation of, with the Scots, 431, 435, 446, 449.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., writes to the King of Scots, 435, 447.
....., ....., increases in his pride, 432, 439, 477.
....., ....., marches by the Blackwater fort, 434, 435.
....., ....., parleys with Captain Thomas Williams, 435.
....., ....., character of, by Captain Williams, 435.
....., ....., most of the great men of, wavering, 435.
....., ....., "Lieutenant to the Pope and King of Spain," 436.
....., ....., the Scots apply to, for forces, 441, 444, 446.
....., ....., heads of Sir John Chichester and Captain Rice Mansell sent to, 444, 445, 466.
....., ....., the King of Scots writes to, 447, 448, 449.
....., ....., why Phelim M'Hugh and Tyrrell fell to, 447.
....., ....., marries his daughter to Sir James M'Sorley Boy M'Donnell, 448, 449, 465.
....., ....., seeks new feeding for his creaghts, 448.
....., ....., a servant of the wife of, gives intelligence, 448.
....., ....., aids the Leinster rebels, 448.
....., ....., agrees to the submission of Shane M'Brian, 449.
....., ....., tells Maguire to join O'Donnell, 452.
....., ....., jealous of O'Rourke, 453.
....., ....., the way to break, 454, 482.
....., ....., confederates of, in Leinster, 455, 479.
....., ....., intended parley of Earl of Ormonde and, 455, 458, 459, 463.
....., ....., the Council asks the Queen's pleasure as to, 456.
....., ....., says Lord Burgh would never accept his submission, 456.
....., ....., asks for a truce, 457.
....., ....., the Council sends a messenger to, 457, 458.
....., ....., required to keep the peace, 457–459.
....., ....., is glad at the appointment of the Earl of Ormonde, 457, 458, 468.
....., ....., will give orders for keeping the peace, 458.
....., ....., asks for a safe-conduct for his friends in Leinster, 458, 459, 469.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde needs absolute authority to conclude with, 461, 463, 473, 474, 486.
....., ... .., advice of Sir Geffrey Fenton as to treaty with, 462–464.
Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., heads of matters to be urged by the Earl of Ormonde on, 463, 464, 491, 492.
....., ....., promise of, to Randal M'Sorley, 465.
....., ....., assistance of, to Sir James M'Sorley, 467.
....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl of Ormonde, 467–469, 473, 483–490, 493.
....., .. ..., the grievances of, 468, 477–479, 488, 493.
....., ....., forces of, at the meeting, 468, 483.
....., ....., and the victualling of the Blackwater fort, 468, 477, 479, 485.
....., ....., will withdraw his followers from Leinster, 469, 485, 494.
....., ....., on the "bickerment" at Leix, 469.
....., ....., Margaret, daughter of, 469.
....., ....., truce with, 471, 478, 479, 486, 488, 493.
....., ....., Tirlogh M'Henry returns to, 471, 481.
....., ....., answers of, to the articles prescribed, 475, 486–488, 490.
....., ....., petition of, to the Earl of Ormonde, 476, 478, 479, 487, 488, 490.
....., ....., and "liberty of conscience," 476, 487, 488, 490.
....., ....., desires Tyrone to be made a county palatine, 476.
....., ....., on the character of the Irish, 476, 484.
....., ..... desires to be restored to his blood and dignity, 476.
....., ....., treaty with, near Dundalk, 477, 478, 483–490.
..... ....., charges against Burghley by, 477, 483, 489, 493.
....., ....., articles prescribed to, 478, 479.
....., ....., submission of, 478, 479, 486–488.
....., ....., to forbear dealing with any Scots, 481.
....., ....., on his sons, 483, 484, 489.
....., ....., goodness of the Queen to, 484, 489.
....., ....., and wood for the Blackwater garrison, 485, 489.
....., ....., letter of O'Donnell to, 486, 487, 490.
....., ....., O'Donnell dislikes the treaty with, 486, 487.
....., ....., O'Donnell promises to come to, 487.
....., ....., the Bishop of Meath remonstrates with, 487, 488.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde refuses the petitions of, 488.
....., ....., the Bishop of Meath denounces, 488–490.

Tyrone, Hugh, Earl of—*cont.*
....., ....., will keep his oath to the King of Spain, 493.
....., ....., tells the King of Spain of his successes, 493.
....., ....., the Earl of Ormonde to conclude with, 493.
....., ....., Sir William Warren to use his best endeavours with, 493.
....., ....., and the King of Scots, 494.
....., ....., the chiefest helps of, 494.
Tyrrell, Sir John, 181, 207.
..... or Tirrell, Captain Richard, a rebel leader, 207, 315, 407, 408, 447, 461.
..... .., ....., foster brother to Don Carolo, Prince of Spain, 86.
....., ....., gone to the "Rede Moore," 166.
....., ....., revolt of, 181.
....., ....., sent by the Earl of Tyrone to the Annaly, 192.
....., ....., sore hurt or slain, 206.
....., ....., sent by the Earl of Tyrone to the Brenny, 249.
....., ....., burns Mullingar, 299.
....., ....., defeats of, 325, 326, 432.
....., ....., supposed death of, 432.
....., ....., reasons of, for falling to O'Neill, 447.
....., ....., letter of, 472.
....., ....., defeats the companies at Leix, 467, 469–472.
....., ....., letter to, 494.
....., . ...., to withdraw from Leinster, 494.

## U.

Udall, servant of the Earl of Kildare, 148.
....., ....., practices of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 148.
Ulster, Province of, *passim*.
..... , ....., rebellious state of, 11, 12, 36, 43, 72, 102, 167, 170, 271, 277, 287, 318, 405, 436, 438, 499.
....., ....., the fountain-head of rebellion, 34, 35, 36, 167, 175, 244, 306.
....., ....., a main ground to bring in Spaniards, 244.
....., ....., combined with Connaught, 35, 170.
....., ....., to be divided from Connaught, 40, 90, 162.
....., ....., devoted to the King of Spain, 36.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone on the castles in, 46.
Ulster, Province of—*cont.*
....., ....., will receive no Spaniard, 58.
....., ....., general combination with the, 62.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone appoints captains to guard the borders of, 102.
....., ....., Irish chieftains of, accompany the Earl of Tyrone to Connaught, 104.
....., ....., pledges of, 104, 132, 143, 217.
....., ....., the men of, cry out against Sir William Fitzwilliams, 117.
....., ....., the people of, look to "have their Macs and Oes," 117.
....., ....., Sir Geffrey Fenton on the submitters in, 130.
....., ....., gathering of rebels' forces in, 138.
....., ....., rebels of, stir up those in Leinster and Munster, 139, 140.
....., ....., combination of, with Leinster, 144, 145, 244.
....., ....., training of Tyrone's forces in, 151.
....., ....., all the traitors of, are together, 163.
....., ....., the matters of, left to Sir John Norreys, 165.
....., ....., at the Earl of Tyrone's devotion, 167.
....., ....., no good obedience had from, 189.
....., ....., not a penny in rent or by composition had from, 189.
....., ....., proposal to employ Scots for invading, 189, 232.
....., ....., stirs began in, before they did in Connaught, 194.
....., ....., genealogies of rebels in, 197.
....., ....., note of garrisons for, 198.
....., ....., the Scots have "wild pretences" to, 227.
....., ....., barrenness of the plot for the war in, 228.
....., ....., plot for the invasion of, 232.
....., ....., the rebels of, "the monsters of the land," 262.
....., ....., defence of seaside towns in, 266.
....., ....., importance of the death of Feagh M'Hugh on the rebellion in, 287.
....., . ..., all in, except the Eustaces, against the Earl of Tyrone, 290.
....., ....., traitors of, make all their dependency upon the Spaniard, 294.
....., ....., the chief receipt of the Earl of Tyrone, 307.
....., ....., preparations for the journey into, 310, 334, 335.
....., ....., wholly possessed by rebels, 318.
....., ....., loan for the journey into, 334, 335.

Ulster, Province of—*cont.*
....., ....., no armed bands from, to do violence to Her Majesty's subjects, 479.
....., ....., no hurt sustained by the rebels in, 487.
....., ....., the garrisons in, 495.
....., ....., a particular description of, 499.

## V.

Valladolid, in Spain, English college at, 192.
Vaughan, Mr., brother of Lord Burgh, killed, 343, 364.
Vere, Marshal, in the expedition to Spain, 321.
Verganza [Braganza], Dominic de, 356.
Victualler of Ireland. *See* Newcomen.
Victuals, money, munition, &c., scarcity of, for the troops in Ireland, 5, 21, 22, 27, 29, 33, 59, 63, 71, 93, 100, 101, 116, 142, 143, 158, 159, 164–166, 171, 179, 180, 189, 210, 211, 212, 213, 216, 218, 221, 239, 242, 245, 247, 248, 259, 268, 274, 277, 282–284, 285, 286, 288, 290, 291, 296, 299, 301, 302, 306, 307, 309, 357, 366, 367, 370, 372–380, 382, 383, 392, 393, 404, 407–409, 418, 419, 433, 435–437, 456, 461, 470, 471, 496.
....., ....., asked for the troops in Ireland, 36, 38, 44, 51, 59, 60, 71, 84, 85, 86, 99, 100, 101, 103, 110, 112, 117, 119, 129, 135, 140, 145, 147, 152, 154, 155, 158, 159, 160, 166, 170, 171, 174, 187, 213, 216, 229, 233, 234, 242, 245, 248, 250, 257, 259, 260, 264, 269, 272, 277, 279, 283, 285, 296, 299, 301, 302, 306, 307, 309, 311, 314, 332–335, 341, 343, 357, 366, 378, 379, 392, 393, 399, 401, 407–409, 419, 424, 433, 435, 436, 440, 447, 450, 455, 456, 461, 469, 475, 497.
....., ....., sent for the troops in Ireland, 62, 99, 143, 152, 155, 156, 160, 181, 183, 198, 237, 238, 240, 241, 242, 243, 247, 264, 281, 284, 285, 290, 299, 300, 302, 310, 319, 325, 330, 331, 334, 335, 341, 343, 357, 361, 364, 367, 368, 382, 386, 387, 389, 395, 434, 450, 455.
..... in Ireland, prices of, 227, 237, 242, 283, 363, 377, 378, 455, 467, 473.
....., ....., frauds by an officer of, 309.
....., ....., certificate of receipt and issue of, 410, 473.
....., ....., store of, 436.
....., an estimate of, for 7,000 men, 495.
Vigo, in Spain, 173.
Voyen, Don Roderigo de, Spanish envoy to the Irish leaders, 389, 492, 493.

## W.

Wackes, Thomas, sheriff of Meath. *See* Meath.
Wadding, Francis, letter of, 356.
....., ....., Alexander, relative of, 356.
....., Thomas, mayor of Waterford. *See* Waterford.
Wales, North, scarcity in, 148, 216.
Waller, Mr., wounded at the Blackwater, 343.
Walley, John, servant of Sir Geffrey Fenton, letter of, 280.
....., ....., project of, 280.
Wallop, Lady, letters to, 103.
Wallop, Sir Henry, Treasurer at Wars in Ireland, 22, 63, 67, 99, 113, 117, 121, 142, 168, 212, 230, 255, 275, 283, 284, 293, 304, 322, 332, 341, 344, 346, 347, 368, 376, 377, 393, 430, 434, 450, 451, 454, 483, 495.
....., ....., letters of, 33, 46, 76, 83, 84, 99, 116, 120, 136, 137, 147, 187, 188, 195, 204, 213, 225, 260, 277, 287, 311, 324, 356, 359, 367, 412–414, 424, 437, 440, 460, 462, 472, 474, 492.
....., ....., letters to, 148, 149, 251, 266, 281, 345, 412, 430, 434.
....., ....., accounts of, 33, 34, 41, 67, 113, 136, 147, 204, 213, 214, 225, 239, 304, 319, 320, 329, 359, 367, 412–415, 434, 437, 440, 455, 461, 474, 482.
....., ....., timber trade of, 46, 47, 260, 492.
....., ....., Richard Crosse, servant of, 99, 332.
....., ....., is ready to go to England, 136.
....., ....., complains of lack of advertisements, 136.
....., ....., on the rebels, 136, 356.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 136.
....., ....., the Queen's displeasure at, 137, 147, 329.
....., ....., recovery of, 177.
....., ....., illness of, 188, 213, 474.
....., ....., length of service of, 204, 412, 474.
....., ....., private estate of, 204, 412, 474.
....., ....., Charles Huet, deputy of, 204.
....., ... .., thinks commissaries necessary for the army in Ireland, 213.
....., ....., borrows of Dublin merchants, 225, 357, 461.
....., ....., advertisements delivered to, 249.

Wallop, Sir Henry—*cont.*
....., ....., grievances of Sir Thomas Williams against, 275.
....., ....., writes in favour of Thomas Gerald, 277.
....., ....., writes on behalf of citizens of Dublin, 287.
....., ....., Lord Burgh to take advice of, 293.
....., ....., on Theobald Butler and Earldom of Ormonde, 311.
....., ....., the Privy Council blame, 319, 320, 331.
....., ....., commission to, 334.
....., ....., raises loan for the journey into Ulster, 334, 335, 357, 378.
....., ....., compares the checks of Lane and Kyffin, 337.
....., ....., directed to find William Atkinson, 341.
....., ....., forwards copy of letter by Lord Burgh, 356.
....., ....., on the change of Lord Burgh's plan of campaign, 356, 357.
....., ....., on the cost of "roading journeys," 357.
....., ....., on the importance of a strong garrison at Lough Foyle, 357.
....., ....., sends provisions to Carlingford, 357.
....., ....., on the dearth in Ireland, 357.
....., ....., on the Ordinances for the army, 358, 359, 381, 412, 413, 441, 461, 462.
....., ....., recommends Sir Roger Wilbraham or Mr. Justice Walsh as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 368.
....., ....., on the contagious sickness at Dublin, 368.
....., ....., defends himself against serious charges, 412–414.
....., ....., desires leave to go to England, 412.
....., ....., Burghley's sharp letter to, 412, 413, 460.
....., ....., in disgrace, 412, 413, 474.
....., ....., allowances of, 412, 413, 474.
....., ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 424.
....., ....., urges the appointment of a new Lord Deputy, 424.
....., ....., asks that more treasure be sent, 424.
....., ....., late a Lord Justice of Ireland, 433.
....., ....., to forbear the defalcations for munition, 437.
....., ....., on the entertainment of Lord Burgh, 437.
....., ....., on priests, 437, 438.
Wallop, Sir Henry—*cont.*
....., ....., on the state of Ireland, 462.
....., ....., desires to retire into private life, 474.
....., ....., gratitude of, to Burghley, 474.
....., ....., to help to abate unnecessary charges, 493.
....., Henry, 99.
....., Mr. Oliver, 345.
Walsh. *See* Welsh.
....., Mr. Justice Nicholas, 78, 96.
....., ....., letter of, 96.
....., ....., a commissioner to try Fitz-Edmonds, 99.
....., ....., recommended as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 367, 368, 387, 424.
....., ....., to be admitted to the Chief Justiceship, 433, 460.
Walshe ["Wealshe"], Lieutenant, slain at the defeat near Carrickfergus, 443.
....., John, examination of, 245.
....., Thomas, 45.
....., ....., examination of, 245.
Walsingham, Sir Francis, 220.
....., ....., a foundling of, 415.
Wards, Liveries, &c., Commission of, 66.
Warings, Sir Henry, 347.
Warren, Mr. Henry, 43.
....., Sir Henry, recommended as muster-master, 148. 154, 229.
....., ....., sheriff of Kildare, charge against, 425.
....., Captain William, 54, 87, 106, 165, 259, 272.
....., ....., letters of, 42, 205, 246, 251, 254.
....., ....., letters to, 165, 205, 264, 270.
....., ....., does not return the King of Spain's letter to the Earl of Tyrone, 10.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 42.
....., ....., lameness of, 42.
....., ....., brother of, 42.
....., ....., meetings of, with the Earl of Tyrone, 44, 85, 205, 206, 208, 217, 246, 247, 256, 258, 259, 278.
....., ....., outrageous treatment of, 53, 54.
....., ....., sent for by Sir John Norreys, 85.
....., ....., goes to Sir John Norreys, 96, 217.
....., ....., urges that O'Connor Sligo might go to O'Donnell, 102.
....., ....., sent to O'Donnell and O'Rourke, 104.
....., ....., brings in one of the O'Connors, 105.
....., ....., attack by servants of, 118.
....., ....., complaints by, 150.
....., ....., appointed to confer with the Earl of Tyrone, 191, 193, 242, 243.

Warren, Captain William—*cont.*
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's book-oaths before, 191, 278.
....., ....., obliged to remain at Newry, 205.
.. ....., ....., with the Earl of Tyrone, 217, 278.
....., ....., instructions for, 242, 243.
....., ....., despatch received from, 246.
....., ....., left at Dungannon, 248, 270.
....., ....., reported coming of, to conclude a peace, 249.
....., ....., sent back to the Pale, 256.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone's answer to, on the Spaniards, 258, 259, 278.
....., ....., expected back very soon, 259.
....., ....., return of, 260.
....., ....., writes to the Earl of Tyrone, 262, 278.
....., ....., sent again to the Earl, 264, 278.
....., ....., answer of the Earl to, 264, 278.
....., ....., expected back, 267.
....., ....., letters of Earl of Tyrone to, 267, 270–272, 278.
....., ....., sent again to the Earl, 270.
....., ....., expected back, 270, 271.
....., ....., sent to Irish Council, 272.
....., ....., the Earl of Tyrone has "taken days with," till May 31st, 279.
....., ....., Phelim O'Hagan to be delivered to, 344.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys writes in favour of, 479.
....., ....., going to England to raise his fortune, 479.
....., ....., to endeavour to draw the Earl of Tyrone to honourable conditions, 493.
....., —, 398.
Warwickshire, 199, 358.
Waterford, city of, 14, 15, 51, 80, 98, 120, 161, 191, 323, 386, 471, 472.
....., ....., letters from, 120, 141, 215, 252, 286, 313, 341, 386, 415, 431, 472, 473.
....., ....., Thomas Wadding, mayor of, 15, 19, 119, 120.
....., ....., ....., letters of, 120, 215.
....., ....., ....., gives a passport to Parsons, 203.
....., ....., James White, mayor of, 141, 250, 313.
....., ....., ....., letters of, 141, 252, 286, 341, 386.
....., ....., ....., on the lack of victuals for the soldiers, 286, 313.
....., ....., Paul Strange, mayor of, letters of, 431, 472, 473.
....., ....., Spaniards expected to arrive at, 135, 153, 166, 177, 198.
Waterford, city of—*cont.*
....., ....., Jesuit intrigues at, 135.
....., ....., the herring fishery off, 153.
....., ....., hatred in, of the English, 179.
....., ....., priests from Spain cherished in, 186.
....., ....., the fort at, to be strengthened, 189, 303, 313. *See also* Duncannon.
....., ....., to be strengthened, 189, 194, 198, 234, 250, 266, 303, 313.
....., ....., charges of the fortifications at, 197, 313.
....., ....., Sir Thomas Norreys to have charge of, 198.
....., ....., Franciscan friar in, 203.
....., ....., failure of the fishing at, 214.
....., ....., arrival of two scholars from Spain at, 215.
....., ....., advertisements from, 226, 252, 472.
....., ....., restraint of timber export from, 260.
....., ....., arrival of companies at, 284, 286.
....., ....., no descent of Spaniards at, looked for at present, 313.
....., ....., Nicholas Wise, agent of the corporation of, 341, 431.
....., ....., presents to Burghley from, 341.
....., ....., transport of sheepskins from, 341, 431, 432.
....., ....., impost on wines exported from, 341, 431, 432.
....., ....., Nicholas Luker, agent of the corporation of, 432.
....., ....., capture of a ship belonging to, 432.
....., ....., corn wanted at, 432.
....., ....., forces to be transported to, 449, 450, 456.
Waterford, county of, 278, 354, 415.
....., ....., sheriff of, 43, 347.
....., ....., advertisement from, 46.
Waterhouse, Stephen. *See* Weston, Richard.
Welsh or Walsh, Sir Hugh, a priest, 324, 437.
Welten, near Daventry, co. Northampton, 200.
West, Mr., 386.
Westchester, 283, 431.
Westlake, —, steward of Lord Burgh, 283.
Westmeath, county of, 24, 27, 31, 36, 40, 56, 58, 69, 76, 112, 163, 212, 328, 396, 436, 488.
....., ....., to be spoiled, 163, 164, 168.
....., ....., spoils in, 301, 334.
Westminster, 119.
....., letters from, 162, 163, 178, 194, 275, 283, 299, 430.

Weston, Nicolas, an alderman of Dublin, 117, 156, 194, 238.
....., ....., extract from letter to, 154.
....., ....., letters of credence for, 172.
....., ....., letter of, 253.
....., ....., employment of servants of, as spies in Spain, 253.
....., ....., robbed by English men-of-war, 253.
....., ....., intelligences by servant of, 275, 276.
....., ....., desires to be recommended to Lord Burgh, 276.
....., ....., Council ask for payment to, 349.
....., ....., grain for the army bought of, 357.
....., Richard, brother of Nicolas, 117, 301.
....., ....., letters of, 129.
....., ....., *alias* William Gelle, letter of, 248, 249, 251.
....., ....., credibility of intelligence from, 251.
....., ....., *alias* John Tomson, letters of, 264, 271.
....., ....., familiar with the Earl of Tyrone's secretary, 264.
....., ....., note of the Earl's secretary to, 265.
....., ....., *alias* Stephen Waterhouse, letter of, 282–285.
....., ....., charge of treachery against, 362.
....., ....., advertisements from, 447, 448.
....., Sir William, 66, 370.
Wexford, county of, 47, 175.
....., ....., sale of wheat in, 148.
..... ....., spoils in, 169.
....., ....., seneschal of. *See* Masterson, Sir Richard.
....., town of, 8.
....., ....., Jesuit intrigues at, 135.
....., ....., certificate by gentlemen of, 142.
....., ....., advertisements from a merchant of, 406.
Weynman, Captain Ferdinando, muster roll of company of, 146.
Wheat for Ireland, 1.
..... in Ireland at ten pounds a quarter, 283.
Whetstone [? co. Leicester], letter from, 24.
White, Edward, petition of, 198.
*White Hind*, the, a ship, 281.
White, James, mayor of Waterford. *See* Waterford.
....., John, master of a ship at Galway, 276.
Whitehall, London, 155, 156, 161, 272.
....., ....., letters from, 266, 281, 286, 430, 433, 434, 449, 450, 479, 481, 482, 490, 492.
White Knight, the. *See* Gybbon, Edward.
Whitny, Robert, 470.
Whittingham, —, an alderman of Oxford, 437.
Wicklow, town of, 156.
Wight, Isle of, 199.
Wilbraham, Sir Roger, Solicitor-General of Ireland, 78.
....., ....., letters of, 1, 149, 348, 351, 371.
....., ....., had license to return to England, 351, 368.
....., ....., to read in Gray's Inn, 351.
....., ....., purposes to return to Ireland, 351, 371.
....., ....., recommended as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 368.
....., ....., father of, 368, 371.
....., ....., recommends Sir Robert Napper as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, 371.
....., ....., on the Irish revenues, 371.
....., ....., on the deanery of St. Patrick's, 371.
....., ....., would be glad to attend at the Court, 371.
....., ....., charges against, 497, 498.
Wilford, Sir Thomas, 193.
Williams, John, of Clonmel, co. Tipperary, messenger of Sir H. Bagenall, declaration of, 295.
....., Philip, letters of, 424, 432, 439.
....., ....., secretary to Lord Burgh, 424, 425.
..... ....., on the death of Lord Burgh, 424, 425.
....., ....., requests of, 425, 433, 439.
....., ....., letter in favour of, 428.
....., ....., on the state of the forces, 433.
....., ....., on Ireland, 439.
....., Sir Thomas, knight, Muster-master of Ireland, petition of, 275.
....., ....., grievances of, against Sir Henry Wallop, 275.
....., Captain Thomas, letter of, 434.
....., ....., in charge of the Blackwater fort, 434–436, 476, 477.
....., ....., parleys with the Earl of Tyrone, 435.
....., ....., on the Earl of Tyrone, 435.
....., ....., asks for more men, 435.
....., ....., asks for more victuals, 435, 436.
Willis, Captain Humfrey, letter of, 244, 245, 250.
Wilmar, Ann, waiting-woman to the Countess of Tyrone, intrigues by, 200–204.
....., —, who married the widow of Francis Throgmorton, 200.
Wilmott, Captain, 106

Wilson, Henry, a soldier, money due to, 325.
Wingfield, Jaques, Master of the Ordnance, 312, 481.
....., Captain Thomas Maria, 256, 464.
....., ....., letter of, 248, 251.
....., ....., detained at Dundalk, 248.
....., ....., raids in the Earl of Tyrone's country, 310.
Wingtons, the, foster-brethren to the Earl of Tyrone, 169.
Wirrall, Walter, merchant, declaration of, 173, 174.
Wise, Nicholas, agent of the corporation of Waterford, 341, 431.
Woodman, the, 34, 44, 45, 76.
Wrexham, co. Denbigh, 171.
Wright, John, 492.

## Y.

Yarmouth, co. Norfolk, 333.
Yate, William, mayor of Bristol, letters of, 330, 368.
York, Sir Edward, 431.
Youghal, co. Cork, 14.
..... ..., ....., letters from, 148, 403.

## Z.

Zealand, 141.

## CORRIGENDA ET ADDENDA.

Page 2, line 21, for *Sir Geoffrey* read *Sir Geffrey*.
„ 25, „ 16, for *O'Boile* read *O'Boyle*.
„ 28, „ 16, for *July* 7 read *July* 6.
„ 31, „ 30, for *Mellifant* read *Mellifont*.
„ 36, „ 36, for *asks* read *ask*.
„ 41, „ 37, for *Castle Roe* read *Castle Row*.
„ 44, „ 22, for *takein* read *taken*.
„ 44, „ 40, for *Sir Richard Moore* read *Sir Edward Moore*.
„ 45, „ 17, for *Mulmore* read *Mulmorey*.
„ 48, „ 30, after *but* insert a comma.
„ 56, „ 4, for *Hughes'* read *Hugh's*.
„ 61, „ 4, for *Rice ap Hugh* read *Captain Rice ap Hugh*.
„ 70, „ 15, for *Greames* read *Greame*.
„ 83, „ 42, for *profer* read *proffer*.
„ 91, „ 3, for *Sheane* read *Shane*.
„ 103, „ 24, for *Ryce* read *Captain Rice*.
„ 126, „ 26, for *prayed* read *preyed*.
„ 158, „ 35, } for *Rice* read *Captain Rice*.
„ 163, „ 44, }
„ 171, „ 19 and 31, for *Rice* read *Captain Rice*.
„ 176, „ 37, dele *Privy* before *Council*.
„ 235, „ 40, after *where* insert *he*.
„ 249, „ 13, under *March* 24 (margin) insert *Dublin*.
„ 250, „ 10, under *March* 25 (margin) insert *Dublin*.
„ 256, „ 12, for *Rice* read *Captain Rice*.
„ 289, „ 40, for *Lea* read *Lee*.
„ 295, „ 5, for *Clonmell* read *Clonmel*.
„ 310, „ 36, for *M'Cole* read *M'Coll*.
„ 320, under *The Court* (margin) insert [*Greenwich*].
„ 372, line 17, after *man* insert comma.
„ 384, „ 35, dele comma after *set*.
„ 396, „ 21, for *Oliver Tinte* read *Oliver Tuite*.
„ 396, „ 21, for *John Tinte* read *John Tuite*.
„ 397, „ 25, for *Sidney* read *Sydney*.
„ 421, „ 1, for *prays* read *pray*.
„ 436, „ 16, for *Oliver Tinte* read *Oliver Tuite*.
„ 448, „ 2, for *were* read *was*.
„ 497, „ 30, for *Chambers* read *Chamber-*.